OP

THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR
Volume 1

William Palmer

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THE PATRIARCH AND THE TS

VOL. I.

THE
REPLIES OF THE HUMBLE NICON,

BY THE MERCY OF GOD PATRIARCH,

AGAINST THE

QUESTIONS OF THE BOYAR SIMEON STRESHNEFF

AND THE

ANSWERS OF THE METROPOLITAN OF GAZA
PAISIUS LIGARIDES.

Translated from the Russ

By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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THE PATRIARCH AGAINST THE TSAR,

THE CHURCH AGAINST THE WORLD;

SMYRNA AND PHILADELPHIA AGAINST PERGAMUS AND LAODICEA,

PATIENCE AND CHARITY AGAINST VIOLENCE AND INIQUITY;

THE RESURRECTION (VOSKRESENSK)

AND THE NEW JERUSALEM (NOVI IERUSALIM)

AGAINST BABYLON AND ANTICHRIST.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In a document read aloud at his coronation, and placed by his own hands on the altar of God, where it is still preserved, the Emperor Paul named the Russian sovereign 'Head of the Church.' This headship, it has been said, was alluded to by the late Pope Gregory XVI. during his interview with the Emperor Nicholas in 1845; and the Emperor may, perhaps, have preferred to describe himself as an 'Ober-politzee-meister,' or an 'eldest son,' rather than a head. But he by no means abdicated his inheritance; and the world is more inclined to accept than to explain away the plain-spoken assertions of Peter I. and of Paul: 'I am your Patriarch;' 'Supreme Judge;' 'Head of the Church.'

Lutherans, we know, ascribe on principle to the State a 'superepiscopal' power; Anglicans owe to the State their very existence; and politicians of this world, wherever the old union of Church and State still lingers, think such maxims natural and convenient. But the assumption of a State supremacy in religion has been resisted successfully in England by the Protestant Dissenters, whose principles of freedom have now spread over America and Australia; it is still resisted in Russia by millions of separatists; and it has ever been condemned by the Catholic Church as antichristian, as productive of scepticism and immorality, and, eventually, of a reaction against all coercive power; so that it is a true political suicide.

More than this. As the prophet Nathan, by putting before David his sin under an allegory, obtained from David's own lips its condemnation, so the ecclesiastical act of Peter the Great, being put one hundred and twenty-nine years afterwards, *as if in another case*, before the patriarchal Synod of Constantinople (the Russian embassy also assisting with its good offices), was publicly condemned. The divine canons, it was said, require that in every nation the bishops should recognise their primate, and regard him as their head, and do nothing without him; while he, on the other hand, is to do nothing of importance without them. So, then, there must be a personal primate, who, by enactment and consent of the Church, may be the bishop even of a new capital. Then there is a synod, also already existing by divine right, consisting of all the bishops, who ought, by the canons, to meet once at least yearly. And if it seems good to them that there should be always with the primate some of their number as a permanent synod, without prejudice to the canonical rights of the rest, as is the custom at C. P., these will be of right the senior bishops; and whenever any one cannot remain, the next senior to him, who is able and willing, will come in his stead. But that the king should either nominate the president of a synod, or, abolishing both the canonical primacy and the canonical synod, should delegate a commission of his own to govern the Church, this is altogether inadmissible. Lastly, the primate with his synod is 'to govern the Church freely, *according to the divine and sacred canons*, without interference of any secular power;' and they are to be free to nominate their own officers and servants, and to send forth their own acts, though, of course, nothing can obtain the force of civil law till it has been accepted by the civil government; and for this reason a procurator of the king may be present at synods, to act as a medium of communication.

Certainly it was a different thing to deal with the autocrat of an immense empire, the sole resource and hope of Orthodoxy, or with a petty kingdom, which might be rebuked for following the example of Russia without any offence to the Russian ambassador—nay, even with his participation. Still it is plain that, if conscience had on both occasions been equally free to speak, the answer to be given to Peter the Great in 1721 or 1723 was the very same with that which was actually given to the Athens Government in 1850. And this later indirect condemnation of Peter's act and institution, of the submission of the Russian clergy, and of the recognition accorded from C. P., comes, not from free-church Protestants, not from Russian Raskolniks, not from Jesuits, but from the chief spiritual authority of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church. What Russian, after this, can say a word to defend or to palliate the usurpation which has been set up in his country? His own Church has shut his mouth. But will the Russian Government, then, go back? Alas, no! Governments which have once moved towards apostasy do not easily go back; they go on—to destruction.

Christ himself said of the clergy: 'Ye are the salt of the earth;' and he added: 'But if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be *trodden under foot of men.*' In these words there is more than a truth; there is a prophecy, a prophecy which since 1667 has been visibly fulfilled in Russia.

But Christ said also: 'He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity;' 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' This, too, has been accomplished in history, and nowhere more remarkably than in England, where Henry VIII. and Elizabeth led a nation into captivity; and now their successor, the king or queen of England, is the only remaining soul whom the law of that nation still holds bound in that same captivity. They rose up and took the sword against God; and the people rose up and took the sword against them, and even actually beheaded them; and again the people rose up and expelled them, only for claiming for themselves liberty of conscience. They used the sword, that is force, against the Church, and the people have used force against them; so that now the Crown alone has least power, while the lower and less capable part of the multitude has most. So, too, has it been, and so will it yet be, we fear, in Russia. There, too, the Boyars and the Tsars led the Church into captivity. And they that did this have already all been destroyed. Their very names and titles, their posterity, and all the institutions connected with them, have disappeared from the face of the earth. Moscow itself has been burned and rebuilt; the name of 'Muscovy' is now forgotten; everything, even the capital, has been changed. And for what remains, or has grown up instead, since the government that now is retains its captives in captivity, and still holds the sword drawn against God, it is probable that the same judgments will fall upon it also. As it has trampled under foot that order which is the salt of the earth (however true it may be that the salt had lost its savour), so it will itself probably be trampled under foot by swine, by swine which it has itself blindly reared and multiplied.

But without pursuing farther these questions, we remark that, though all the world see a State supremacy now existing in Russia, very few know how it originated. Some may think that it was from the beginning a defect inherent in the Russian as in the Greek Church; others, that it was altogether the work of Peter the Great, who trampled under his feet the malcontent boyars and the clergy, without encountering any moral or spiritual power of resistance. But that there had been in Russia a gradual development towards apostasy, like that of Western Europe; that, after letters and laws had been introduced by the clergy; after the unity of the monarchy had been formed chiefly through them; after an age of religious feeling had liberally endowed the Church,—there had followed, as in the West, another age, in which the wealth of the Church drew upon her the cupidity of rulers and the jealousy of nobles; that hence at length there ensued a conflict of principles between the secular and the spiritual authorities, like that which was carried on, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, between the Popes and the German Emperors, though in Russia it had a different end; and that Russia produced a champion of ecclesiastical rights, holding the same place in her history as St. Thomas à Becket holds in that of England, or Gregory VII. or Alexander III. in that of Christendom at large; and that this conflict had already begun and ended before the birth of Peter the Great, under his father the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich,—all this is known to few in Western Europe.

Nay, even in Russia itself, the memory of that great man to whom we have alluded has been hitherto in a manner suppressed. People know, indeed, that he was Patriarch of Moscow; that the Tsar, who, as a youth, had shown him unbounded affection and respect, was, by the time that he was twenty-nine years old, estranged from him, so as to take part with the boyars, who hated him; that he retired from Moscow, and lived at Voskresensk, building a church from a model of the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, with a monastery around it, named the New Jerusalem; that he held his enemies at bay for eight years; that at length, at the suggestion of a Greek of bad character, the Tsar induced two of the Greek patriarchs, with other bishops, to come to Moscow and to preside in a mixed synod, which condemned Nicon, degraded him even from the priesthood, and delivered him over to be exiled and imprisoned; that he was kept under guard fifteen years, and liberated at the request, rather than by the order, of the young Tsar Theodore, in August 1681, only when he was dying. All these facts certainly are well known. But that which is necessary to give point and meaning to them all—though it was on the very surface—is not known.

After an interval of about a century, portions of the numerous documents relating to Nicon's life and condemnation, and still preserved, began to be alluded to or quoted; and as time went on such documents or extracts from documents have been published with increasing freedom, especially during the present reign. First, in A.D. 1784, Kozodavleff, who had been Minister of the Interior, published a short life of Nicon, by Ivan Shusherin, one of Nicon's own disciples, who, merely on account of his fidelity and attachment, was put to the question and imprisoned for ten years. He writes as if he were writing the life of a saint; and the anecdotes and sayings related by him bear such marks of character that the reader feels brought into personal contact with the patriarch himself. But whether from fear, or from some other cause, Shusherin says merely that the enemy sowed discord between the Tsar and the blessed Nicon, without a word of the occasion or nature of their difference. Then Platon, metropolitan of Moscow, who had been preceptor to the Emperor Paul, in his 'Remarks on the History of the Russian Church,' exposes the injustice or insufficiency of the charges brought against

Nicon, but he makes a mystery of the cause of his fall. So does the metropolitan Eugenius, in his 'Dictionary of Russian Ecclesiastical Writers;' so does Mouravieff, in his 'History of the Russian Church;' so does Philaret, archbishop of Kharkoff, in his: so, in short, do they all. And this is not only from any fear of the censors of the press, or of the government; but even in private conversations, even those who are most religious, and most inclined to take Nicon's part, are stone blind as to that question which for him was all-important, and for which he was ready, as he said himself, not only to be imprisoned, but to die. To say nothing of the Staroobratsi, who have from the first regarded him as Antichrist for his correction of the church books, and to speak only of members of the dominant Russian church, some, with Mouravieff, say that he was a mixed character, 'alternately bright and dark, great and feeble,' a good and an evil genius for the Tsar Alexis and for Russia; many say that he was 'deficient in Christian meekness;' others that he was indiscreet, harsh, and impatient; others that he was a regular mujik. Thanks be to the Professor Solovieff, he at last has given us a complete view—the view of one who had taught history to members of the imperial family. According to him, then, Nicon was a coarse, unspiritual man—proud, ambitious, passionate, cruel, covetous, cunning, mean—a lover of good eating and drinking, &c. Of Shusherin's life he speaks with contempt, as being manifestly written by a *partisan;* and Shusherin himself (whose name would in Latin be 'Stercorius') he always nicknames 'Shushera,' that is 'Stercus.' But Paisius of Gaza he follows as trustworthy. His 'History of Russia,' and of the 'Reign of Alexis Michaelovich' in particular, shows that he had free access to all the imperial archives, and that he was as diligent as a German might have been in examining them. But with all this, he is no improvement upon his predecessors: they only professed to be at fault, he finds no difficulty, but leads away from the truth. To justify the Tsar and the boyars, might be, for him, a matter of course; but he blackens Nicon with too much zeal; and in that he overshoots his mark. For no thoughtful reader, though he may be a sceptic or a materialist, and an opponent of ecclesiastical authority, will accept, unless he be also malicious, Solovieff's caricature of Nicon as an explanation. In Russia it called forth two other publications, by MM. Subbotine and Michaelofsky, each of them remarkable in its way. Of these, Subbotine treats Solovieff with profound respect, but suggests that his account of Nicon is not *quite* impartial, and that some documents (which he himself appends in a supplement) ought not to have been left unnoticed. But it does not occur to him to turn the tables on the professor, and to tell him plainly that either he was very dull if he did not see, or much worse than dull if he did see, that Nicon also, no less than himself, had a *view*, for which he was a zealot, and to which any fair and generous adversary would have sought to do justice before combating and refuting it. But the other writer, Michaelofsky, differing entirely from Solovieff in his estimate of the personal character of Nicon, would fain make of him a hero or a saint, *if only this can be done without too openly condemning the existing order of things.* So he tries to show that Nicon, though ill-used, was yet in truth victorious, and, like other confessors, overcame by his suffering and patience (and this may indeed be true, but certainly not in the sense suggested). For, he says, the synod which condemned him approved his acts: it confirmed his correction of the church books; it decreed that in civil matters the Tsar, but in spiritual the patriarch, was to be supreme; and it blamed the practice of conferring ordination by ukaz only of the Tsar; lastly, the Monastery Court itself, Nicon's main grievance, was some years afterwards suppressed. O, wonderful simplicity! If this were all, Solovieff and Michaelofsky might shake hands over Nicon's tomb. Solovieff's spite would be quite unnecessary, and Michaelofsky's admiration quite harmless. But in truth, such is the force of laws and institutions, and of social traditions, to mould the minds of whole peoples and generations, that the plainest truths become invisible, and the most palpable absurdities come to be accepted and repeated as plain truths. We are like caterpillars or small insects on the leaves of plants and trees, which have their heads turned downwards, and take unconsciously their colour from the leaf on which they feed. Only in the long run, and on a scale too great for us in our short lives to perceive its lessons, the providence of God causes the error and guilt of false teachers and of rulers to work out, by an inexorable law, its own confusion and its own punishment.

But to return. That which Nicon has suffered since his death was foreshadowed allegorically in an incident related of his boyhood. One day—so writes Shusherin—when it was a hard frost, the boy Nicetas crept into the empty stove for the remains of its warmth, and there fell asleep; and his stepmother, as if not seeing him, put in logs of wood, so as to block him up, and having lit them went her way. And she would have got rid of him altogether, had not a neighbour named Xenia, hearing his cries, run in, and pulled out from the stove the burning wood. His stepmother was the Eastern Orthodox Church, which unquestionably treated him as a stepmother; and especially the Russian Church and hierarchy, which neither supported him when he was living, nor has appreciated or vindicated his memory after death, but has passively conspired with the secular power to suppress it. Not one single bishop, of all those whom he had consecrated, stood by him openly and manfully, though two or three, while doing the bidding of the Tsar and the boyars, may have shown signs of misgiving and reluctance.

Here one may pause to reflect what would have been the fate of the Catholic Church, if it had been all contained within one empire, and if, instead of many great Popes capable of contending with kings and emperors, and supported by many other primates and bishops like themselves, there had been only one man, and he a subject and unsupported.

Again. It is manifest to students of ecclesiastical history, that both in the time of Photius, and during the two centuries which followed, and again in the time of Cerularius, the act itself of breaking off from communion was always determined by political or even personal rather than by religious motives. Whatever concurrence there may have been of other causes and tendencies, whatever occasion may have been given from the West—and the selfwill of those who first interpolated the Creed, in spite of the Pope himself, cannot be too severely blamed—still, neither the interpolation of the Creed, nor the Latin doctrine of the Filioque, nor Azymes, nor any other Latin doctrine or observance, *of itself alone*, ever caused a rupture. But it was not enough that this should be manifest to students of history. The providence of God so ordered it that the Greek Church eventually confessed the same publicly of herself. As a last act, when the Byzantine empire was about to be destroyed, the emperor, with representatives of the four patriarchates, and with other bishops, came to Florence; and though in the council they held strongly to the language of their own Greek fathers, and were not convinced of there being any logical necessity for the Latin development, they yet consented to submit for the future, in the hope of obtaining help against the Turks. Doubtless they were in a great strait: still, if they had in their *consciences*, and not only in their *intellects*, been convinced that the Filioque, or any other Latin doctrine, was a *heresy*, like that, for example, of Arius or of Apollinaris, they could not so have trafficked with their consciences; and their act was an admission, though, it may be, an unconscious one, that the denial of the Latin doctrine was not, even to themselves, in their inner souls, a part of the faith.

The people, however, who had long before followed emperors and patriarchs into schism, would not now, though with the Turk at their gates, follow them back for political motives to reunion. They preferred the Turk to the Pope. And, seeing this, the greater part of those who had subscribed the union at Florence flew back from it: and it even came to be a saying among them, that God had placed them under the dominion of the Turks to defend them against the Latin heresy.

But at this very time we see a new Christian world, as it were—an empire capable of being compared for extent to the Latin and the Greek empires together, and which had always been connected with the Patriarchate of C.P.—emerging from under the yoke of the Mongols to liberty and to power. What is most remarkable is, that this prodigious extension of Christianity from C.P., which can scarcely be said to have begun before the expulsion of St. Ignatius in A.D. 858, was obtained chiefly during those two centuries of alternate schisms and reunions which intervened between Photius and Cerularius; and that it by no means stopped short on the consummation of the schism by Cerularius, but continued still to spread till A.D. 1240, and even under the Tatar yoke, converting heathens, producing apparently saints and confessors and martyrs, founding churches and monasteries, and multiplying miraculous apparitions and healings, in connection often with local saints, and with holy images and relics. And the hierarchy, on which at C.P. the yoke of the empire pressed heavily, in Russia, as if escaping from thraldom through its missionary character, instructed and rebuked princes with an apostolical freedom, and from the anarchy of multiplied principalities helped them towards a concentration of power, and towards the adoption of a better law of succession in the right line of primogeniture.

What is the meaning of this? since nothing happens without a meaning. Is it, that the Greek Church, although she had broken off from the Latin, had still life in herself, and was either (as she herself has always claimed to be) exclusively the true Orthodox Catholic Church, or (as some now would rather say for her) a *part* at least of the true Church, the true Church being divided? and that though the four patriarchates had fallen under the Turk, a *third* Rome was rising in Moscow to condemn with better success than C.P. the 'Apollinarian heresy' of the Popes? It certainly seems strange at first sight that such signs of life and so vast a development should be allowed to schism, neutralising through the North that lesson which else might have seemed to be unmistakably given by the ruin and degradation of Constantinople. But if the ship of the Church is to surmount waves, if she is to fight and to conquer, her successes and her triumphs will be enhanced, not by the weakness but by the force and magnitude of those waves which assail her, and of those enemies which she encounters. And if schism be one of those ten waves which have assailed the Church, schism, like each of the other nine, might be expected at some time or other to have every advantage possible short of actual superiority and success. Therefore, there is no real difficulty in such phenomena as have been mentioned; neither in any extent of surface, nor in any numbers of population, nor in apparent or even real sanctity and miracles, so long as in all these things the Catholic Church preserves her relative superiority. For sanctity and miracles, if only apparent, are nothing, and if real they may easily be explained by supposing (what there is no reason to deny) that the mass of the Russian people, both laity and clergy, though bred up with an imperfect notion of the unity of the Church, in ignorance of the authority of the Holy See, and with great prejudices and misconceptions concerning it, were in good faith in their traditional Christianity, and only *materially* in schism. Still, no doubt, there was some special purpose in permitting the existence of such phenomena, beyond a mere repetition of the victory obtained over the Byzantine empire. And one such purpose history has already revealed; viz. that the world and the Church might see schism perpetrate against itself one more notable act of self-condemnation and suicide. In rejecting for themselves the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and even preferring the yoke of the Sultans, the Greeks were rejecting a father whom they had long regarded as an alien and an enemy. But the Russian Church was their own daughter: the Russian patriarchate was their own creation. The patriarch of Moscow was their own younger brother, against whom they could have no ill-will. This was the only bright spot; the only quarter from which they might expect some good spiritual and temporal revival. And whatever there was of apostolic spirit, of grace and power, of sanctity, of promise for the future, in the Russian Church, it seems all to have culminated in the person and patriarchate of Nicon, at the same time that the contrary evils of ignorance, superstition, hypocrisy, violence, immorality, covetousness, and jealousy of the Church, culminated also in the party of the boyars his enemies. The Greek patriarchs and bishops then came into Russia, and for the sake of some pitiful alms *condemned* all that remained of good faith, of life, and of Christianity in their own communion, and subjected, by what Mouravieff calls an Ecumenical Council of the Orthodox Church, Russia directly, and themselves indirectly and eventually, to a lay papacy. They deposed and degraded, and delivered over to secular punishment, no alien, no heretic or evil-doer, but their own brother the patriarch of Moscow, a man no more a Papist certainly than themselves, for no other crime than that of claiming apostolical authority and liberty. As if this claim involved either the recognition of Nicon himself as a sort of Pope, with the cession of Moscow to make him independent of the civil power, or at least the resource for him, when wronged, of an appeal to the elder Rome, where alone, in the capital not of one state only but of all Gentile Christendom, there was already a sovereign Pontiff possessing territorial independence. And as regards Russia and the Russian Church more especially, the chief priests and the boyars delivered up their pastor, whom they had all sworn to obey, to the Council and to the Tsar. And the Tsar, indeed, like Pilate, acted with misgivings of conscience, and at times perhaps reluctantly, perplexed by dreams and portents, and vaguely fearing that he might bring down judgments on himself and on Russia. But the chief priests and the boyars, of fierce envy and malice, anticipating and accepting the alternative of a lay papacy, cried out: 'Away with him! Away with him! We have no head but the Tsar.'

Paisius of Gaza had already, in 1663, spread a report that Nicon had appealed to the Pope, Nicon having really said ironically, that, so far as Paisius was concerned, one might appeal to his old master the Pope; who could tell something about his antecedents. Also some of the boyars—near relatives of the Tsar—after turning his attention to the 'Donation of Constantine,' which Nicon had appended to the Kormchay, observed that there was no choice for him but either to put Nicon down, or to cede to him Moscow, as Constantine had ceded Rome to Pope Sylvester. The Polish ambassadors who were at Moscow in 1667, wrote to their court that the Tsar (having a hope of being elected to succeed John Casimir) had suggested to them to pay a visit to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and that they, having been duly primed, had exhorted them to labour for the union of the two kingdoms, saying that the Churches had in former times been united, and might be united again if it pleased God. 'Nevertheless,' the ambassadors added, 'we have been credibly informed that those patriarchs were brought from the Levant to depose the patriarch of Moscow, which they have just now done, chiefly for this reason, that he was favourable to the Roman Church.' Some years later, after the death of the Tsar Alexis, Simeon of Polotsk, then preceptor to the young Tsar Theodore Alexievich, and not on good terms with the titular patriarch Joachim, conceived the idea of setting up four patriarchs in Russia, and taking Nicon out of prison to be Pope over them all; a strange idea, certainly, that of creating by an act of the civil power a sham papacy. And when at length Nicon himself was dead, some Jesuit writers spread a report that he had even been reconciled to Rome, and had died a Catholic. Under all these stories and reports there was no foundation of truth whatever; no more than if any one were to assert that Socrates was a Jew, or that Mr. Newman, when he was writing his Lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism, was a Jesuit. Paisius of Gaza himself on one occasion, after asserting that Nicon appealed to the Pope, immediately subjoins these words: 'Not that he really thought about the Pope—how should he?—he who had been bred up in rude ignorance, far remote from all light of civilisation (*i.e.* not like myself, who know well enough how to think of the Pope, having been bred up in Rome at the Greek College or Propaganda).' Still, there is something in the fact that the idea of Nicon's having appealed to Rome took root, and has been perpetuated. Solovieff, though little inclined to admit that there even exists a question with two sides to it, yet in one place (vol. xi. p. 320), where he could not well avoid saying something, writes thus: 'Nothing angered Nicon so much as the assertion of Streshneff that the *Tsar* had *committed* to him the supervision of ecclesiastical causes, and had given him many privileges. In reply to this he spoke out his *view* of the relations of the imperial to the patriarchal power, a view which was *anything but in accordance with the traditions of the Eastern Church, as confirmed in Russian history.*' And he quotes a passage which the reader will find at p. 189, 190 of this volume. More than once it has been said in Russia to the present writer, that it would be nothing wonderful if a Catholic were to admire Nicon, as there was certainly something in the cast of his ideas *of a Western spirit and tendency.* In these things the religious and irreligious instinct in societies is very sharp and true. In vain Socrates protested his conformity, and vowed a cock to Esculapius. The Athenians judged, and judged rightly, that his teaching was a denial of their gods. In vain the leaders of the Anglican movement between 1833 and 1840 wrote against

Romanism no less than against Dissent, and made declarations of loyalty to that establishment which they were seeking to defend. The instinct of the people judged rightly; and told them, to their annoyance and indignation, before they had any misgiving of it themselves, that their opposition to Popery would break down.

The Græco-Russian Church, as has been said above, treated Nicon like a cruel step-mother. But is it possible, then, for the Catholic Church, as the true mother, to own him for a son, and to vindicate him against injustice, even as if he had really appealed to Rome? If this *were* possible, the fisherman might, perhaps, be casting his hook into the very entrails of the Russian Church. But at any rate this is not to be expected. What is more conceivable is this: That, when liberalism shall have thrown down existing barriers, by the concession of religious liberty; when the Russian Church shall be left to her own resources, exposed at once to the inroads of the Raskolniks and of the Catholics, much as the Anglican Church was thrown back upon herself by the political changes of 1828 and 1829; then, *in seeking, in the first instance, to defend herself, and especially against the Catholics*, she may discover that her real champion and representative was Nicon. And so, restoring the canonical primacy, and returning to an honest observance of the canons in his spirit (perhaps also acknowledging him for a saint), she may, as it were, restore him, in fulfilment of his dream, to his chair, and may go on with him to the encænia of that great house, on the building of which, by his testimony and by his patience, he unconsciously laboured; a house with a central hall *beyond the fifth*, of such vastness and splendour that Nicon, as he gazed at it, not knowing what it was, was stupefied with wonder and admiration.

It is possible, too, to imagine such changes in the world at large, as might make it the policy even of the Russian government to return towards faith and piety.

Suppose that, before long, the Turkish empire should come to its end, without Syria falling under the exclusive dominion or protection of Russia, and that, the Jewish nationality reappearing in Palestine, a part of that nationality should from Infidel become Christian, just as now a part of the Italian nationality have, from Christians and Catholics, become as infidel Jews. Suppose then that, within a century, St. Peter, in his successor, should go away from the Italians become Jews at Rome to the Jews become Christians at Jerusalem; a supposition which, after the experience of Avignon, cannot be rejected as absolutely impossible:

Suppose too that, in spite of great social changes, such as the cessation of all coercion in matters of belief or unbelief, and of the former union of church and state, there should still exist in Russia a government leaning rather on the orderly and religious than on the anarchical and irreligious part of the nation, when the pole of Christianity is shifted from the West to the East, 'the times of the Gentiles' and of the desolation of the Holy Land being fulfilled. Under such circumstances it might perhaps be as much the interest and policy of a Russian emperor to heal the Greek schism, as it was before the interest and policy of the Turkish sultans directly, and of the Russian sovereigns indirectly, to maintain and perpetuate it.

In publishing the *Replies of Nicon* by themselves we are doing like the epic poets, who carry their readers at once *in medias res*. For this some may blame us, and may wish that we had given them rather a Life, or at least such a preliminary essay as might have amounted to nearly the same thing. But we have had enough of histories which represent only the views of their writers, and which are the more misleading the more talent and research are employed in their composition. We prefer, therefore, to give documents so selected and put together, that the history contained in them may stand out of itself, for those at least that are capable of being instructed by it. And, as the 'Replies' of Nicon are a complete work, embodying his own statement and defence of his cause, we have chosen them to publish first. Hereafter, if it please God, we hope to print also a series of other documents, to serve as materials towards a History of his Life, till the same thing is done more fully and perfectly, as it ought to be done, in Russia itself. In the mean time, if any English reader wishes for more information on the subject than he has at present, we refer him to Blackmore's translation of Mouravieff's History of the Russian Church; and to our own Dissertations on Subjects relating to the Orthodox Communion, both published in London, by Masters, in 1842 and 1855.

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Reply to the *Preface* both of the Boyar Simeon Luc. Streshneff and of the Metropolitan of Gaza Paisius Ligarides, p. 1.

Question I. Nicon, when already a bishop, was reordained. What is to be said of this? *Answer.* He is deposed by the canons. *Reply*, p. 12.

Question II. Nicon forbade that condemned felons should be confessed and communicated. What of this? *Answer.* He violated the canons. *Reply*, p. 16.

Question III. Nicon, in robing, used a comb and a looking-glass. Is this right? *Answer.* Bishops are forbidden to adorn themselves. *Reply*, p. 19.

Question IV. Nicon, after abdicating the patriarchate, still ordains. What of this? *Answer.* Then he is degraded by the canons. *Reply*, p. 20.

Question V. Is a verbal abdication enough? *Answer.* An abdication made publicly in the church has most force of all. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 21; to *Paisius*, p. 23.

Question VI. Are the bishops culpable for not having disallowed Nicon's evil device? *Answer.* If he had only given them an opportunity of disallowing or preventing it, they would have been most deeply culpable. They acted strangely; but now they are doing better, and have taken counsel together to meet the occasion. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 30; to *Paisius*, p. 31.

Question VII. Would it be well that a synod should be held to settle this matter of the patriarch, that so there be no scandals and disturbances in the empire? *Answer.* By all means; a synod ought to be held. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 33; and to *Paisius*, ib.

Question VIII. Can the Tsar convoke that synod; or must it be convoked by patriarchal authority? *Answer.* The Tsar can convoke a synod in the same manner as the former Roman emperors did. *Reply* to *Paisius*, p. 40.

Question IX. Nicon contemned the synod held here [in A.D. 1660] at Moscow by command of the Tsar, and called it 'a Judaical synagogue.' What is to be said of this? *Answer.* Christ says, 'I am with you always, even to the end of the world;' and whoever he be that calls the holy synodical assemblies Judaical synagogues, he ought at once to be anathematised. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 40; to *Paisius*, p. 41.

In this Reply Nicon gives an account of the creation of the patriarchate of Moscow, and inserts from the *Skrijal*, printed by him in 1655, the final synodal act concerning it, as sent from C.P. after the act of 1590, p. 43 to 53.

Question X. What is to be said to the assertion that the patriarch is the head? *Answer.* Christ is the Head; the bishops are only the eyes and lips, and the laity the limbs. *Reply*, to *Paisius*, p. 54.

In the Russian MS. this Question and Answer and Nicon's Reply against them have not a separate heading; and it is true that Nicon deals with this Question X. before finally concluding his reply against Question IX. Still, in numbering and wording the separate headings, either the thirty Questions of Streshneff only, or Nicon's Replies only, should have been attended to throughout. As it is, the ten following headings, instead of X. XI. &c. ought to have been XI. XII. &c. From XX. to XXVII. they are all right.

Question XI. Can the members judge the head, and their own ruler? *Answer.* Certainly they can; else how are patriarchs to be judged who fall into sins of fornication? The only Head is Christ. All bishops, after the Apostles, have received alike the power to bind and to loose, and they have it in its fulness. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 59; to *Paisius*, p. 60.

Question XII. Nicon would never call the bishops his brethren, but regarded them all as vastly beneath him, because they had been consecrated by him. What of this? *Answer.* Once consecrated, they are equally bishops with himself, and his brethren. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 61; to *Paisius*, p. 63.

In this Reply is inserted a description of the office and qualities of a patriarch, especially a patriarch of Constantinople, from the Syntagma Alphabeticum of Matthew Blastar, p. 64.

Question XIII. Nicon styled himself 'Great Hossoudar,' because the Tsar always so called him. Did he do wrong? *Answer.* He did. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 65.

Question XIV. Nicon is now building a monastery, and he has named it 'The New Jerusalem.' Is it well so to transfer, and to dishonour, the name of the Holy City? *Answer.* O indignity! O extraordinary novelty! Not a new house, forsooth, but 'The New Jerusalem'! I hear too, O Nicon, that thou art writing about that new Messiah whom the Jews expect, and whom they may hope to see come from a new Jerusalem. At a guess, then, there should be with thee in thy New Jerusalem some mother of Antichrist? *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 67; to *Paisius*, p. 68.

In this Reply Nicon writes of Antichrist, p. 69, &c.

Question XV. Does not St. Germanus say that the prothesis figures Bethlehem, and the holy throne Christ's sepulchre? *Answer.* So it is: But Nicon's Jerusalem is not a mere copy as from a pattern, but it is [*i.e.* pretends to be] the very prototypal New Jerusalem itself; and so all the ecclesiastical institutions [which are not Niconian] are antiquated, because the truth of Jerusalem has ceased; there exists no longer the new [or Christian] Jerusalem, nor the mother of the churches, nor the chair of James the Lord's brother; and Christ spake falsely when he said, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail;' for now [according to Nicon] they have prevailed. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 78; to *Paisius*, p. 79.

In this Reply Nicon writes of the unity of the Church from St. Paul's prefaces to the Epistles to the Corinthians and to the Galatians, p. 83-87, and of Icons, p. 87-89.

Question XVI. Nicon plundered the episcopal see of Kolomna, not liking to have another bishop so close to the patriarch. What is to be said of this? *Answer.* For this too he incurs penalties by the canons. *Reply*, to both *Streshneff* and *Paisius* at once, p. 89.

Question XVII. Nicon organises baggage-trains, and builds fortified precincts, and loves to dwell in waste and unpeopled places; and he has filled those places with his hired men and retainers. Should a bishop do thus? *Answer.* No; he ought not. However, it was not amiss that Neikon should live in unpeopled places, since there he would have nobody to quarrel with. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 93; to *Paisius*, p. 94.

Question XVIII. Nicon says that he is not out of his diocese, but has withdrawn from Moscow only for temporary reasons. *Answer.* The chair of C.P. exists only at C.P., and the chair of Jerusalem only at Jerusalem. He has no longer any right to call himself patriarch of Moscow who has gone away from Moscow. If, indeed, there had been any destruction through war, or other like cause, it would be allowable to remove to another place, as has been done with the chairs of Antioch and of Alexandria. But now by the mercy of God Moscow lives and reigns. Wherefore, then, dost thou abstract from her the chair, and carry it away to a monastery, without the Tsar's cognisance, and without the counsel of all the bishops and of the clergy; seeing that thou art not by thyself alone an irresponsible head and autocratic ruler? For canon xxxiv. of the Apostles says, that the bishops are not to do anything without their primate and head; but that neither is he to do anything without the consent of them all. And why didst thou not make known the secret reasons of thy departure, but without any consultation or communication, merely of thine own will, didst go away? And after his departure, why did he not explain himself by writing, instead of leaving all without a word for so long, for four years and more [*i. e.* to the autumn of 1662], that so the affair might cause no noise? Why did he not himself demand a synod, that so he might purge himself, and justify himself, explaining what he taught? However, the passion of self-love is dreadful; and that pride is cursed, which produces such acts. And thereby he, Nicon, has now suffered of his own self-will that which he himself sought for [*i. e.* he has been taken at his own word]. *Reply*, to *Paisius*, p. 96.

Question XIX. Was it right in Nicon to fly through fear? *Answer.* He who does good works never fears. Even if it had been needful to fly, yet, as soon as the danger was over, he ought to have returned, on account of the scandal caused by his absence; because now so many souls [*e.g.* of the Raskolniki] are going astray. A pastor must feed his flock, a bishop must superintend, a labourer must work. The rod of Moses was of hazel wood, but that of Aaron of almond. The naturalists write, that when leaves of the almond or hazel are put into a bed, they have the effect of preventing the man who lies on them from sleeping for any long time. Christ said, Simon, watchest thou? [he now says] Nicon, sleepest thou? This sleep is a *lethargy* (*i. e.* a deadly sloth). It is not right '*for a man to sleep long who has counsels on his head*' (quoting a verse of Homer). No, it is not right. Are there not now not one year only but five years? And they are all to be accounted for. *Reply*, to *Streshneff* (referring him to what has been written above); to *Paisius*, p. 107.

In this Reply is inserted part of an Epistle of St. Nicon of the Black Mountain [A.D. 1060], on the appropriation of church property by secular rulers, p. 120.

Question XX. Has the Tsar sinned in that he has let the Church remain in widowhood? *Answer.* If he does that for some reasonable considerations unknown to us, and in the way of economy, he sins not *mortally;* nevertheless he is not, no he is not, free from the lesser or venial sin: because many are scandalised, and ascribe that his conduct to remissness, as if he were not anxious about the matter nor attended to it. And the very chiefest care of a Tsar is the care of the Church, because the Tsar's estate can never be firmly settled nor prosperous, so long as the estate of his mother the Church of God is not firmly settled. For the Church, O most illustrious Tsar, is thy mother; and as thou art bound to honour thy mother that bare thee, so also thou oughtest to love and honour exceedingly thy spiritual mother, which has borne thee anew in the holy laver of baptism, and which has anointed thee to the empire with oil and the chrism of gladness. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 122; to *Paisius*, p. 123.

Warnings of Kore, Dathan, and Abiram, of Saul and of Uzziah, p. 130-3.

Question XXI. And if there are any bishops and boyars who do not petition the Tsar, and move him to make a complete end, and to set all to rights in this business, do they sin? *Answer.* They sin much and grievously, because they do not consider the good of the commonwealth, and only leave the Church in degradation, when they might put an end to so great a disgrace. And so they show no zeal, nor affection for such a dignity as the patriarchate. And thereby they deserve blame; because whoso is able to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin. We know that in the week of the Passion of our Redeemer we are all in mourning. On the contrary, on the festival of his holy Resurrection we put on bright garments, and rejoice. So now we have the utmost sorrow for the widowhood and separation of the Church of God, and we should have the utmost joy if our mother the Church were to put off her garments of mourning, and array herself in bright apparel. The Church of the patriarchate is in widowhood because he who has renounced her is thenceforth accounted as a man dead, but she desires to possess her husband. What then? How long is she to live in mourning? and how long is she to wear that garb of tears without consolation? If a man abandon his wife, and for four years show no thought of her, nor provide for her maintenance, the canon allows her to become the wife of another. And may not much more the Church of God take another husband, seeing that Nicon, who is buried alive, takes no care of her, nor feeds her? But when ye, O ye bishops, take no care for the election and appointment of a patriarch, who else will do it? Do that which it belongs to you to do. That is your duty; that is your care. Therefore, O ye pastors, why are ye regardless of the patriarchal chair, which is the common flock? Beware, lest your negligence provoke God to vengeance; for the prophet Zachariah says, 'I see a flying sickle, in length twenty cubits and in breadth ten cubits.' 'Behold, what is so good or what is so lovely, as for brethren to dwell together in unity?' There is nothing else, however honourable, better than the mutual counsel and union of brotherly love. Wherefore then do ye, O ye bishops, not bear one another's burdens, nor aid one another in common [*i. e.* by a synodal act]? We have a commandment from God to love our neighbour as ourselves. All Christians, as being of one faith, ye are bound to love, but more especially your own people and kindred. And if ye yourselves do not take care for your own well-being and honour, what stranger will do it for you? *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 134; to *Paisius*, p. 135.

Question XXII. Nicon anathematises and interdicts. But is his curse now of any force? Ought we to fear it or not? *Answer.* An anathema is like lightning, a curse is as a two-edged sword. But in this it surpasses the bolt of lightning, that if it be hurled with justice, it blasts the guilty, but if undeservedly, it returns back upon him who pronounces it. He who is justly anathematised is at once delivered over to Satan. Therefore there is need that both he who pronounces, and he who hears pronounced against himself a curse, should both of them have their eyes wide open; because it is not well to mock God. God is a God of vengeance; and to fall into the hands of God is the most fearful of all fearful things. Thus writes the Apostle Paul: If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also fall into the same temptation. Be not hasty, O ye pastors, to hurl shafts of lightning, seeing that ye are shepherds of souls, taking care of them not by force, but by love, not as lords, but by spiritual order. But be ye a pattern to your order, that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye may receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away. So teaches the Apostle Peter, the head of all the Apostles. Be ye therefore merciful, even as your heavenly Father is merciful. Do ye not remember what the Lord said to the sons of Zebedee, who sought to move him to wrath, that he should punish with fire from heaven the Samaritans? Ye know not what spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man has not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. How much more then should we, who are people of like faults and passions with them, be merciful and humane to our own brethren? *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 151; to *Paisius*, p. 156.

In this Reply Nicon gives the reasons for which he had anathematised Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutitz, p. 157 to 172.

Question XXIII. Is it proper for a bishop to scourge, and to strike, and to exile, all which things Nicon did, and was never satisfied with doing, both to lay people and to those of the clergy? *Answer.* I see no better virtue in a man than justice and *patience*, nor any worse evil than *anger*. We praise Abraham for his patience, &c.; we honour Moses for his patience towards the people who were disobedient and ungrateful; we admire the meekness of Job. Paul patiently endured many labours and hardships, of which he himself writes. David endured the ingratitude of his son Absalom, and the malice of Shimei, who followed him cursing, and casting stones at him. 'Touch not,' it is written, 'mine anointed, and against my prophets be not malicious.' The anointed are all the sacerdotal order, for 'Thou hast made us kings and priests,' according to the Apocalypse. Kings we become when we master our passions, priests when we offer to God all our senses. For Epicurus was a fool when he denied that a man can endure to be patient, or to resist temporal disturbances. Rather, on the contrary, he is then a philosopher when he endures with patience. And it is not proper for a bishop to inflict such cruel punishments; and the bishop who acts otherwise will hear that rebuke of Christ, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.' To the secular prince it is given to gird on the sword, but not to a man in holy orders. Seest thou not that all the episcopal vestments are garments emblematic of *meekness* and justice? The *sticharion* signifies angelic purity, and the bright life becoming a bishop; the *epitrachelion* is the perfect grace of the Holy Spirit from above; the *maniples* are the shackles binding the hands of Christ; the *cincture* is his ligature; the *epigonation* is Christ's victory and resurrection, and it is shaped like a sword, having upon it either the crucifixion or the resurrection, in accordance with that verse of the psalm, 'Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most Mighty;' the *palitsa* is victory; the *sakkos* figures the passion and crucifixion of Christ; the *omophorion* signifies the lost sheep which Christ took upon his shoulders; the *panagia* is the incarnation; the *mitre* is the royal priesthood. All these episcopal robes signify *patience*, *meekness*, temperance, and the most precious of all virtues, justice. *Reply* (to both together) p. 172.

Question XXIV. Our most prosperous Tsar committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical causes, *i.e.* he granted him all the privileges granted by Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester. What is to be said of this? *Answer.* The Tsar of his own good will and pleasure may honour whom he pleases. It is optional for him to honour or not to honour. However, they who receive honour from the Tsar ought to receive it with circumspection and fear, and to keep upon their guard. Haman thought to be paraded on the king's horse, wearing the royal robes. So in fact did Constantine the Great to Sylvester, and so did Justinian to Agapetus, who consecrated the Patr. Menas at C.P. For Justinian also held the horse on which Agapetus sat by the bridle, just as thou, O most pious Tsar, doest on Palm Sunday. However, it is not every man who can understand; for understanding is the mother of all righteousness. Satan boasts himself in the gifts with which God has endowed him, without being able to use them humbly. It would have been better for Nicon to have had fewer privileges, because they have puffed him up, and brought him into troubles. Nicon has admired himself in them as in a glass: and that has befallen him which the poets write of Narcissus, who, in the waters of the crystal stream contemplating his own image, fell in love with it, and bent down to kiss it, and, as he bent down more eagerly than was safe, he fell in and was drowned. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 189; to *Paisius*, p. 237.

In his Reply to Streshneff Nicon speaks of the antichristian usurpations of the secular power, p. 190; contrasts Christ's precepts from the Sermon on the Mount with the Tsar's contrary conduct, p. 197; writes out the Donation of Constantine, p. 207; and the Ordinance of Vladimir, p. 217; shows that the priesthood receives not privileges from royalty, but royalty from the priesthood, p. 225; gives (chiefly from the Kormchay of 1653) an account of the divine origin and constitution of the hierarchy, p. 229; of the same in Russia, p. 230; of the erection of the patriarchate of Moscow, p. 231; gives the act of Theophanes, patr. of Jerusalem, recording his having consecrated Philaret Nikitich in 1619 to be patriarch of Moscow, p. 232; and the instruction then addressed by Theophanes to the young Tsar Michael, p. 233; and passages from the prayers used at the ordination of a bishop, p. 238.

In replying to Paisius he writes of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, and of Haman, p. 238; quotes from the prayers used at the consecration of a Tsar, p. 242; gives the instruction addressed to the Tsar Alexis Mich. at his coronation in 1645, p. 245; discusses at length the relations of the two swords, *i.e.* the spiritual and temporal authorities, to one another, p. 250; and gives a portion of the oath or engagement taken by the Tsar at his coronation, p. 255.

Question XXV. Has the Tsar power to take away those privileges from the man to whom he may have granted them? *Answer.* Yes; he has: for the spiritual law says, 'Gifts given to the unthankful shall be taken back from them.' He should, however, be cautious how he gives such gifts. God, according to the Apostle, has set some apostles, others prophets: he has not given to one all gifts, that that one should not have incitements to *forwardness*, and so come to be excluded from his grace. But, as Ezekiel says, 'Thine heart was lifted up in thy beauty, and thy wisdom was corrupted by thy brightness: for the multitude of thy sins I have cast thee down to the ground; I have given thee to be made an example, and to be put to shame before kings . . . thou art become destruction, and shalt be no more for ever.' Milo of Crotona—so strong was he in his own conceit—expected that he should have strength also in his hands, and it befell him exactly as it befell Polydamas, who, wishing with his hands to support a cavern of rock, was crushed: so Milo attempted to rend a tree in twain, but, when he had only cleft it asunder, his strength was exhausted, and the tree flying back caught his hands and held them wedged in its trunk: and after a time the wolves came and devoured him alive. Seeing Nicon in the midst of so many benefits ungrateful, what think ye? Is not such ingratitude from an excess of malice and covetousness? Ingratitude is like the wind of the desert which dries up everything, flowers, herbs, fruits, and rivers. It is like the sea, which, though it receives into itself so many rivers of sweet water, yet it turns them all to bitter and salt. There are four classes of ungrateful men. Some know not the benefits they have received, nor ever pray for their guardians and providers, nor thank their Creator for the good he has given them so richly. These are like hogs, which eat acorns without ever looking at the oak producing them. Others drown their virtues for their own filthy gains, not heeding Christ, who says, 'Remember the word which I spake unto you.' Such were the Jews who reviled Moses, and God himself, who gave them manna and flesh morning and evening. Another class of ungrateful men are they who forget the benefits they have received. Hence this verse, 'Ανὴρ ἀχάριστος εἶ παθὼν ἀμνημονεῖ. But a certain sage says, Κακῶν μὲν ὧν ἄν τις παθῇ χρῆ λησμονεῖν, 'Αγαθῶν δ' ἁπάντων εἰς ἀεὶ μνήμην ἔχειν. ('The wrongs that we may have had done to us we ought to forget; but all the benefits we ought to remember for ever.') And again, 'The ill that is done to us we should write on the sand, but the good we should cut in stone.' But we do the contrary. The ill that is done to us we cut in stone, but the good we write on the sand. Another class of ungrateful men are they who turn the benefits they have received to malice and to loss. The having done good to such is the thing about which the royal prophet lamented; and for this cause he exclaimed, 'Judge, O Lord, them that wrong me; fight thou against them that fight against me . . . They have recompensed me evil for good' ('*they*,' *i.e.* Nicon, '*me*,' *i.e.* the Tsar), 'and great disappointment to my soul.' *Reply* (to both together), p. 258.

In this Reply Nicon writes out two grants of the Tsar, made in 1655 and 1654, *to Almighty God*, out of *gratitude* for his great mercies, and to our Lady, and to the Saints of the Iversky monastery, as examples of the 'privileges' to be taken back on account of the *ingratitude* of *Nicon*, p. 258. He dwells upon the sin of Cain, who, having himself offered amiss, envied and slew his brother, p. 271; of Pharaoh, Achan, Belshazzar, Ahaz, Antiochus Epiphanes, Heliodorus, &c. p. 275; and of Ananias and Sapphira, who gave and took back, from St. John Chrysostom's Comment. on the Acts, p. 275; he quotes from St. Gregory Theol. and St. Basil, respecting the example set by St. Athanasius, who thrice withdrew from persecution, p. 281.

Question XXVI. Nicon inveighs against the Tsar, because he established the Monastery Court, and placed in it lay judges; and because he appoints to monasteries archimandrites and hegoumens. What of this? *Answer.* Grant it true that heretofore the Monastery Court did not exist, or that at least it was our Tsar, Alexis Mich., who caused it to be brought into activity, as one who loves better order, and is able to bring words [lying before a dead letter] to good effect, then I say: The judgments of *other* men than *ourselves* are best [*i.e.* it is better to have secular judges]. We need a judge sitting in his place, to hear the pleadings, and to consider who has the best of it, and what the rights of the case are, and who shall then pass a sentence to justify the good and to punish the guilty, even as God blesses and crowns the righteous man, and brings down and punishes the proud and unrighteous: for it is written, 'God shall scatter the bones of the menpleasers.' I ask, Did Nicon ever exercise such jurisdiction? Did he ever sit in his seat of judgment to hear complaints and quarrels of anybody? Never! Only, he kept secular persons who judged in his courts (Prikazi), and distributed petitions [*i.e.* the written informations, answers, suits, and pleadings, addressed to him] to the people of his court (dvor), and they pretty often decided straight to be crooked, and crooked to be straight. Is it thus that *judges* do? Is it thus that patriarchs deal with their sons, they who are fathers of fathers? But blessed are they that hunger and thirst for justice; for they [by the happy providence of the Tsar] shall be filled. Justice lives for ever; and when this exists, though alone, the just Tsar can do all things: for he is more brilliant than the sun. They call emperors and patriarchs by names of all virtues, because they are patterns for all, but especially for justice, the queen of good works; on which account people of old by this one word, 'justice,' intended to name all virtues.

But that the Tsar can appoint archimandrites and all ecclesiastical authorities, this is one of the imperial privileges, and the custom of nations in general, that he should distribute offices and functions. The Tsar has lordship to give power and honour, &c. The things which are heavenly belong to the judgment of God, but the things which are of earth belong to the judgment of the Tsar. Why is the eagle represented with two heads? It is because it expands into the ecclesiastical and the secular dignities. Matthew Blastar, explaining why the emperor entered within the altar to the holy mysteries, gives among other reasons this, 'because he is anointed of God; and therefore also they appoint patriarchs.' They appoint patriarchs. And can they not, then, choose archimandrites and hegoumens? *Reply* to *Streshneff*, p. 292; to the Prince *Nikita Iv. Odoefsky*, the compiler of the Code of 1648, p. 356; to *Paisius*, p. 549.

In the Reply to Streshneff, of the immunity of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, p. 293, &c.; passages from St. Gregory Theol. of laymen judging St. Athanasius, p. 305; of St. Basil's behaviour before the governors, p. 307; a long extract from the Life of St. John Chrysostom, p. 312; examples of Saul, David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Artaxerxes, p. 322; decrees of Constantine and Justinian, p. 329; ordinances of St. Vladimir and of Yaroslaf, p. 330; yarliks of the Tatar Khans, p. 332; council of the Hundred Chapters, held under John IV. Basil. A.D. 1550, p. 336; two constitutions of the same council, p. 344 to 346; canons and civil laws, p. 346. But in 1648 order was given for the compilation of a new code by Prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, &c. without any commission, however, to devise *new* laws (It was by this Code that the Monastery Court was created), p. 351. Judgment is God's, not the Tsar's. This shown from the Old Testament, p. 356; and from the New, by the example of Christ himself, p. 364; warnings and denunciations from the scriptures, p. 365; from the canons, p. 376; from the constitutions of Constantine and Vladimir, &c. p. 379; repetition of warnings from Deuteronomy, p. 380; and from the prophets, all applicable to the apostasy of Christians in the latter days, p. 383. Some of these have been *already* fulfilled in Russia (especially in 1654, 1656, 1659 and 1660), p. 388.

Apostrophising Prince Nikita Odoefsky himself as the author of the Code (and he was afterwards president of the Monastirski Prikaz created by it), Nicon taxes him with an enormous fraud in composing the Code, and with an audacious falsehood in making it assert of itself that it was all taken, according to the order made to its compilers, from the canons and the Greek civil laws, and repeats that judgment is God's, p. 390. He exposes the emphatic adulation of the Tsar, joined with heedless irreverence towards Christ and the canons, contained in enactments of the Code about festivals (quoting at length from St. Gregory Theol.), p. 391; blames the Tsar for not forbidding people to call him a god upon earth, p. 401; treats of the apostasy prophesied of by St. Paul, and of antichrist, p. 403; and of the persecution by the dragon of the woman who is fed in the wilderness during 1260 days, p. 408; we now see the beginning of the apostasy, p. 419.

Then he goes through the whole of the New Testament, showing how the Holy Spirit nowhere speaks or legislates without references to the law and the prophets, and testimonies from them. And if so, much less can anything be done now by Christians, or by Christian rulers and legislators (except they be apostatising), without reference to the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and to the divine canons and spiritual laws of the Church. This collection of testimonies Nicon marks off, so that the reader may pass it over if he pleases, p. 423 to 463.

Then, returning to the Code, after recapitulating the preceding argument, he argues that, If thy Code enacts such penalties as burning at the stake for blasphemy, and death without mercy for treasonable practices against the Tsar, as by fraudulent abuse of his authority, by forging or corrupting documents or signatures, or abusing his seal, what punishment will not thy blasphemy and thy fraud against the King of kings deserve? p. 468. Instead of Christ's precepts with regard to injuries, the Code enacts for clergy as well as laity a graduated scale of retaliations, by satisfactions in stripes, and in imprisonments, and in money, p. 472. Also it enacts unequal punishments, 'favouring thyself, and all like thyself' (*i.e.* the boyars and okolniks), p. 475. It creates the Monastery Court to judge all causes affecting the clergy and monks, and their property and their people, without at the same place distinctly specifying *who* are to be the judges in that court; but elsewhere in the same Code it is said that the judgment of the Tsar in all causes between man and man for *all the people* (no distinction being made of the clergy) of the Muscovite empire, from the least to the greatest, is to be given by the boyars, and okolniks, and people of the council, and secretaries, and all the people of their prikazes, and the judges, p. 477. This certainly is 'written out' from no canons nor Greek civil laws, quoting from them, p. 478; then he quotes Christ's precepts from the gospel, p. 479. The Code preserves, indeed, to the patriarch's prikaz or court its jurisdiction over his own dvor-people, and those of his house-estates, 'because such was heretofore the custom;' but at the same time, the patriarch himself by other enactments is made amenable to all the other lay tribunals at the suit of any person, whoever it may happen to be, p. 481. The Code enacts penalties against such as take from a Tsar's officer his warrant or minute of instructions, or the Tsar's letters, or tear them up, or show any disrespect. But if any clerk, dragged before a secular tribunal by virtue of such enactments of the Code, took away, tore up, or spat or trampled upon a writ or Tsar's letter, he would not endanger his salvation any more than the early confessors and martyrs, p. 486. The Code enacts heavy penalties against clerks or monks, from a metropolitan downwards, dishonouring by word any boyar or okolnik. Is not this, Nicon says, a law of Antichrist himself, that no one should dare to preach to any one of the justice of the word of God? p. 487; of the precepts of Christ in the gospel which are disregarded and broken, p. 489; if Christ says, 'Woe to him who causeth one of these little ones to offend!' what of him who causes a whole people, and successive generations, to apostatise, as Manasseh, and as Julian the apostate? And yet they persecuted openly; but thou covertly, by thy wicked fraud, p. 495. Whoever now of the clergy consent to this legislation, and act voluntarily according to it, they are all degraded by the canons; and those whom they ordain are unordained, and those who officiate with them are also deposed, p. 500. They too who through secular rulers take or hold churches are all deposed (and now everything is done by ukaz of the Tsar), p. 501. And after writing at length of the administration of the Church by the metropolitan of Kroutitz under the Tsar, he concludes: If one lawless act of a bishop in a diocese not his own subjects him to deposition, what of him who now for six years and more has been governing many dioceses solely by command of a secular ruler? If such a diseased member is not cut off, with those that he has ordained, *the whole body*, as the Lord says, 'will be cast into outer darkness.' But to return to the Code. It says falsely (p. 510), that in time past, by the canons, for priests and monks, instead of swearing on the cross, there was a *lot*, enacting that, for the future, an archimandrite, or hegoumen, or priest, or deacon only, is to have some one else, not a priest, to kiss the cross for him, while all clerks and monks besides, and all the people, contrary to Christ's precept, are to be sworn on the cross, p. 511. Then of oaths, with an extract from St. John Chrysostom, to 533. Thou hast sought to adulterate the Church, ib.; but the Church, the body of Christ, the bride and the Lamb's wife, is divine. The gates of hell cannot prevail against her. The gospel has come to us from heaven, and man cannot set it aside, to p. 539. By the Code the suburbs (slobodi) belonging to the patriarch, or to other bishops, or to monasteries, are to be taken to the Tsar, p. 540. Then of Church property, and that its confiscation benefits nobody, to 548.

In replying to Paisius, Nicon tells him that by the canons he is deposed; and all that receive such are also deposed and excommunicated; even if it be the Tsar himself who transgresses the canons, he falls under the penalties of the canons, p. 551; of the secular judges customarily appointed by concurrence with the civil ruler to judge in episcopal courts, that this is according to the canons; and that Nicon also constantly sat and judged personally, p. 550-553; of the pride of the Tsar's horse and eagle, p. 555, 559; and of his overpassing his bounds, and of the true Melchisedec [*i. e.* King of Justice], and of the King of kings on the white horse in the Apocalypse, p. 557; humility of David, p. 560; and of Solomon, 561; judgments of God against the proud, p. 565; the permission for the emperor to enter the sanctuary is connected in the canon with the custom of his offering to God; and now the Tsar offers not, but plunders, p. 567; prayers used in making a catechumen and in baptising, p. 571; in baptism all alike vow to God to keep his commandments, p. 573. The mere name of a Christian profits nothing; and he who breaks an oath is subjected to ten years of penance; he who denies Christ is to communicate only at the hour of death, to p. 580. But the Tsar has broken his oath thrice over: first, the vow of his baptism; secondly, that made when he was anointed to the empire (reciting the instruction then addressed to him, p. 582); and thirdly, that which he with all his boyars made when [in 1652] Nicon was elected to the patriarchate, p. 583. How and why Nicon, in 1658, withdrew from Moscow, p. 583; how the Tsar at three different times sent his commissioners to Voskresensk, in consequence of the malicious suits and calumnies of Roman Babarikin and Ivan Sitin; with the details of what passed on the last occasion, when the Prince N. Odoefsky and the Metropolitan Paisius of Gaza were, at the head of the joint civil and ecclesiastical commission, charged to make inquest as to the information made by Roman Babarikin against Nicon, that he had publicly cursed the Tsar, p. 584-601.

Question XXVII. What of one who calls our Tsar a tyrant, and dares to revile him as an unrighteous invader and plunderer; what ought to be done to him, according to the canons? *Answer.* Canon lxxxiv. of the Apostles writes: 'Whoever reviles the emperor unjustly shall be *punished* [kaznen, *i.e.* civilly, and even capitally]; and if he be of the spiritual order, he shall be deposed; but if he be a layman, he shall be anathematised.' The Church, it is true, has no sword [*i.e.* to execute the above sentence]. However, Matthew Blastar makes a distinction, and says that he who vilifies the emperor may have done this as a fool, and we must then make an exception of him on account of his folly; or he may have been out of his mind, and then he is to be pitied; or he may have been wronged, and then he is to be excused; but if none of these is the case, he will be *punished with death.* But if the reviling be only written and not divulged, any one coming upon it, if he does not at once cast it into the fire, but reads and divulges it, is plainly to suffer the same punishment as is awarded in the holy canons, viz. the *punishment of death.* Of which punishment of death he also is worthy who has written a vituperative writing against the emperor. *Reply*, to *Streshneff*, p. 604; to *Paisius*, p. 605-615.

Question XXVIII. Nicon justifies himself by this, that they never summoned him to a synod to clear himself by giving reasons for his departure. What are we to say? *Answer.* Nicon ought of himself to have appeared before the synod, or to have sent a letter. To this there is no separate *Reply*, enough having been said before at p. 55, 56, 99, 105.

Question XXIX. Nicon blames his bishops because they have not kept their oaths, but have cast him off, and gone off from their obedience to him. What of this? *Answer.* A promise is not an oath. Bishops do not *swear.* They promised obedience only for good and rightful acts. No separate *Reply.* See above, p. 136-138.

Question XXX. Nicon cursed the Boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff for teaching his dog [which he named Nicon] to bless like the patriarch. Is it right to curse for such a cause? *Answer.* If a mouse eats the host, it does not communicate. So neither is a dog's blessing really a blessing. It is not right to make a jest of holy things; but neither is it right to curse for trifles; for it makes the curse to be despised. Neither to this is there any separate *Reply.* See p. 11, 16, 23.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 9, line 23, *before* Eulogius *insert* to
15, ,, 36, *for* Joseph *read* Joasaph I.
21, ,, 36, *after* July *insert* A.D. 1658,
31, ,, 31, *for* canon xv. *read* canon xx.
36, ,, 3, ,, 21st ,, 23d.
37, ,, 22, ,, [lx.] ,, [and lx.]
39, ,, 29, ,, [of Constantinople] *read* [of the same diœcese]
40, ,, 15, ,, canon v. ,, canon v. [vi.] of the Seventh.
42, ,, 23, ,, xv. ,, xx.
43, ,, 2, correct the reference by Appendix, p. 643 and 646.
46, ,, 33, *for* lxxv. *read* lxxxv.
53, ,, 29, ,, (Kormchay of 1653) *read* (Skrijal of Oct. 1655.)
95, ,, 13, ,, canon lx. [lxv.] ,, canon lxv. [lx.]
99, ,, 38, ,, 167 ,, 167 [166=A.D. 1658]
102, ,, 20, ,, vi. [v.] ,, v. [vi.]; and in lines 27, 28, *for* canon xii. [xx.] *read* canon xii. [or xx. ?; but canon xii. also is to the point]
109, line 4, *after* seven *insert* [five current, to the autumn of A.D. 1662]
118, ,, 24, ,, xxxvii. *insert* [xxxviii.]
141, ,, 25, *for* Kouchin [Lopouchin] *read* Soukin
147, ,, 29, 'The gloss' &c. correct from the Appendix, p. 649, 650; and in the note *for* canon ciii. *read* canon xciii.
148, in the note *after* canon xcii. *insert* [xciii.]
158, line 15, *for* [x.] *read* [xiii.]; and in line 36, *after* Kroutitz *insert* [in A.D. 1661]; and in the note *for* canon x. *read* canon xiii.
166, line 29, *for* [the Second Ecumenical] *read* [under Photius, A.D. 879]; and in line 30, *after* Damasus *insert* [John VIII.]
190, line 11, *for* testifieth *read* testifiest
217, ,, 7, ,, canon lxxxvii. [lxxxiii.] *read* the lxxxvii. canons or heads
240, ,, 35, ,, he ,, that circumstance
308, in line 6 of the footnote, *for* οὐδὲ ,, οὐ δὲ
327, 328, correct the passage from the Novells by Appendix, p. 640, 641.
329, 330, correct from Appendix, p. 612, 613.
330, line 10, *for* Aurantius *read* Orontius, and let the note begin thus: 'The patriarch of C.P. meant is Nicholas Chrysoberges,' &c.
348, lines 4 to 22, correct by Appendix, p. 614, 615.
390, line 11, *for* turn *read* return
477, ,, 10, *before* okolniks *insert* boyars and
513-515, correct by Appendix, p. 651.
519, line 25, *for* lx. and lxxii. *read* lxiv. and lxxxii.
552, ,, 10, ,, lxxvi. [lxxv.] ,, lxxv. [lxxvi.]
606, ,, 21, 40, correct by Appendix, p. 648.
624, last line, and 625 first line, omit the words 'and Carthage'

THE

REPLIES OF THE PATRIARCH NICON.

REPLIES OF THE HUMBLE NICON, BY THE MERCY OF GOD PATRIARCH, AGAINST THE QUESTIONS OF THE BOYAR SIMEON STRESHNEFF, WHICH HE WROTE TO THE METROPOLITAN OF GAZA, PAISIUS LIGARIDES, AND AGAINST THE ANSWERS OF PAISIUS.

IN your preface it is written: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ has said, "I am the way, and the life, and the truth," &c.'

Reply. Why do ye begin from truth? Ye have written all that ye have written without regard to truth, as shall be shown farther on. But know that ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abideth not in the truth, for there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of lies. Tell me, Simeon, what scriptures bid thee to bear witness against me of things that thou knowest not? though the Lord says, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with whatever judgment ye judge ye shall be judged' (Matt. vii. 1). 'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned' (Luke vi. 37). 'Therefore judge not before the time, until the Lord come to bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and to make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God' (1 Cor. iv. 1-5). Thou oughtest, O Simeon, first to have corrected thyself of whatever sins [thou hast to correct]: as the Lord says, 'Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how sayest thou to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye, and behold a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite; first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye' (Matt. vii. 3-6). 'Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest. For with that judgment wherewith thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself. For thou that judgest doest the same things. But we know that the judgment of God is in truth against them that do such things. But thinkest thou this, O man, who judgest them that do such things and doest thyself the same, that thou wilt escape the judgment of God?' (Rom. ii. 1-3.) But of this we will say no more.

But thou, O Paisius, writing to the Boyar Simeon Streshneff, sayest, 'I have been trained by the supreme teacher of Jerusalem, my Christ, to preach the truth alike in the streets and in the places of the church. I am set aloft on the ambons to give this my answer,' &c. It is commanded thee in thine own province and see to teach and preach, but not wherever thou goest, without permission of the M. H. Ecumenical Patriarchs. The Lord says, 'I proceeded forth, and am come from God; for I am not come of myself, but he sent me' (John viii. 42). 'They that were scattered abroad after the persecution of Stephen went even as far as unto Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch; not preaching the word to any, however, but unto the Jews only' (Acts xi. 19). 'Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, chosen for the preaching of the gospel of Christ' (Rom. i. 1). 'How shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?' (Rom. x. 14, 15.) 'Paul, apostle of Jesus Christ, by the commandment of God our Saviour,' &c. (1 Tim. i. 1). But to thee who has given any commandment to come hither to teach and to make new laws? Canon v. of the ecumenical council of Chalcedon: 'Let bishops who go from city to city be punished according to the canons made for them' (Kormchay, fol. 95, but in ed. of 1834 fol. 38). The gloss: 'It is said in canon xiii. of Antioch, that a bishop is not to presume to go from his own province into another, and to ordain, or to do any other episcopal act, without the consent of the local bishop. And if he does anything of the kind, let him be punished for his disorderly conduct, and be degraded from his rank by the holy Trinity. The same therefore is enacted here also by this canon.'[1] 'If a bishop, not being called or requested by any other, go off to another province and ordain, or do any acts of authority, let the acts be null, and let the bishop himself be deposed' (Kormchay, ed. 1834, fol. 27). The gloss: 'You will find many canons about this, forbidding a bishop to go from his own province into another and to ordain there, or do any other episcopal act, unless he be called in and requested by the bishop of the diocese. But for him who of himself goes into another diocese, and there ordains, or acts in ecclesiastical matters not belonging to him, the canons decree not only that all his acts are null, but also that he himselt shall be deposed' [Bever. i. p. 443]. Canon iii. of the local synod of Sardica: 'Let no bishop, uninvited, go to another city. And if a bishop have any cause with another bishop, let him not call in stranger bishops. But [if he is not content thus] let the bishop of Rome judge; and, if he thinks fit, then other bishops also shall come in' (Kormchay, fol. 109). The gloss: 'In divers canons it is said that no bishop is to presume to go out of his own bounds into another diocese, unless he be called in by the metropolitan of that province and the bishops who are with him. The same is also the decree of this present synod. But if any bishop have a dispute with his fellow bishop about any matter, he is to be judged with him before the synod of his own province; and he may not call in as arbitrators any of the bishops from another province; but he must be judged only by the bishops of his own. But if the judgment satisfy him not, and he thinks himself wronged, the metropolitan and the bishops who have judged him shall make known in writing to the Pope of Rome the case, and their own decision upon it. And if he also is dissatisfied with that decision, he either, after himself examining it, writes back to them, or else he bids the bishops of some other province which is near to them to hold a synod and rejudge the cause for him' [*i. e.* for the appellant].[2] Canon xii.:[3] 'A bishop who has come by invitation into another diocese, if so be that the bishop inviting him be unlearned, is not to speak often in public; for this would bring reproach on the ignorant bishop, and would look like seeking to supplant him: and both these things are criminal' (K. fol. 44, 1834). Canon xiii:[1] 'Without some grave necessity, it is an evil for a bishop to absent himself from his church for any long time.' The gloss on both these canons: 'If any bishop go to another city, being invited by the local bishop, and it chance that the bishop inviting him be unskilled in teaching, the bishop invited shall not be forward to teach the people, nor speak much in public; for to do this would naturally cause disturbance, and bring reproach on the bishop who invited him. He would appear too by such ostentation to be courting to himself another church than his own, and drawing the people to himself, and to be desirous of giving up the church committed to him and of removing to the other. So for this cause this holy synod decreed that the bishop invited shall not remain absent from his own church more than three weeks, but shall within that time return to the people committed to him, unless some very grave necessity or difficult business forces him to remain longer away.' Canon xviii.:[2] 'Respecting the continued absence of bishops and priests and deacons, the canons set forth are to be enforced.' Gloss: 'No bishop [by the canons] is to leave his flock and remain in another city more than three weeks. This is extended by the present canon to priests and deacons, who are likewise not to leave their churches for more than three weeks.' Canon xxi.:[3] 'He who attempts contumaciously to unsettle those provisions which have been well and religiously introduced is no bishop. And a bishop seen to be on his way to the [emperor's] camp is not to be hindered, if he be known to be going for such reasons as have been mentioned above: but if otherwise, it is to be notified to him that he is out of communion' (K. of 1834, fol. 45). The gloss: 'If any one does not observe those constitutions which have been well and religiously made, but of contumacy and arrogance presumes to do anything contrary to them, he is to be degraded both from the honour and the office of the episcopate. And since it has been directed that a bishop is not to go to the imperial camp unless he be called thither by letters of the emperor, the bishop who passes through any province is to be asked by the local bishop with whom he stops the reason of his passing. And if he find him to be going in such manner as has been described above (either to plead the cause of oppressed orphans and widows, or for other like useful objects), he is in no wise to hinder him, but to send him on his way with honour. And he should write of him to all the bishops his brethren who are in the province, that they receive him without mistrust, as one going canonically and without blame. But if he find him to be going after any other fashion to the imperial camp, either wishing to show himself to the emperor, or to seek anything not proper for bishops to ask, he is not to communicate with him, nor to subscribe his letters, nor to give him any sort of assistance.' Canon xxiii.[1] of the synod of Carthage: 'A bishop is not to go across the sea unless he have received from the primate of his own country a dimissory letter for going across' (K. fol. 128). The gloss: 'Neither bishop nor clerk ought to go far from his own church without the consent and dimissory letter of his metropolitan, as the synods of Sardica and Laodicea also enact.' Canon cvi.[2] of the same synod: 'He who for any necessary matter desires to go to the emperor must first make this known to the bishop of Carthage and to the bishop of Rome, and receive from each of them a dimissory letter, or else he is out of communion.' The gloss: 'A bishop or clerk, if he wishes to go to the emperor, must first tell his reason to the bishop of Carthage, and obtain from him a dimissory letter; and he is then to go to Rome and show it to the bishop of Rome, and tell him the cause for which he is going to the emperor; and when the bishop of Rome has considered it, if the reason be judged sufficient, he shall take from him also a letter, recommending him to the emperor. But if any bishop or clerk go off in any other wise to the emperor, he shall be out of communion; that is, he shall be excommunicated. And of this look to canon xi. of the synod of Antioch, and canon ix. of the synod of Sardica.'

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[1] This and the other canons, and the glosses on them, as quoted by Nicon, and as printed also in the Kormchay of 1834, are commonly, though not always, nor without some occasional variation, the abridged canons as used and glossed by Aristin. See *Beveregii Synodicon*, tom. i. p. 118.

[2] Fol. 43 of K. of 1834, Bever. i. p. 487. The gloss of Aristin is amplified in the Russ.

[3] *i. e.* xii. of the short canons of Aristin; but xi. of the full canons in Bever. i. p. 499.

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[1] *i.e.* in the K.; but part of xi. (only a separate paragraph) in the Greek of Bever. i. p. 499, and part of xii. of the short canons of Aristin.

[2] K. fol. 144; but of 1834 fol. 45. Bever. i. p. 504, Aristin: Canon xvi.

[3] xxi. also Bev. i. p. 508, Aristin; but xx. of the Greek Πηδάλιον.

[1] Canon xxvi. Bev. i. p. 549, Aristin: K. of 1834, fol. 50.

[2] Canon cix. Bev. i. p. 643, Aristin: fol. 61 of K. of 1834.

Canon xx. of the Sixth Ec. Council: 'A bishop in another city [than his own, and uninvited] is not to teach the people; and if he be found doing so, he is to be deposed from the episcopate, and to act only as a priest' (K. fol. 72 of ed. 1834). The gloss: 'A bishop who in another city than his own teaches publicly, and of pride and vanity wrongs the local bishop, as if seeking to shame and lower him, and courting to himself the chair of another, is deservedly to be deposed from the episcopate (for he who seeks what belongs to another shall be deprived of that which is his own), and is to be put down to the rank of a presbyter, and to perform only priestly functions. And notice this, that a bishop here is put down to the rank of a presbyter: for canon xxix. of Chalcedon distinctly calls it sacrilege to degrade a bishop to the rank of a priest: and you are to consider this canon to be an exception made to that ecumenical canon' (Bever. i. p. 180, Aristin). From the code of the Novells, canon iii.: 'None of the bishops may live more than one year away from his church; and if he be absent so long as that, it should be by the emperor's command. And let them not make a pretext, saying, My church is in great straits: but let them send some fit clerks or economes, or commissioners. And these, again, are not to go without letters of orders and commission: nor, when they are come to the capital, are they to go at once before the emperor; but they must first go to the M. H. Patriarch, or to the representatives of the province, whatever it be, from which they are themselves, and make known to them the cause for which they are come, and so, afterwards, together with them, go up to the emperor. And it is proper that bishops be announced to the emperor by messengers of the great church, or by patriarchal commissioners, so that, whether their request to the emperor be reasonable or unreasonable, they may obtain it, or may be refused, without loss of time, and return.'[1]

And what wilt thou reply to these [canons]? Say: How hast thou dared in a diocese not thine to teach and to legislate about things which are unknown to thee; which it is not permitted thee to do by the gospel, by the holy apostles, or by the holy fathers? The gospel: 'But Jesus answered them and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any one will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or I speak of myself. He who speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory; but he that seeketh the glory of him that sent him, he is true, and there is no injustice in him' (John vii. 16-19). 'We are not as some which make merchandise of the word of God; but as of sincerity, as of God, before God in Christ, so we speak. For our consolation is not from deceit, but from sincerity, nor of flattery, but as we have been taught of God to be faithful, having had the gospel intrusted to us to preach, so we speak, not as seeking to please men, but God, who searcheth our hearts: for we have never been with the word of flattery, as ye know; nor with the mask of covetousness, God is witness; nor receiving glory from men, neither from you, nor from others; when we might have been burdensome to you, as the apostles of Christ' (2 Cor. ii. 17). Seest thou that it is not right to teach or to legislate in any other way than this? For this cause the Lord also teaches, saying, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth in some other way, the same is a thief and a robber: but he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.' And a little farther on: 'I am the good shepherd: all who came before me are thieves and robbers; but the sheep heard not their voice' (John x. 1-9). 'But though we ourselves or an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema' (Galat. i. 7-11). 'If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to sound words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing' (1 Tim. vi. 3). And again: 'Go ye,' said the Lord, 'and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' And again he said: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned' (Mark xvi. 15). But thou, O Paisius, dost thou believe them? How can ye believe, when ye seek glory from men, and not from God only? If thou wilt say that thou dost believe, still thy writing witnesses against thee, — a writing strange, and such as cannot be recognised by us as coming from any sheep of Christ's flock: but thou appearest as a wolf instead of a shepherd, troubling and scattering the flock of Christ not committed to thee. If thou hast not had enough, we will add yet to what we have already quoted: Two Canons of All the Holy Apostles together (Can. i.): 'Let every one abide in the order given to him, and transgress not the constitutions, for they are not ours, but God's: since the Lord has said, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that heareth me heareth him that sent me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me'[1] (K. fol. 30). To these [constitutions] can. i. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council forbids either to add anything, or to take anything away, as also the Truth itself here declares: 'The divine canons we affectionately embrace, viz. those of the Holy Apostles, and of the Six Ecumenical Councils, and with them those of the Local Councils, and, in addition, those of our holy Fathers, as inspired by one and the same Holy Spirit. Whom they anathematised we anathematise; whom they deposed we depose; whom they excommunicated we excommunicate; and whom they put to penance we put to penance.'[2] Another version, of Nicon (Serm. i. 63): 'For them that have obtained the sacerdotal dignity the touchstones and rules of right are the forms of the canonical constitutions, which we, receiving heartily with the prophetic David, sing to the Lord God, saying (Ps. cxviii.), I have had as great delight in the way of thy testimonies as in all manner of riches: Thou hast commanded justice, even thy testimonies, for ever: O give me understanding, and I shall live. And if the prophetic voice enjoins us to keep the testimonies of God for ever, and to live in them, it is plain that they abide unshaken and unmoved for ever. For Moses also, who saw God, speaks thus: To them nothing may be added, and from them nothing may be taken away. And the divine apostle Peter, making his boast in them, cries aloud: Into which things the angels desire to look (1 Pet. i. 12). And Paul says: Though an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than what has been delivered to you, let him be anathema. These things then being so, and being so witnessed to us, we rejoicing in them as one that should find great spoils, affectionately embrace the divine canons, and confirm their injunctions entire and unquestioned; those, that is, which were set forth by the holy trumpets of the Spirit the most honourable Apostles, and by the Six holy Ecumenical Councils, and by the Local Councils held for the promulgation of such constitutions, and those of our holy Fathers. For they all, being irradiated from one and the same Spirit, determined what was profitable. And whom they anathematise we also anathematise, and whom they depose we also depose, and whom they excommunicate we also excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we also in like manner put to penance. For "without covetousness, content with what we have," [this is what] he who was rapt into the third heaven and heard unspeakable words, even the divine apostle Paul, distinctly cries aloud' (K. 1834, fol. 82; and Bever. i. p. 284). And the same Seventh Ecumenical Council: 'Whoever put a false sense on the divine sentences of the holy doctors of the Church of God, and attempt to wrest and misinterpret what has been clearly and emphatically said in them through the grace of the Holy Ghost, let them be anathema.' Likewise S. Cyril [Eulogius] of Alexandria says: 'If any one unsettles anything of the determinations of the divinely-inspired fathers, this is not to be called economy, but it is a transgression and betrayal of the commandment, and impiety towards God.'[1] The same: 'Whoever reject the words of the holy fathers propounded concerning the definition of the right dogmas of the Church,—viz. of Athanasius and Cyril, Ambrose and Amphilochius, Leo the M. H. Abp. of old Rome, and the rest,—or do not also embrace in like manner the acts of the Fourth, the Fifth, and the Sixth Ecum. Councils, let them be anathema.' On the first Sunday of Lent: 'But we follow the ancient legislation of the Church; we keep the commandments of the holy fathers; we anathematise them who either add anything or take anything away from the Church; we anathematise the newly-introduced legislation of the heretics who revile the Christians; we deliver all who are not thus minded to anathema.'

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[1] K. of Nicon, fol. 301; but in the K. of 1834, part ii, fol. 3, 4.

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[1] Fol. 12 in K. of 1834, Bever. tom. ii. Dd, unpaged, in Alexii Aristini Epistolarum quæ dicuntur Canonicæ Synopsis. It is from ch. xlvi., the last, of lib. viii. of the *Apost. Constitutiones.* See *Concilia*, Labbe, Paris. 1671, tom. i. p. 507.

[2] This is the abridged canon of Aristin. What follows as 'another version of Nicon' (*i.e.* Nicon of the Black Mountain) is the full or original canon itself. See Bever. i. p. 286.

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[1] K. of 1834, fol. 107. This is not to be found in the present Greek Πηδάλιον. It is printed in Bever. tom. ii. Cc. 3, in Alex. Aristini Epistolarum quæ dicuntur Canonicæ Synopsis, with and after others of S. Cyril bp. of Alexandria, with the heading Εὐλογίου Ἀλεξανδρείας.

These and such as these are the zealous efforts of our holy fathers and teachers for the orthodox faith. Their labours and anxieties were more acceptable to the Lord, the lover of mankind, than any offering of fruits. Blessed and most blessed are all they who with steadfast heart keep the divine traditions and instructions which were confirmed and delivered by them. Blessed are they who reject what they have condemned and annulled, and avoid evil traditions and opinions.

Thou sayest in thy Answer, in its preface (*Answer of Paisius*): 'If the truth [itself] is called strife, much more shall he who maintains truth bring against himself enemies, like John the Forerunner, who rebuked the lawless Herod because he had the wife of his brother, who was still living as some say, and farther had children by the damsel Herodias; and at the end he lost his life, and was beheaded. And after this example every preacher of the gospel, especially if he be a bishop, ought to feel a weight at his heart, if he does not make manifest and preach and speak the truth before kings without being ashamed.'

Reply against the Answer of Paisius. Thou sayest, O Paisius, 'If truth is called strife, much more shall he who maintains truth bring against himself enemies.' We have already shown [what is to be thought] of thy prescience, not by fables, as thou speakest, but by true testimony. And now I say to thee: If so be there had been any fault of mine by reason of things wrongly done by me, still it would not have been for thee either to give any judgment, or to make any answer. Nor hadst thou seen or heard anything from me. But the scripture says that it is not right to condemn any man before one has known and heard attentively his cause, even though there be many that accuse him. The gospel: 'Nicodemus said, he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them, Doth our law judge any man without hearing him first, and knowing what he doeth?' (John vii. 50, 51.) 'And when he had been there many days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix, about whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring [to have] judgment against him. To whom

I answered, It is not the custom of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him' (Acts xxv. 14-16). But thou wast not even informed accurately of the charge [that was against me]; nor even from the bringers of it; but having from one unworthy man, or rather from a man excommunicate, though a member of the Synclete, received a calumnious accusation, contrary to all the holy and divine commandments, and to the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, thou didst, to the scandal of the common people, descant thereupon, but not from the established constitutions and canons. Canon lxxv. of the holy Apostles: 'A heretic is no witness against a bishop, nor any one man only of the faithful.[1] For in the mouth, it is said, of two or three witnesses every word shall be established.'[2] The gloss: 'Not only for bringing a charge is a heretic not to be received; but not either to bear witness is any one man only, though he be of the faithful, to be admitted. For the great Paul also, writing to Timothy, says the same: Against a presbyter receive not testimony unless before two or three witnesses. But I suppose that now,[3] in the case of such charges against a bishop or priest as involve deprivation, the testimony even of two witnesses is not sufficient, though they be orthodox and of good character.' Can. xxi. of the Fourth Ecum. Council: 'Without previous examination [of his character] a clerk or layman accusing a bishop is not to be heard.' The gloss: 'If any one brings an accusation against a bishop or against a clerk, that is, a priest or a deacon, it is requisite first to inquire into their characters, and not without such inquiry to admit them to bring any charge, whether they be clerks or laymen: for they may have been previously cast out from the Church, or suspended from communion; or they may be themselves under imputation of some crimes, and may not yet have cleared themselves; or they may in some other way be bad livers, or aliens in faith, that is, heretics: for many such, seeking to disturb and subvert the order of the Church, get up charges founded on calumnies against blameless and orthodox bishops and clerks. Such persons are not to be admitted to bring charges'[1] (K. of 1834, fol. 40, 41). Canon viii. of the synod of Carthage:[2] 'It is decreed that persons of bad life and character are not to be admitted to bring charges' (K. fol. 47). The gloss: 'It is said in canon vi. of the Second Ecum. Council, held at C. P., that charges against a bishop are not to be received till examination has been made respecting the faith of the accusers, lest perchance they be heretics; and then as to their reputation, whether perchance they be persons condemned and cast out, and out of communion, or have been themselves accused by others for sins of their own, and have not as yet cleared themselves. The same is also decreed here.' Canon cxxviii. of the same synod: 'A man excommunicate is not admissible as a witness'[3] (K. fol. 65). The gloss: 'He who is to be a witness must be of good character. On this account neither a clerk nor a layman, if he be excommunicate, is admissible to bring a charge or to bear testimony against a bishop or against a clerk.' Who now, I ask, looks like John; who like Herod? Am not I, who am deprived of my lawful church, John, and he who has possessed himself of it Herod? Answer! If thou seemest to thyself to be acting the part of the Forerunner, thou art mistaken. Thou art only a partaker and an accomplice with adulterers.

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[1] K. of 1834, fol. 8, Bever. i. p. 49, Aristin.

[2] Not in Bever. Nor is the gloss of Aristin, which follows, in Bever., the same as this gloss of the Russian K.: but this is the gloss of Zonaras. See Bever. ib.

[3] *i.e.* Zonaras, to whom this opinion is ascribed in a note at this place in the Greek Πηδάλιον.

I. REPLY AGAINST THE FIRST QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Your first Question. 'Is it without sin for one and the same bishop to be consecrated over again, when he is translated from one diocese to another?' &c.

Reply against both, the Question and the Answer, together. Thou, O Simeon, puttest questions about matters which belong not to thee, with which thou oughtest not to meddle, according to the canons above cited. Nor dost thou, Paisius, make answer according to sincerity and *truth.* And herein ye have both erred from the *truth.* But our refutation against these [questions and answers] is not anything made up of irrelevant verbosity, nor of our own arbitrary opinion. Canon lxviii. of the holy Apostles says thus: 'He who is ordained a second time is to be deposed, together with the bishop reordaining him, unless the hand first laid on him was that of a heretic'[1] (K. fol. 12). The gloss: 'If any bishop or priest (or deacon) receives a second ordination, as seeming to contemn his first, he is to be deposed, together with the bishop reordaining him, unless the first ordination was given by heretics. (For they that have been baptised by heretics are unbaptised, and they that have been ordained by heretics are not clerks.)'[2] But we did not by our own will ascend the patriarchal chair, but in consequence of having been elected by the common counsel of the Tsar's Majesty and of all the sacred synod [of the clergy], 'not in the word of adulation, nor by influence of gifts,' as then we professed in the cathedral before God and his saints; which same profession we now also make again. Likewise we then swore 'to maintain unchanged the right faith set forth by the holy fathers in the Council of Nice, and the canons of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers, in all their integrity.' The Tsar's majesty likewise swore that he would 'observe the commandments of God, and those of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers.' But he has not kept his word. Nor has he either suffered me to govern at all according to the canons. But as respects my ordination to the patriarchate, it was not of my desire or seeking:—for it is certainly improper that a bishop who is advanced to a higher grade should be reordained by imposition of hands:—nor that I contemned—God knows—[my former consecration]. Wherefore this concerns those who lay on their hands: and it might be well if they would keep themselves blameless, and so not bring those upon whom they have laid hands into trouble. However, in the gloss on this canon it is said that 'if a bishop or priest or deacon has contemned his first ordination, such a one is to be deposed.' But in the present case it was not from any contempt that this was so done: but the holy cathedral church has even a custom to this effect handed down by tradition, with many attestations of the M. H. Ecum. Patriarchs. And it is not I alone who have been consecrated a second time, but many other bishops also before me have received a second consecration to the metropolitan chair of Russia. If thou wishest it, we will elsewhere say who. But now we will inquire what was the first origin in the capital city of Moscow of the patriarchal chair.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 138, Aristin.

[2] Ib. p. 522; the abridged canon as well as the gloss of Aristin.

[3] Ib. p. 663; the abridged canon and gloss of Aristin.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 45, Aristin.

[2] Not in the gloss of Aristin, but added from that of Zonaras.

In the reign of the most religious sovereign Theodore Ivanovich, Tsar and Grand Prince of all Russia, the Tsar having heard from the bishops, archimandrites, and other clerks who came in quest of alms from all parts, from C. P. and the other Holy Places, that the orthodox Christians were much oppressed and harassed by the pagans of those countries, his heart was kindled with divine charity, and he assembled a synod of the most reverend the metropolitan, the archbishops, and bishops, with the rest of the clergy, and held a pious consultation with them, and stated to them his own idea that there should be established in the capital city of Moscow a patriarchal chair. On hearing this, the primate, and all [the heads of the clergy] with him, and all the nobles, applauded the Tsar's idea. But they answered him thus: 'O religious Tsar, if this is the pleasure of God and of thy sacred majesty, it should not be done without the advice of the M. H. Ecumenical Patriarchs: but if they confer each with his own metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and by writing certify one another of their mutual consent, then, by God's assistance, such a plan may without difficulty be carried into effect; because thy religious empire and we all have them for the pillars of orthodoxy. Though they are in the dominions of the pagans, the holiness [of their religion], as says the scripture, is not at all thereby defiled.' The Tsar readily listened to this; and dispatched messengers to the M. H. Ecumenical Patriarchs: and they, having soon obtained what was desired, returned charged with letters; and farther informed the Tsar that, in order for the creation of a patriarch in Great Russia, it had been agreed upon by the holy fathers that one of the patriarchs should go to the capital city of Moscow; if possible, the patriarch of C. P. And in the third year after the messengers [had been sent] there did accordingly come to Moscow the patriarch of C. P. Jeremiah, and other ecclesiastics with him. And so, soon afterwards, by the mercy of God, and by the election of all the sacred synod, the metropolitan of Moscow, Job, was created Patriarch of all Russia, and was then consecrated with imposition of hands for the third time, having been first consecrated bishop for the city of Kolomna, then again to the metropolitan chair of Moscow, and lastly a third time to the patriarchate of Moscow and all Russia. This is attested by the registers of ordinations, and by an authenticated letter of the Tsar and Grand Prince of all Russia, Theodore Ivanovich, and of the M. H. patriarchs Jeremiah of C. P. and Job of Moscow, together with the rest who were with them, who, to the number of fifty-two, subscribed the same document with their hands, and appended their seals. And when the M. H. Jeremiah, on his return, had reached C. P., and had held a pious consultation with the other three ecum. patriarchs, and with other fathers, they wrote an exposition [of the whole] on paper; and having authenticated it by the subscriptions and seals of the holy fathers, they sent this very important document by Dionysius metropolitan of Tirnovo, and others who were with him (but the holy fathers—that is, the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops—who, together with the four patriarchs, subscribed it, were in number eighty-two), that the church of God which is in great Russia might have it in the institution of the patriarchate as an unchangeable statute. And this document, written on paper, is by the grace of God at the present day still preserved in the catholic apostolic church [*i. e.* in the cathedral]. After the same manner also was Hermogenes made patriarch, who had been before metropolitan at Riazan. After the same manner, again, Philaret was made patriarch, who had been before metropolitan of Rostoff; and respecting him there is an authenticated account, written by the M. H. Theophanes Patr. of Jerusalem, showing that 'the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Philaret, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, was consecrated with imposition of hands a second time.' This is written in the Kormchay, at fol. 34: and in the act itself all appears clearly. But by this patriarch many bishops and priests were consecrated and ordained; and in like manner many were baptised by him. Are they also, then, I ask, whom he ordained, unordained? or they whom he baptised, unbaptised, and now to be baptised over again? Answer, thou scrupulous sage. After the same manner, again, the patriarch Joseph, who had been before archbishop of Pskoff, was consecrated a second time to the patriarchate by his own metropolitans. After the same manner it was done also with our humility, not by my own desire or will, but by the will of those who laid on me their hands. Wilt thou dare to bring all these precedents before thy tribunal? First depose the M. H. Jeremiah Abp. of C. P. and Ecum. Patriarch, who delivered to us this rule; and together with him depose all the other holy patriarchs who subscribed to the same, and the seventy-five metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops. Then likewise depose Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem, who, according to the same instrument, consecrated the Great Hossoudar, the M. H. Philaret Niketich, to be patriarch of Moscow and all Russia; and depose all whom these ordained, and re-baptise all whom they baptised: and baptise even him who now wears the crown, and the rest that are with him. And then, after this, visit, if thou pleasest, such ignorance in our case also, and in that of those whom we have ordained, and re-baptise those whom we have baptised.

II. Reply against the Second Question and Answer.

The Second Question that thou askest, O Simeon, is about no business of thine. Thou art neither a bishop nor a priest, though thy accursed disorderliness be known even to our sovereign lord the Tsar himself; but thou art a ringleader for all evil: for thou makest a jest of the grace of Christ [by teaching a dog to sit up and lift up his fore-paws], given at his Ascension on the Mount of Olives, as the Evangelist Luke writes: 'And he led them out as far as to Bethany: and he lifted up his hands and blessed them: and it came to pass, while he was blessing them, he was parted from them, and was carried up into heaven' (Luke xxiv. 50, 51). But thou, not reverencing even Him, even the God himself that seeth the secrets of men's hearts, hast dared to turn into jest the grace given by the blessing of the apostles and by their successors under them. Not without sin shall he be either who, when he witnesses thy accursed irreverence, looks on without interfering or rebuking it. Thou questionest thus, saying that I 'did not allow that they should be confessed and communicated who had been found guilty and sentenced to be capitally punished according to the civil laws. Did he do well in this, or ill? Instruct me.' Hast thou never heard where in the sacred books it is said of this, 'Go and question a vain-minded unprincipled stranger, and he will make thee an answer like [himself]'? But for us, far be it from us to have any conceits of our own, other than the divine rules. Thou sayest, then, that I ordered not to confess robbers. I sent letters to all the towns, written to the intent that robbers should cease [from their evil ways], and come to repentance and amendment before they be taken. I did not [certainly] teach that then, when they were taken, was the time to repent. But as for this opinion, that a man taken in murder and robbery is forthwith to be confessed and communicated, I have found no such canons. The Lord says, 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him' (John vi. 56). Hear, thou Questioner, what the Lord says: 'He that eateth my flesh dwelleth in me, and I in him.' How, then, shall any one enact such a shameless irreverence as, after making a man worthy of the divine communion, then to put him to death as a felon? There is no such canon, nor wilt thou find any such; but the Apostle says, 'Therefore, whoso eateth this bread or drinketh this cup unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.' And again he infers, 'But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup' (1 Cor. xi. 28). Canon lvi. of Basil the Great: 'A man who has voluntarily killed another is to be put to penance for twenty years.' That is [according to the gloss], 'A man who has voluntarily killed another, and afterwards comes for penance, is to be twenty years without communicating in the holy mysteries.'[1] Canon xiii. of the same father: 'Let a soldier, who fighting in behalf of the faith [kills a man], not receive the communion for three years.'[2] The same Basil, in his Letter to a Priest on the Divine Service and on the Communion, and respecting them that disregard excommunications: 'Consider before whom thou standest, and how thou ministerest, and to whom thou givest the communion. Forget not the commandment of the Lord and of his holy apostles. 'Give not, he says, holy things to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine. Beware of dogs;' &c. See that thou fear not man to thine own sin. Betray not the Son of God into the hands of the unworthy. Respect not any one of the mighty men of the earth in that hour, not even him who wears the crown; but distribute the gift of the communion to them that are worthy freely, as thou thyself also hast received. To them to whom the divine canons permit not to give it, give it not; for they are become as heathens; and unless they be converted, woe alike unto them, and to them that give them the communion.'[1] And the divine Chrysostom, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Corinthians, says: 'Bind him that has sinned until he entreat God: leave him not unbound, that he may not be more heavily bound by the wrath of God. If I bind him, God will not bind him farther. If I bind him not, bonds not to be loosed are in store for him. If we would judge ourselves, we should not be condemned. Let no one think this to be the part of cruelty and inhumanity, but rather of the greatest gentleness and of the best medical treatment.' St. Methodius says: 'But we, among people that are disobedient and gainsayers, are used to say, Thou that savest, save my soul; for we wish not to perish with other men's sins; but, fearing the inexorable judgment, and having before our eyes the terrible day, we wish not to perish with such, but are bound to testify to them day and night, in public, and personally to each. But to be led away in company with them by their wickedness we desire not; but rather to take pains to gain them, and to get them out of the snare of the evil one. And though we may not be able to do this, still we will endeavour to do it, in order to save our own souls from eternal condemnation.'

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[1] K. fol. 95. Bever. ii. p. 114, Aristin.

[2] Nicon here has some words which are not in Bever., nor in the printed K. of 1834: and that ed. of the K. has a gloss at fol. 90, thus: 'Homicides in war were not accounted as murderers by the holy fathers. So Athanasius the Great in his epistle to the monk Ammon says that they are worthy of great honours who are valiant in the wars; and it is fit to set up their effigies and to celebrate their prowess, because they kill the enemies and do a deed lawful and praiseworthy. And this great man Basil also here does not disallow their judgment, because it is in defence of chastity and of the faith that the brave soldier kills men in battle. Nevertheless, he advises that it is good that such a one abstain merely from receiving the communion for three years, because he has not his hands pure.' See Bever. ii. p. 71, Aristin.

In tit. xxxix. ch. 15 of the Civil Law [it is enacted thus]: 'Professed robbers are to be hanged up at the spots where they committed their robberies: and it is fit that through the sight of them others may be put in fear and deterred from doing the like, and some satisfaction made to the relatives of those murdered by them' (K., fol. 61, part ii.). And the same tit. ch. 80: 'He who voluntarily kills any one, if he be grown up, is to be punished capitally' (K., part ii. fol. 64). But for confessing and communicating in the holy and divine mysteries a robber taken in robbery or murder, there is nowhere to be found any such direction, as thou, who art but a weak commentator, wouldst make out. For thy words refute thine own self. Thou sayest that the holy scripture saith, 'In what [state] soever I shall find thee, in the same also shall God judge thee.' But thou biddest us to give the communion to every dying criminal. See what thou hast written. If even at the crucifixion of Christ one was saved and one was condemned, how canst thou say that we ought to give to every one the all-pure mysteries, even though he be unworthy? or how canst thou venture, after he has been made worthy of the all-pure mysteries, to bid us put him to death? Where is this written? But [if it be] of thyself alone, who has given thee such power, contrary to the divine law, to bind and loose, being thyself bound by the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers?

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[1] K. fol. 99, and Bever. ii. Ee. in Alexii Aristini Epistolarum &c. Synopsis, ad fin.

III. REPLY AGAINST THE THIRD QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Thou sayest, in answer to the Question, that it is not proper for bishops to adorn themselves in the divine service. Hear what is written in the old law: 'For Aaron's sons thou shalt make vestments, and girdles, and tiaras: thou shalt make these unto them for glory and beauty. And thou shalt clothe with them Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and thou shalt anoint them, and fill their hands, and consecrate them, that they may sacrifice to me' (Exod. xxviii. 40, 41). 'And Aaron and both his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of the testimony, and shalt wash them with water. And thou shalt take the holy garments, and clothe Aaron thy brother to the ground with the vestment reaching to the feet, and the superhumerale, and the ephod or breastplate; and thou shalt attach for him the ephod to the superhumerale.' And a little farther on (v. 7): 'And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and shalt pour it upon his head and anoint him' (ib. xxix. 4, 5, 7). See, thou Questioner, and thou Answerer, who expoundest so as to please men, how in the old testament also it is ordained by God that priests should adorn themselves. And the Lord says: 'When ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance, disfiguring their faces that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast,' &c. (Matt. vi. 16). But as for the looking-glasses, if they have been put in the churches before our time by the M. H. Job and the other patriarchs, our predecessors, neither do we destroy them. And all do the same. And what transgression is this? Where is there anything written about this? Will you find anything? Canon xvi. of the Seventh Ecum. Council says: 'Bishops or priests or deacons who adorn themselves with fine gowns, or anoint themselves with unguents (*i. e.* with perfumes), are to desist and amend their habits; but if they persist, they shall be excommunicated' (Bever. i. p. 319, Aristin). This is what all should attend to, and correct what we now see them doing contrary to this canon.

IV. Reply against the Fourth Question and Answer.

Who is it that witnesses against me that it is improper for me to ordain? and by what canons? Read canon xxxvi.[1] of the Sixth Ecumenical Council: 'The bishop of C. P. shall have equal privileges after the bishop of Rome, and after him the bishop of Alexandria, and then the bishop of Antioch, and then the bishop of Jerusalem.' The gloss: 'This canon has been explained at canon iii. of the Second Ecumenical Council held at C. P., and at canon xxviii. of the Council of Chalcedon, in the sense that he is to be after the bishop of Rome not in honour, but in order of time. So here also it is to be understood in the same sense: for the words "after the bishop of Rome" signify precedence in point of time, not of honour. For it was after many years that this chair of C. P. obtained equal privileges with those of the Roman church, because this city was honoured by the presence of the emperor and the senate, and had obtained equal privileges with old Rome.'

[1] Canon xxxvi., relating to the rank and order of the patriarchal chairs, is the one written out in the Ms. and here translated. But the canon *meant* seems to be canon xxxiv., which is as follows: 'If any clerks or monks plot together with oaths, or make conspiracy for evil, or consultation, against a bishop or an hegumen, or against a fellow clerk, they shall be degraded.' The gloss: 'This canon is clear' (K. of 1834, fol. 74; Bever. i. p. 197, Aristin).

V. Reply against the Fifth Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Simeon, that I 'did not make an act of renunciation in writing, but only said by word of mouth, I will not be any longer patriarch. Is that enough? or is it necessary that he should have given in writing an act of abdication?' Wert thou there? and didst thou thyself hear my abdication? or did others tell thee of it? If thou wast not there, why dost thou thrust thyself in to take cognisance of matters not thine? But I will tell thee, and all who may hear, that I did not simply testify in the holy church of God of my own departure before God and his holy angels, as I had also testified [of my acceptance] at my election to the patriarchate, made not in the word of adulation but with much entreaty of the Tsar's Majesty and of all the sacred synod; but, as in the Psalms it is said, 'And I spake of thy testimonies before kings and was not ashamed,' so we also spake, without being ashamed, in the holy church of God, testifying before God and the holy Mother of God and his holy angels, and all his saints, that, unless the great Hossoudar the Tsar had promised, before God and before the holy Mother of God, to keep inviolable the commandments of the holy gospel and of the holy apostles and holy fathers, I, in that case, would not have thought of ascending to such a rank. But God knows how the great Hossoudar the Tsar gave his promise in the holy cathedral before the Lord God and before the holy honourable and life-giving image of our most holy, all-pure, and most blessed Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and before the holy angels, and before all the saints, and before all the sacred synod, and before all his imperial synclete, and all the people. And as long as he, the great Hossoudar the Tsar, so far as he could, continued in his promise, obeying the holy Church, we also had patience. But when he, the great Hossoudar the Tsar, became false to his promise, and conceived wrath against us unjustly, as the Lord knows, we then, remembering our own promise for the keeping of the commandments of God, which we had promised at our election and appointment to the patriarchate with subscription of our hand, on the 10th of July, having entered into the holy cathedral, it being the anniversary of the bringing to Moscow of the holy and precious Tunic of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who endured for our sake rebuke and insult, spitting, buffeting, the purple robe, unjust condemnation, crucifixion and the cross, and death,—and having finished the holy and divine liturgy,—and having testified before God and our Lord Jesus Christ and the all-pure Mother of God, and all the holy angels and all the saints, and before all the sacred things, respecting the causeless wrath of the sovereign,—and remembering that divine commandment which says, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; for, verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come' (Matt. x. 23),—we went away. And when we had gone out from the city, remembering the commandment of the Lord which saith, 'And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hearken unto your words, when ye go forth from that house, or from that city, shake off the dust of your feet,' &c., we did according to the Lord's commandment, and shook off the dust from our feet: and so I abide, establishing myself in the wilderness. And meanwhile he accuses me for this, that I have done thus contrary to the will of God, and not for any just cause. And what abdication is this? Do ye wish to hear? I will tell you that I wrote a writing also to the Tsar's Majesty, and sent it by our deacon Job: and in it there was then written thus: 'Behold I see thy wrath increased against me without just cause, and on that account thou absentest thyself from the holy assemblies in the churches; but I am a stranger and pilgrim upon the earth; and behold now, remembering the divine command,—"Give place to wrath,"—I will go away from this place and city, and thou wilt have to give account for all before the Lord God.' And the sovereign, having read what was written, sent it back to me, because, he said, 'it was of no use to him.' Again, I ask, What abdication is this? Canon iii. of S. Cyril, bp. of Alexandria, says, 'It is contrary to the laws of the Church for any bishop or priest to offer written resignations. For if they are worthy, let them serve; but if not, let them not [be allowed to] resign, but let them be convicted judicially of their crimes and put out;' referring to Proclus, who, through compulsion and fear and threats of certain persons, as he said, had renounced his episcopate.[1] If thou darest, depose Gregory the Divine, who *did* with a writing, and with an oath, make abdication to the CL. bishops of the Second Ecum. Council (στίχος κε΄).

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[1] K. fol. 107; Bever. in Al. Aristini Epistolarum &c. Synopsis, Cc. 2; Aristin. and the fuller text at p. 177.

If accusers are unrighteous men, such as thou art thyself, is it right to listen to them? Thou sayest, O thou vain man, in thine Answer: 'The lips of priests know not how to lie; according to the prophecy of the prophet Malachi (Mal. ii. 6, 7). He must stand by his word, as long as he wishes to be honoured as an honest man, and not held for a liar. There are two kinds of abdications,—by a writing, and without a writing. Above all that abdication which is proclaimed in the church of God is considered to be of the greatest steadfastness and force for that reason.' Why, O hypocrite, without looking to thyself dost thou make answer about others? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam from thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote from thy brother's eye. Wash first the inside of the cup and dish; &c. Look to thyself, and consider whether it beseems thee, in violation of the sacred canons, to promulgate new laws, being a stranger, without any pretence of right, or to receive questions from a calumniator, or rather from a man under anathema, whom the canons forbid to be heard as a witness, even by such as might have a right to judge, and who rather ought to be held accursed by every orthodox Christian for his wicked and unchristian deeds. Thou sayest, O thou dishonest interpreter, that I 'did what no one else had ever done. After the completion of the holy liturgy he threw off from himself the sacred vestments of the patriarchal rank.' How canst thou say this, thou unjust man, when neither thou thyself wast present there, nor did thy questioner ask any question of this? yet thou sayest of thyself that I cast them off. When ye have yourselves to officiate in that way, perhaps when ye have finished the liturgy ye do not put off the sacred vestments? But with us such is the custom, and such has been the custom of our predecessors, that, after finishing the liturgy, we all divest ourselves of the sacred vestments. And thou sayest, adding superfluous answers of thine own, without any question leading to them, that I said, forsooth, 'I am not worthy to be, and am no more, patriarch.' From whom didst thou get this, thou malicious inventor, since there is nothing about this in the Question? Tell me. I, when I was going away from Moscow, spoke not so as thou assertest. I testified before the Lord God, and the most pure Mother of God, and the holy, venerable, and life-giving cross of the Lord, and the holy angels, and all the saints, in the holy cathedral, before heaven and earth, knowing that the Tsar's wrath against me was without just cause; and on this account, giving place to wrath, I testified; but I swore no oath. And respecting those things we will here make some little exposition from the divine scriptures of the old testament, showing how they *testify*. When God himself *testified* to Abraham of his future seed, he then testified not by anything else than by heaven and the stars, as it is written: 'And he brought him forth abroad, and said to him, Look up to heaven and number the stars, if thou be able to number them. And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be' (Gen. xv. 5). So, when the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time, he said: 'By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord,' &c. (ib. xxii. 15). And Jacob, again, for a testimony set up a stone pillar: 'And he heaped up stones with those of his family, and they made a heap, and he named it Gilead, saying, This heap is a witness, and this pillar is a witness. For this cause it was a heap of testimony between Jacob and Laban' (ib. xxxi. 45-48). Again, when the Lord was wroth against Israel, 'The Lord said unto Moses, Take all the princes of the people, and reprove them before the Lord against the sun'[1] (Numb. xxv. 3, 4). And again: 'When Moses had ended writing all the words of this law in a book, till they were finished, he commanded the Levites which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a testimony against thee. For I know thy rebellion and thy stiff neck. Behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord: and how much more after my death? Gather unto me all the elders of your tribes, and your officers [and your judges], that I may speak these words in your ears, and call heaven and earth to witness against them. For I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you; and evil will befall you in the latter days, because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord God, to provoke him to anger by the works of your hands. And Moses spake in the ears of all the congregation of Israel the words of this song, until they were ended: Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth' (Deut. xxxi. 24-30, and xxxii. 1). 'And Joshua the son of Nun made a covenant [*testificatus est testamentum*] with the people in that day, and gave them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem before the sanctuary of the Lord God of Israel. And Joshua wrote his words in the books of God. And he took a great stone, and set it up there under the terebinth which is before the [sanctuary of the] Lord. And he said to all the people, Behold, this stone shall be to you for a witness; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake to you this day. And this stone shall be for a testimony to the end of the world, that ye break not your faith to the Lord your God,' &c. (Josh. xxiv. 25-27). And holy David says: 'The heavens declare the glory of God, the work of his hands displays the firmament.' And again the same David says: 'They confess thy wonders, O Lord.' And again elsewhere he says: 'The heavens have declared his justice, and all the peoples have seen his glory,' &c. (Ps. xix. 1, xcvii. 6). So Isaiah testifies, saying: 'Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have begotten and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me' (Is. i. 2). So also our Lord Jesus Christ himself testifies in more than one place by heaven and earth: 'For as the lightning cometh out from the east, and shineth even to the west, so shall be the coming of the Son of Man.' And a little afterwards he says: 'Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away' (Matt. xxiv. 35, Mark xiii. 31). If thou desirest to hear also respecting our departure, we will show thee, without grudging the trouble, by the grace of God, abundantly from the divine scripture both our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and his holy disciples and apostles, and the other saints, flying when persecuted from the malice of men: we will show thee, I say, this, not out of corrupt and foul [heathen] literature, but from the perennial fountain itself, which is the holy gospel. Hear how Christ himself, while yet wrapped in swaddling clothes, fled from the malice of Herod: 'Behold an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt; and be thou there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. So he arose and took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt; and was there until the death of Herod. But when Herod was dead, behold an angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life. And he arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither. Notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee' (Matt. ii. 13-22). And again: 'When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee, having left Nazareth' (Matt. iv. 12, 13). 'And Herod said, John have I beheaded; but who is this of whom I hear such things? And he sought to see him' (Luke ix. 9). 'And the apostles, when they were returned, told him all that they had done. And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida. And the people, when they knew it, followed him. And he received them, and spake unto them of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing' (Luke ix. 9-11). And where is he who says that I, in consequence of having gone away, have no right to ordain? Hear, thou unfair interpreter, thou writer of lying words, how Jesus also, when he had withdrawn from malice to a desert place, taught men of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing. Again, hear, thou unfair Questioner: 'And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went away' (Luke iv. 28-30). 'The Pharisees held a council against him, how they might destroy him. But when Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence' (Matt. xii. 14). 'And they sought again to take him; but he went away out of their hands. And he went again to the other side of Jordan, to the place where John was at first baptising, and abode there' (John x. 39, 40). 'Jesus said unto them, While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light. These things spake Jesus, and departed, and did hide himself from them' (ib. xii. 36). 'From that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews' (ib. xi. 53, 54). 'And he kneeled down and prayed, saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me. Nevertheless, not my will but thine be done' (Luke xxii. 41, 42). 'The high priest rose up, and all they that were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in the common prison. But an angel of the Lord by night opened the prison doors, and brought them forth, and said, Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life' (Acts v. 17-20). 'But their lying in wait was known to Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night and let him down by the wall in a basket' (ib. ix. 24, 25). 'In Damascus the ethnarch under Aretas the king watched the city of the Damascenes with a guard, desiring to apprehend me. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands' (2 Cor. xi. 32, 33). 'Now at that time Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. (Then were the days of unleavened bread.) And when he had taken him, he delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers to keep him, intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people. Peter therefore was kept in prison. And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night, behold, an angel of the Lord came upon him, and a light shined in the prison: and he smote Peter on the side, and awoke him, saying, Arise quickly. And his chains fell off from his hands. And the angel said to him, Gird thyself, and bind on thy sandals. And he did so. And he said, Cast thy cloak about thee, and follow me. And he went out, and followed him. And when Peter was come to himself, he said, Now I know of a certainty that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews. And he departed, and went unto another place. And when Herod had sought for Peter, and found him not, he examined the keepers, and commanded that they should be put to death. And he went down from Judea to Cesarea, and there abode. And upon a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat on his throne, and made an oration unto them: and the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost' (Acts xii. 1-23). 'But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. And they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and went unto Iconium' (ib. xiii. 50, 51). 'And they troubled the people, and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things. And when they had taken written security of Jason, and of the others, they let them go. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea' (ib. xvii. 8-10). 'But the multitude of the city was divided; and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them, they were ware of it, and fled unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about, and there they preached the gospel' (ib. xiv. 4-7). 'There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able, but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it' (1 Cor. x. 13). 'Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted[1] us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alway: for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost'

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[1] As if calling the sun to witness. The Slavonic *oblichi*, i.e. *reprove* or *put to shame*, stands for the Greek παραδειγμάτισον, which in the English Bible is rendered *hang them up*.

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[1] Here it looks as if Nicon had only marked a reference, and his clerks wrote out by mistake some other passage, as there is nothing about *withdrawing* from persecution, unless the word 'persecuted' *alludes* to St. Paul's flight from Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 10). So above (p. 27) Luke xxii. 41 may *imply* what follows, 'Arise, let us go hence.'

(1 Thess. ii. 15, 16). 'We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother' (2 Thess. iii. 6-15).

Are these examples enough for thee of departures and flights? We will show thee yet farther from the canons. Canon xix. of the Council of Sardica:[1] 'A bishop unjustly driven out, though he reside in the diocese of another, is to be received, until the injury have passed by.' The gloss: 'Forbidding pride and vanity, the holy fathers forbade bishops to abide any considerable time in dioceses not their own. But if any bishop, either for the confession of our pure faith, or for his defence of the truth—that is, for opposing rulers who acted not according to the truth—be driven out from his own, and depart to another city, he is not forbidden to reside there, until he may be able to obtain a [pacification, and a] removal of the grievance under which he is suffering' (K. fol. 45). If this is not enough for thee, read in the lives of our holy fathers day by day for all the year what is written of Basil the Great, what is written of Gregory the Divine, what is written of John Chrysostom, and of the other saints; and there ye will find much about *going away*, and *flying*, and about *abdications*, and about *wandering* in strange places, in accordance with what is written: 'By faith all the saints subdued kingdoms,' and the rest that follows. And, a little farther on: 'And others were tortured to death, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. And others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they went about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy); they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in caves and pits of the earth. And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise, God having provided something better for us, that they without us should not be made perfect' (Heb. xi. 33-40).

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[1] Canon xvii. Bever. i. p. 505, Aristin.

VI. REPLY AGAINST THE SIXTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

The Question of the Boyar Simeon Streshneff. As for thee, O Simeon, thou speakest such words as these not with thine own lips and tongue: all who know thee are very well aware that there is in them nothing of this sort. Thou sayest: 'Supposing any bishops to be subject to the patriarch, have they any guilt for this, that they did not try to oppose him (Nicon), and disallow his evil counsel? or are they absolutely and simply unblamable for not having disallowed in that act, as it was done, what was in fact no crime?' In our Fifth Reply enough has been written already about that our departure. Nevertheless we now also, as the grace of God enlightens us, reply: Did the apostles, I pray, incur guilt, being under obedience to Christ, by not disallowing Christ's flight from the malice of Herod, and from the other plots of the Jews, when they at many different times sought to kill him? No; but Judas only incurred guilt who betrayed him: and it happened unto him, as it is written. If even when the prince of the apostles, Peter, spake to the Lord, not as opposing him, but for lack of faith, saying, 'Pity thyself, Lord; this shall not be unto thee,' the divine answer to this was, 'Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men,' so also assuredly to those who have deserted and betrayed us, and to thee, Simeon, shall it be, and none otherwise; since the Lord testifies: 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' This is the word of God, and it errs not from the truth. 'If ye be my disciples,' he says, 'abide in my word.' But to his adversaries he said, 'Ye are not of the truth, but ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abideth not in the truth, for there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar and the father of lies.' So also thou, O Simeon, art not of the truth, but askest all thy questions in a spirit of falsehood, as thy father the devil prompted thee.

But thou, O Answerer, sayest: 'Here there is need to distinguish: and though, if, having been asked with brotherly charity, they had neglected to prevent an act fraught with the greatest mischief to the throne and to the Church, they would have deserved no small penance, still, if they were *not* asked, but Nicon only acted of his own will, they are guiltless. For a man without counsel is liable to do such and other like things of his own evil folly; since many see better than one alone. One, who acts alone, is greedy, according to the proverb; and the mischief is all to himself alone when he falls, and there is none to raise him up again. They acted strangely: but they who before scarcely moved have now suddenly, in order to be able to assist one another, taken counsel according to the time and the occasion. John the Divine, because he abode with the Mother of God, was vouchsafed to write what neither mouth of man had spoken, nor eye seen, nor ear heard. St. Ambrose writes: "And God desires that thou shouldest have him in common as a common benefactor by consultation." And God is called the Sun of Righteousness for this reason, that he lightens all, and no one that he has made is found here without a portion of his light; as Clement writes; but all things receive of his brightness, every one is enriched by his mercy.'

Reply. Something has been said already to him who questions thee. See that: for it is not inapplicable to thyself. But now we will write more particularly to thee. Listen, thou unfair Answerer, to Basil the Great, who says, 'It is not right to judge any one respecting things that are unknown:' and he adduces the Apostle, who testifies: 'Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who shall throw light on the hidden things of darkness, and shall reveal the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God' (1 Cor. iv. 5). 'In the last days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared' (1 Tim. iv. 1). And, 'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned:' and, 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged' (Matt. vii. 1; Luke vi. 37). 'And to some that trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others he spake this parable: Two men went into the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee, but the other a publican. And the Pharisee stood and prayed within himself thus: God, I thank thee that I am not like other men, extortioners, unjust,' and other vain words (Luke xviii. 9). Thou didst not find how to answer thy questioner out of the right holy doctrines, but, like as thou thyself hast been shown according to the word of the true canons of the holy apostles and holy fathers to be rejected, so also it is from the rejected Clementine Constitutions that thou makest thine answers; respecting which Constitutions can. lxxxv. of the holy Apostles has in the gloss[1] the following words: 'The Constitutions promulgated and delivered by Clement have also been falsified and corrupted by some heretics: wherefore they are absolutely forbidden to be read by the Sixth Ecum. Council.' Canon ii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council: 'The interpolations fraudulently made by heretics in the Apostolical Constitutions delivered through Clement are to be rejected.' The gloss: 'But this canon, on account of some false and impious opinions interpolated into them by heretics for the hurt of the Church, commands us to reject these Constitutions, for the edification and security of the Christian flock' (K. fol. 69; Bev. i. p. 159, Aristin). How then couldst thou dare to set aside the canons of the Sixth Ecum. Council, and to adduce as having authority heretical writings, unless thou wert thyself of unsound faith? even as the Lord testifies of thy unsoundness: 'For out of the heart of a man proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies. These are the things that defile a man' (Matt. xv. 19). Hear also the Apostle, who says: 'If any one teacheth otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and alienated from the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself' (1 Tim. vi. 3-5). 'In the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away' (2 Tim. iii. 1-5).

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[1] The canon and the gloss of Zonaras is here and in the K. of 1831 referred to, not the abridged canon and gloss of Aristin. See Bever. i. p. 56.

VII. REPLY AGAINST THE SEVENTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, 'Would it be well that there should be held a synod in that matter of the patriarch, to prevent the occurrence of any scandals or disturbances in the empire?' Hear, O Questioner: The Lord says, 'Every kingdom that is divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house that is divided against itself shall not stand.' And how can this be otherwise, when the Lord says that it is so, and the same has actually been fulfilled to many, and will be fulfilled still? And thou, O Answerer, answerest by adducing canon xxxvii. of the holy Apostles, that twice in every year a synod ought to be held, and that therein there should be first examination made concerning the substance of the faith, and after that there should be inquiry about other ecclesiastical questions; and not once only; for this reason, lest, if any matter of importance occurred, a whole year might intervene before it could be dealt with; &c. Hear, thou Questioner, and thou Answerer! There is not only this canon xxxvii. of the Apostles, but thou wilt find many canons for the holding of a synod. Canon xxxvii. of the holy Apostles: 'Twice in the year let the bishops assemble themselves for ecclesiastical matters and for doctrine; the first time in the fourth week after Easter, and the second time on the 12th day of Hyperboretæus.' The gloss: 'This canon, however, has been modified. For canon viii. of the Sixth Council, in Trullo, and canon vi. of the Second Council of Nice, order that the synods of the bishops in each province shall be held once a year for ecclesiastical matters, and for examination of the divine doctrines, and for the decision of doubtful and difficult causes. And if any bishop has bound any with heavy penances or with excommunication, of such matters also all the bishops in synod shall judge. And they fixed one time for the holding of the synod, viz. between Easter and October. For the same month which is Hyperboretæus in Greek is in Latin October' (K. fol. 4, Bev. i. p. 26, Aristin). Canon v. of the First Ecum. Council: 'Such as have been excommunicated by their own bishops are not to be received by others; that is, unless such excommunication have been pronounced of narrowmindedness, or contentiousness, or some other like cause. And, to provide for such cases, it is ordained that twice a year in every province there shall be a synod, the first time before the XL. days of the holy and great fast; the second in the season of fruits.' The gloss: 'It is proper, according to the words of the proverb, that the same hand that has wounded a man should also heal him. And so for a man who has received from his own bishop a sentence of excommunication to be received by another without examination and scrutiny of the cause, is not proper. But at the same time the causes of excommunication ought to be considered, lest perchance at any time excommunication may have been pronounced against a man not for any worthy cause, but from narrowmindedness, or contentiousness, or for some other passion or prejudice in the bishop (as, for instance, if he should say, If thou wilt not do this as I desire, thou shalt be excommunicated). But that neither they that are excommunicated may be excommunicated without good grounds, nor the bishops who excommunicated them be wronged by other bishops receiving such persons, this holy council commanded that twice a year in every province there should be held a synod; that by the common consent of all the bishops of the same province every ecclesiastical question and inquest and difference may be determined: as also canon xxxvii. of the holy Apostles commands. Only, as we there noted, canon viii. of the Sixth Council, held in Trullo, and canon vi. of the Seventh Council, which is the Second of Nice, considering the difficulty of providing for the journeying of the bishops, ordered that once a year there should be a synod held at such place as the metropolitan should appoint, and that the time for holding it should be between the Easter festival and the month of October. For that is the month after the season of fruits' (K. fol. 13, Bev. i. p. 65, Aristin). Canon xv. of the synod of Antioch: 'For the needs of the Church let there be held twice in the year a synod in every province, in the fourth week after Easter, and on the 10th day of Hyperboretæus.' The gloss: 'It has been noted at canon xxxvii. of the Apostles that this rule for holding a synod twice in the year in every province has been changed,' &c. [referring, as above, to canon viii. of the Sixth, and canon vi. of the Seventh Ecum. Councils]:[1] 'To those synods priests and deacons, and all who think themselves wronged by their own bishops, shall go and obtain justice by the sentence of the united synod. But it shall not be lawful for any to make a synod by themselves without the bishop who holds the metropolitan chair[1] (K. fol. 28). Canon xxxix. of the synod of Laodicea:[2] 'A bishop who is summoned to a synod but neglects to come, unless it be through some necessary hindrance, is not free from censure.' The gloss: 'On account of such ecclesiastical doubts and canonical questions as may occur, it is ordained that there should be held a synod of all the bishops of each province annually at such place as the metropolitan may appoint. If, then, at the time of this meeting any one of the bishops, being summoned, will not go to it, he incurs censure, and is to be put to penance by the synod, unless it be not of contempt, but owing to sickness or some other temporal hindrance that he could not come' (K. 32, Bev. i. p. 472, Aristin). Canon xix. of the Fourth Ecum. Council: 'Twice in the year let there be held a synod in such place as the bishop of the metropole appoints; and therein let all questions arising be determined.' The gloss: 'As has been said before, this has been modified by canon vi. of the Seventh, and canon viii. of the Sixth Councils' (K. fol. 40, Bev. i. p. 137, Aristin). Canon xviii. [xxvi. in the Greek *Πηδάλιον*, xxi. of Bev.] of the synod of Carthage:[3] 'According to the decrees of the Council of Nice let there be a synod assembled yearly; and let there be sent to it by the metropolitans of each province two, or as many as they may choose, to represent them.' The gloss [after repeating the mixture of two totally distinct canons]: 'These fathers, following the Council of Nice, ordain that a synod shall be held yearly at Carthage; and that there be sent to it from each province by the metropolitans of the provinces two bishops, or as many as they choose, to represent all the bishops of the province' (K. fol. 49, Bev. i. p. 543, Aristin). Canon lxxiv. [lxxxi. of the *Πηδάλιον*, lxxvi. of Bev.] of the same synod: 'It seemed good that on the day of the annual synod, that is x. Kal. Sept., the day of the following Easter should be announced.' The gloss: 'In various places the synod has decreed this, that the day on which Easter falls is to be announced in the synod which is held annually in Africa on the 21st of August' (K. fol. 57, 58, Bev. i. p. 611, Aristin). Canon lxxvii. [lxxxiv. of the *Πηδάλιον*] of the same synod: 'If any bishops do not appear in the yearly synod, unless it be through some involuntary hindrance, let the communion of their own church suffice for them.' The gloss: 'Whatever bishops in each province fail to appear in the synod held there annually, not being hindered by age, or sickness, nor by any other grave necessity, but of negligence or contempt, such [the synod directs] are to be fraternally reproved. And this canon lays down also the mode of the reproof, enjoining that their fellow bishops and brethren should not communicate nor officiate with them; but they must be content to communicate and to officiate each of them only in the churches of his own diocese' (K. fol. 58, Bev. i. p. 614, Aristin). Canon xcv. [ciii. and civ. in the *Πηδάλιον*] of the same synod:[1] 'If any common need call for it, let letters be sent to the primatial chair, and let there be held a synod in such place as may be convenient. But for such matters as are not of common need let them hold a synod and decide them within the same province.' The gloss: 'That in each province there should be held yearly a synod of its bishops, and that they should canonically examine and decide the particular ecclesiastical questions arising in the province, is reënacted by this synod. But that from all the provinces of Africa the bishops should come together to some place and hold a common synod, unless there be some common cause requiring it, is not considered to be proper on account of the labour and difficulty of journeying for many days. But when any common need calls for a general synod, letters are to be sent from the bishops to the bishop holding the first chair; and where he judges it to be convenient, there they are to meet' (K. fol. 60). Canon viii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council: 'As twice is not possible, let there be a synod held once a year, between Easter and October.' The gloss: 'On account of the difficulties to be encountered by the bishops, and the inroads of the barbarians, the rule for holding a synod twice in the year is by this canon modified; and it is decreed that once in every year a synod shall be held, between Easter and October' (K. fol. 71, Bev. i. p. 167, Aristin). Canon vi. of the Seventh Ecum. Council: 'Since it is not possible for a synod to be held, as was anciently decreed, twice a year, let it be once, according to the decree of the Sixth Council. And if any ruler attempt to prevent it, let him be excommunicated. And if any bishop neglect [to convoke the synod, or to attend], let him be punished. And when the synod meets, if the metropolitan takes aught from a bishop, he shall restore fourfold.'[1] [The gloss, which follows, merely paraphrases the same, without any addition to the sense.]

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[1] Bever. I. p. 449, Aristin.

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[1] This last quotation is the latter part of the full canon added to the gloss of Aristin in the Russian Kormchay.

[2] Canon xl. of the present Greek **Πηδάλιον**, and of Bever.

[3] Two canons, xxv. and xxvi., are strangely mixed together in the Russian K., and Nicon's quotation begins with a decree against giving the communion to dead persons, which, as being quite irrelevant, is here omitted: and in the same way in giving the gloss.

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[1] Here, too, the first part of canon cv. and the last part of canon cvi. of the Greek text printed in Russia in 1839 (canons ciii. and civ. of the Greek Πηδάλιον) are blended together in Aristin and in the Russian K.; and the first clause of its compound canon, as quoted by Nicon, being entirely irrelevant, is omitted in our translation. See Bever. i. p. 633, canon xcviii., Aristin.

But all these canons have nothing whatever written in them of a patriarch's being judged by his own bishops; but only of administering ecclesiastical matters according to the sacred canons, and not of introducing, contrary to the canons, anything new for the ruin of the holy Church, as thou, O Answerer, introducest new canons, at one time out of proscribed books, at another out of heathenish and fabulous compositions, beyond the holy books recognised by canon lxxxv. of the holy Apostles [the gloss on which in the K. fol. 9, adds the other references], by canon lix. [lx.] of the synod of Laodicea, by canon xxiv. of Carthage [K. fol. 50, 51, but xxxii. in the Πηδάλιον], by Athanasius the Great [Epist. Fest. 39], by Gregory the Divine [ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν]; and by the most theological Amphilochius [διὰ στίχων ἰάμβων, K. fol. 50, 51]. Canon lx. of the holy Apostles:[2] 'If any one read publicly any lying writings of impious heretics as holy books in the church, to the hurt of the people and the clergy, let him be deposed.' The gloss: 'Many books have been corrupted by the heretics for the damage of the simpler kind of persons; as the Apostolical Constitutions, addressed through St. Clement to the bishops, which on that account were also synodically rejected. Some have been altogether composed by the heretics, and inscribed with false titles, as if written by one or other of the holy fathers; and some are called apocryphal. Such books then, by this canon, are to be rejected, and are not to be proposed for reading. But if any one brings them out before the people, and attempts to read them in the church, he, being a clerk, is to be deposed, and the books are to be burned' (K. fol. 7). But as for thee, whatever thou writest in thine Answers, it is all passionate and dissolute, and full of all manner of impurity, as if thou wert another Maximus the Cynic, of whom it is written in canon iv. of the Second Ecum. Council: 'Maximus the Cynic is no bishop; and every one who has been ordained by him is unordained' (K. fol. 35). The gloss: 'This Maximus (called the Cynic from shamelessness) divided the Church of God, and filled it with faction and wrangling. He showed himself a wolf instead of a shepherd, and readily forgave all sins to sinners on this one condition only, that they should be impious in respect of the constitutions, that is, that they should transgress the commandments,[1] as Gregory the Theologian says. Wherefore this Maximus is to have no part among the bishops; and they who have been ordained by him, to whatever order of the clergy, are no clerks' (Bev. i. p. 91, Aristin). Hear also canon xxi. of the synod of Sardica: 'He who arrogantly tries to unsettle those constitutions which have been well and religiously enacted is no bishop' (K. fol. 45, Bev. i. p. 508, Aristin). How then dost thou bring in, contrary to the sacred canons, the opinion that there may be a trial held and judgment passed against me by my own bishops? Show me, thou that art blind to the truth! and I also will show thee that it is not lawful even for a metropolitan to be judged by his own bishops, but only by the M. H. Ecum. Patriarch of C. P. Canon xii. of the synod of Carthage: 'A bishop accused is to be tried, if not by the full synod of the province, by at least twelve bishops; and a presbyter by six [with his own bishop]; and a deacon by three' (K. fol. 48). And this is of bishops, but not of metropolitans or patriarchs. The Fourth Ecum. Council of Chalcedon enumerates all according to their different ranks, and distinguishes by whom each is to be judged.[2] Canon x. [ix.] of the Council of

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[1] K. fol. 83, Bever. i. p. 296, Aristin.

[2] This, which follows, is the full canon: and the gloss is from that of Zonaras, not, as is generally the case in the K., the abridged canon and the gloss of Aristin. See Bever. i. p. 39.

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[1] But in the Greek it is, 'that they should be impious as to the doctrines of faith.'

[2] 'A priest (charged with any crime rendering him liable to complete degradation) is to be judged by six bishops, his own bishop being a seventh; and a deacon by three bishops, his own bishop being a fourth. And so their causes are to be examined, and they are to be judged.' Bever. i. p. 527, Aristin (but with some words added and altered).

Chalcedon: 'Clerks having suits one against another, if instead of taking them before the bishop they apply to secular courts, are to be canonically punished. And clerks having anything against a bishop must wait for the meeting of the synod. And if bishops have anything against the metropolitan, they must make it known to the patriarch of Constantinople' (K. fol. 38, 39). The gloss: 'A clerk having anything against another clerk may not go to law with him before secular judges, but only before his own bishop; and if, leaving their own bishop, they go before a secular court, they are to be punished according to the canons. In like manner, a clerk, having any matter against his bishop, must go to the metropolitan of that province; and when at the time fixed all the bishops of his province come together to the metropolitan, then he shall have his cause judged before the metropolitan in the synod. But if a bishop or a clerk have any difference with the metropolitan, their cause is to be judged by the patriarch of all that region,[1] under whom are [the bishops and] the metropolitans of all the provinces of the same region. Or it may be judged by the patriarch of C. P. But this power, viz. that of judging a metropolitan who is under another patriarch, is given to no one of the other patriarchs, neither by the canons nor by the civil laws, but only to the patriarch of C. P.' (K. fol. 38, 39). From the Code of the Novells of the Emperor Justinian, cap. 58: 'If a clerk, or any other, have a complaint to make against a bishop, first let the religious metropolitan of that province judge the matter according to the sacred canons, and according to our laws. And if any one gainsay the decision, let the matter be referred to the most blessed bishop and patriarch [of Constantinople]; and he shall give it such final settlement as may be proper. But if a bishop, or a clerk, or any other person, have aught against a metropolitan, the patriarch of that jurisdiction in like manner shall judge the matter'[2] (K. part ii. fol. 10). See, O Answerer! where is it said that patriarchs may be judged by their own bishops? It is not permitted that even a metropolitan should be judged by a bishop; but he is to be judged only by a patriarch.

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[1] '*Either* before the exarch of the Diœcese, *or* the patriarch of all that region,' &c. Bever. i. p. 123, Aristin.

[2] In the original text there follow also these words: 'But in all causes bishops shall be judged either by their own metropolitans, or by the patriarchs, and not by any other judges whatever.'

VIII. REPLY AGAINST THE EIGHTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Question of Simeon Streshneff: 'Can our sovereign Alexis Michaelovich assemble that synod? or must it be assembled by patriarchal command?' *Reply:* But there is nowhere any such canon as that kings or emperors should convoke synods; especially to vindicate their own cause. Canon xxxvii. of the Apostles: 'Twice in the year the bishops shall assemble themselves[1] for ecclesiastical matters, and for doctrine.' See here, O thou Answerer, how the holy canon speaks, 'shall *assemble themselves,*' not 'shall be assembled by the emperor,' or by any other. In like manner also canon v. of the First Ecum. Council, and canon xix. of the Fourth Ecum. Council, and canon i. of the Third, and canon v. of the Seventh. If it be also true that in old times synods were convoked by religious emperors, still this was by way of request, not by command, as it is now the practice to convoke them by command and compulsion: as also here in the Ninth Question it is plain that it is a compulsory command, not a request, which is intended.

IX. REPLY AGAINST THE NINTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, that I set at naught the synod which our divinely-crowned sovereign ordered to be held, which was held here in Moscow; that I regarded it as nothing; and called it a Judaical synagogue. If any one in contravention of the holy canons convoke synods, that is no synod which is so held. So what was held against Basil the Great by command of the governor, and against Gregory the Divine by command of Julian, and against John Chrysostom by command of the emperor and the empress, and against the metropolitan Philip by command of the Tsar John, were none of them synods, nor are called 'holy;' but such are synagogues [*conciliabula*], not synods. For the Lord says thus: 'Wherever two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them' (Matt. xviii. 20).

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[1] *συνίτωσαν* in the Greek: but in the Russ it is a reflexive verb.

And again: 'My sheep hear my voice' (John x. 27). And again: 'If any one loveth me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him; and we will come unto him and make our abode with him' (ib. xiv. 23). And, 'If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, as I also have kept the commandments of my Father, and abide in his love' (ib. xv. 10). 'He that hath my commandments and doeth them, he it is that loveth me. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven' (Matt. vii. 21). 'Many shall say unto me on that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then I will answer them: I never knew you: depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. Therefore, whosoever heareth my words and doeth them, I will liken him to a wise man that built his house upon the rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not, for it was founded upon the rock. And every one that heareth my words and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it' (Matt. vii. 24-27). 'But why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' (Luke vi. 46.) 'They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable, and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate' (Tit. i. 16). 'Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?' (Rom. ii. 23.) 'See then that ye walk warily, not as unwise, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is' (Eph. v. 15-17).

Thou also, O thou Answerer, writest: 'Behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' And again thou sayest of us, 'It was of human passion, some one may say, that Nicon then uttered whatever he uttered: and it is not necessary to examine narrowly a word uttered with bitterness. But whosoever he be that calls the holy synodical assemblies Judaical synagogues, he ought at once to be anathematised as a heretic. For Gregory Dialogus reverenced the first four Ecumenical

Councils even as the instruments of the four holy Evangelists.' And who told thee, O thou forger of sophistries, that I called the holy synodical assemblies of the Church Judaical synagogues, and that so I ought to be anathematised as a heretic, because Gregory Dialogus reverenced the first four Ecumenical Councils? See! that even your questioner himself asked thee not with reference to the Ecumenical Councils, but with reference to [other assemblies] of this present time, which the Tsar's majesty convoked and gave gifts to, that they should take vengeance upon us for our departure, and that they should say all that he, the sovereign, wished (as also that synodal act of theirs itself shows), but not speak from the holy Ecumenical Councils. We have said repeatedly above, and we now say again, that if any one, contrary to the canon of the Seventh holy Ecum. Council, adds or takes away anything, he is to be anathema; even as thou also, who audaciously writest and speakest, and bringest in new rules, from condemned and spurious books. And on the same principle any one who has understanding, if he call this conciliabulum a Judaical synagogue, errs not from the truth. If any one examines their act drawn up in that conciliabule, it is all throughout full of falsehood, and there is no truth whatever in it. But of the synods ordered to be held by canon xxxvii. of the Apostles, and in like manner by canon xv. of the synod held at Antioch of Syria, it is said,[1] 'But it shall not be lawful for any to make a synod by themselves, without the bishop who holds the metropolitan chair.' Likewise also in canon xxxix. of the synod of Laodicea it is said that 'the bishops are to assemble in such place as shall be appointed by the metropolitan.' And in canon xix. of the Fourth Ecum. Council, viz. that of Chalcedon, it is written that 'the bishops are to meet in such place as is appointed by the metropolitan,' not by the Tsar. So also in canon xcv. of the synod of Carthage: 'When there shall be any common need for the holding of a common council, all the bishops ought to send letters to him who holds the first chair; and whatever place he shall select as convenient for their meeting, there they are to assemble.' In like manner again in canon vi. of the Seventh Ecum. Council it is said that 'any bishop neglecting the summons of his metropolitan to a council, except in case of any affliction or necessity, subjects himself to canonical censure.' In like manner tit. viii. cap. 50 [8] of the Novells of the Emperor Justinian: 'The metropolitans are to come together to the patriarchs, and the bishops to their metropolitans' (K. fol. 21). And after the seven Ecumenical Councils there is somewhere to be found a synod called by an emperor in the teeth of the holy ecumenical synods, in which the Emperor and the Ecumenical Patriarch were present. But, notwithstanding, since they had presumed to do this unlawfully, in after-time that synod was anathematised, according to canon i. of the Seventh Ecum. Council, and all that they had done lawlessly was annulled. Though there was present an orthodox Emperor and the Ecumenical Patriarch, and legates from the other patriarchs, the act irregularly done by them is disallowed and reckoned among transgressions; of which we shall hereafter speak more at length. But how darest thou, O thou enemy of the truth, and alien from all justice, to gloss and justify Questions intended to introduce innovations, asked contrary to the sacred canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, without reverencing the divine laws and maxims? Hear the synodal act which passed in the time of the religious Tsar Theodore Ivanovich, in order, out of zeal towards God, and for the greater beauty of the holy Church, to erect a patriarchal chair, when before that dignity had not existed in the Muscovite empire, but the primates were styled Metropolitans of Moscow and all Russia with the blessing of the ecumenical patriarchs.

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[1] What follows is really part of the original canon, but it is added to the gloss of Aristin in the Russian K. See above, pp. 34, 35.

'When the thought and wish of the Tsar's majesty was now about to be carried into effect, the Tsar called to him the most rev. the metropolitan, with all the sacred synod of the clergy, and all his imperial synclete, and began to state to them his mind thus: Ye know, my fathers, how notably religion flourished in the days of the orthodox emperors in Greece and in Africa, in Egypt and in Libya, in Palestine and in Syria,—that is, in the land of the Greeks, in Constantinople, and in Alexandria, and in Antioch, and in Jerusalem, and in other countries where the ineffable providences of God were enacted. And a vast body of people was converted from the darkness of ignorance to the light of a sound mind. But now, as we hear, both I and ye, the glorious and most admirable churches, which had been built to the praise of the one true God who is glorified in Trinity, are all trampled down, being under the power of the ungodly Turks, and nothing that pertains to religion is respected, but all is dishonoured (God having thus permitted it to be for our correction) to such an extent that all the patriarchs and the other bishops in those parts are only named with the title of the episcopate, but are deprived of nearly all the power to exercise it. Now [the report of] that evil hath reached even hither. But our country, as ye see, by the grace of God, extends over a vast space: and, what is more important, our orthodox faith, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, grows up and expands. And for this cause I wish, if it be agreeable to God, and not forbidden by the divine scriptures, that in our capital city of Moscow there should be erected a chair of the highest [*i. e.* of patriarchal] rank. And so let me know if this is well pleasing to you. For myself, I think that there is herein nothing prejudicial to piety, but rather a promotion of the faith of Christ. On hearing these words of the Tsar, the most reverend metropolitan and the other bishops and noble boyars praised the suggestion of the religious Tsar, and unanimously adhered to it: and they said that the Church of God within the jurisdiction of the Russian metropolitan was worthy of the patriarchal authority. At the same time they said to the religious Tsar: If thy religious majesty will be pleased to cause a representation respecting this matter to be made in writing to the four ecumenical patriarchs, and if they will each of them consult with their own metropolitans and bishops, and ascertain that there exists a mutual agreement by writing to one another, such a plan may, by the Lord's help, be easily carried into effect; since thy religious majesty and we all of us regard these patriarchs as the pillars of our religion. Notwithstanding the fact that they are in the power of the pagans, still the holy things [divine graces and institutions], as says the scripture, are never the more defiled. But especially should the method stated above be followed on this account, O religious Tsar, that it may not be thought by other nations, especially by the Latins, who write against our holy faith, and by other heretics, that in the capital city of Moscow a patriarchal chair has been erected only by the single authority of the Tsar. But the religious Tsar, hearing what they thus said, attended without reluctance to their advice. And though he could have decreed by his own authority, as

Tsar and autocrat, to erect a chair of the highest patriarchal rank, he nevertheless was pleased to submit himself to the will of God as revealed in the canons of the holy apostles and holy fathers, and to the advice of the bishops: for he honoured the priesthood rather than the empire, because the priests stand before the altar, and the unblemished Lamb is offered by their hands. According to the divine scripture, to honour the priest is to honour the most high God, because the honour of the priest ascends to God, not substantially—God forbid that any one should say so—but on account of the great grace which was given by Christ our God to the apostles and their successors. He who heareth, he says, you, heareth me; and he who rejecteth you, rejecteth me; and he who rejecteth me, rejecteth also Him that sent me. And again: He that receiveth you, receiveth me. And so, above all things, showing himself in all respects a son, and an obedient son of the holy Church, he immediately gave command to do according to their word; and letters were speedily sent from the Tsar and from the bishops to the four patriarchs, and to many other metropolitans, to ask them in such wise as had been agreed. And the messengers with great zeal set forth on their journey, and by the grace of God obtained what was sought. And, some considerable time having passed, the messengers returned to the capital city of Moscow to the religious Tsar, bringing with them from the four patriarchs and from the metropolitans an opinion respecting the patriarchate. And, for greater confirmation, they brought a written exposition of the patriarchs and metropolitans and other bishops, distinguished by red wax, and authenticated by the signatures and seals of the bishops, of whom the number so subscribing and attaching their seals was above seventy. They announced farther, that for the creation of a patriarch in great Russia, the holy fathers had determined that one of the patriarchs should go to Moscow; if possible, the patriarch of C. P., as holding the highest place. And the religious Tsar, hearing this, was greatly delighted. And in the third year there came the Ecum. Patriarch Jeremiah, accompanied by other metropolitans and archbishops, archimandrites and hegoumens, bringing to the metropolitan see of Russia counsel and confirmation. And so was completed the consultation about the patriarchate and the election.' And the most reverend Job, the metropolitan, was created patriarch in Moscow, being consecrated with imposition of hands for the third time, by the M. H. patriarch Jeremiah. For he was consecrated first to be bishop of Kolomna; and then a second time to the metropolitan see of Moscow; and lastly, a third time, to the patriarchate. This is attested by the registers of the ordinations. And the Ecumenical Patriarch gave to the Russian chair in the Church of God authority that on the death of any patriarch the suffragan metropolitans, and archbishops and bishops, and all the sacred synod, should raise another to the patriarchal chair; as is also attested by the confirmatory letters of the M. H. ecumenical patriarchs; but not to raise another to the place of a living patriarch; nor even [after the occurrence of a vacancy by death to do it] without communication with the ecumenical patriarchs. Seest thou, O thou worker of division in the holy Church, and contemner of the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, with what divine zeal the religious Tsar was inflamed, and how yet he by no means dared to do anything in contravention of the holy canons, or in disobedience to the advice of the bishops; but altogether submitted himself to the divine commandments, and with patience brought the work of God to its completion in the matter of the patriarchate? Nor did they then send to the M. H. ecumenical patriarchs any secret communication, as now has been done through suborned agents respecting our departure. See too, concerning this, the synod which was held in C. P.; how neither the four ecumenical patriarchs dared to decree anything respecting the patriarchate at Moscow, and the other questions [into which they had to enter], in contravention of the holy canons; but only with testimony from the sacred canons. Not as thou, O thou new schismatic, or I will say heretic, from the condemned Constitutions of Clement, and from Esop, and from ravens and jackdaws, and from other lying and swinish and accursed books, contrary to canons lxv. [lx.] and lxxv. of the Apostles, and canon i. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, citest lying testimonies, like a raven thyself going about land and sea making divisions, as thou hast done in the land of Moldavia, so here also doing the same. Hear, thou maker of schism, the synodal act which was passed in C. P. and was composed in the Helleno-Greek tongue, in which it came to Moscow, and was there translated into Slavonic, that all the faithful might be able to appreciate it:

'A holy and great hieratical synod being assembled in the name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ in the church of our M. H. Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, called *Παραμυθίας*, *i.e.* of Consolation, in C. P., in the days of the religious and divinely-crowned Theodore Ivanovich, the great Tsar of Moscow and autocrat of all Russia, under the most holy orthodox patriarchs, viz. the most holy Jeremiah, Abp. of C. P. New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch, and the most blessed Meletius, Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and Ecumenical Judge, and vicar of the most holy Joachim Patriarch of the city of God the great Antioch and of all the East, and the most holy Sophronius Patriarch of the holy city Jerusalem and of all Palestine; and there having come before it the most illustrious Gregory Athanasieff, ambassador of the above-mentioned most religious Tsar; the most pious orthodox bishops also from all the region of the Eastern Church being assembled in session together with [the patriarchs], Meletius the M. B. patriarch of Alexandria said: "Ye know, brethren, that the sign of our love to our God and Saviour is pastoral diligence. For he says to Peter, 'Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.' For which cause also we have endured and still endure many and divers struggles and hardships and labours, as ye know. And now, since there have been sent to us letters from the most holy Ecumenical Patriarch, the brother and fellow-minister of ourselves and of the other bishops, desiring us to assemble at C. P. on account of the necessities of the Church, I, having both received the letters sent from the most orthodox city of Moscow from the most orthodox Tsar Theodore, and considering at once both the needs of the Church and the dignity and merit of the Tsar, beseech your piety to consider carefully what I say, and to express your judgment in common, if perchance it may appear to you to be right, just, and reasonable that it should be so as I propose.

"First then, since by the grace of God the Church of Christ, being perfect also in her divine dogmas, has received a perfect regulation in the constitutions given by the Saviour himself and his apostles, and by the holy fathers who shone here in the East, that is, in the holy Council of the cccxviii. divinely inspired fathers held at Nice, and in the following six Ecumenical

Councils, even to the Seventh, which was held again at Nice, as also in the local orthodox councils held at different times in the intervals between these seven ecumenical; and since the Church obtains her perfection not only by correct understanding and pious holding of the orthodox dogmas, but also through the sacred regulation of ecclesiastical matters, it behoves that we also root out from within the precinct of the Church every innovation, seeing that innovations are ever the causes of troubles and mischiefs in the Church, and that we should follow the rules of the holy fathers and all that they have taught us unchangeably, without addition of anything or diminution, receiving all according to canon i. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which is as follows: (*Canon* i. *of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.*) 'The holy canons we affectionately embrace and hold to, viz. those of the holy Apostles, those of the six Ecumenical Councils, and in addition those of the Local Councils, and farther those of our holy Fathers, as inspired by one and the same Holy Spirit. Whom then they anathematised we anathematise, and whom they deposed we depose, whom they excommunicated we excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we put to penance.'[1] Another version (Nicon, Serm. i. 63): 'They who have obtained the sacerdotal dignity have for their touchstones and directions the forms of the canonical constitutions, which we receiving heartily, in accord with the prophet David, sing to the Lord God saying (Ps. 118), I have had as great delight in the way of thy testimonies as in all manner of riches: and, Thou hast commanded justice, even thy testimonies, O Lord, for everlasting; O give me understanding, and I shall live. And if the prophetic voice enjoins us to keep the testimonies of God for ever, and to live in them, it is plain that they abide unshaken and unmoved for ever. Moses also, who saw God, speaks thus: To them nothing may be added, and from them nothing may be taken away. And the divine apostle Peter (1 Pet. i. 12), extolling them, cries out: Into which things the angels also desire to look. And Paul says, Even though we or an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema (Gal. i. 8). These things being so, and being so witnessed to us, we rejoicing in them as one who should have found great spoils, affectionately embrace the divine canons, and confirm their injunctions, entire and unquestioned; those, that is, both of the canons put forth by the holy trumpets of the Spirit, the most honourable Apostles, and those of the six holy Ecumenical Councils, and those of the Local Synods assembled for the enactment of such constitutions, and those of our holy Fathers. For all being irradiated from one and the same Spirit, have decreed what was expedient. And whom they anathematise we also anathematise, and whom they depose we depose, and whom they excommunicate we excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we also put to penance. For, "without covetousness, content with what we have," this is what he who mounted into the third heaven, and heard unspeakable words, even the divine apostle Paul, distinctly cries aloud' (K. fol. 82). The gloss: 'In the time of the Emperor Constantine, grandson of the thrice-accursed and abhorred of God Leo Copronymus, and his mother Irene, who was from Athens, this Seventh Council was held, consisting of ccclxvii. bishops, who came together by the advice and request of the holy abp. of C. P. Tarasius. It was held against the Iconoclasts, *i.e.* against those who calumniated the Christians; and these they anathematised, and restored to the Church her ancient ornaments, and decreed well that Christians should have the representations of the Icons, and relatively salute them: in like manner they bade that men should do reverence to the image of the venerable cross; embracing affectionately and confirming both the canons of the holy and most laudable Apostles, and those of the six holy Ecumenical, and of the other Local Councils. And whom they anathematised these fathers also anathematise, and whom they condemned for any crime, or deposed, these also in like manner condemn, and whom they excommunicated these excommunicate, and on whom they imposed penance these equally impose penance, neither adding anything nor diminishing from those things which by the holy apostles and divinely-inspired fathers had been set forth and defined'" (K. fol. 82).

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[1] Thus far is the abridged canon of Aristin, as in Bever. i. p. 286. What follows is the full canon (Bever. i. p. 284). The gloss after it is the gloss of Aristin. Bever. i. p. 286.

'These words having been thus spoken by the patriarch of Alexandria, the most holy patriarch Jeremiah said: "These things we all confess from the time of our ordination to the hierarchy, or rather from the very moment that we received divine baptism itself." The holy synod said, "We all so confess, and command that these same things be observed among all, as following all of us our fathers; and what they embrace we also embrace; and what they reject we also in like manner reject; as also canon i. of the holy and Ecum. Council of Chalcedon[1] prescribed, and canon i. of the Seventh Council explained." The M. B. Meletius, patriarch of Alexandria, said, "Whereas by a certain ancient custom of the Catholic Church the establishment of the patriarchal chairs was anticipated and sketched in outline, and this was more distinctly brought out by the First holy Ecum. Council, as its sixth canon will show, for it has the following words:[2] 'Let the ancient custom be observed; that the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all the bishops that are in Egypt and Libya, and in Pentapolis, since for the bishop of Rome also the same is customary. In like manner also as regards Antioch, and in the other provinces, let their privileges be preserved to the churches. Hence universally it is clear, that if any one, without the will of the metropolitan, should be made a bishop, the great synod decrees that such a one is not to be acknowledged for a bishop.' And again by the Seventh Council, in which they honoured the chair of Jerusalem, on account of the economy of our Saviour in the flesh having been in that land, by giving it the like honour; though they made it to rank after the other patriarchal chairs, in order that they might not, by giving it precedence over the others, suggest the idea of magnifying an earthly kingdom of Christ. And whereas it is now proper that I should return an answer to the most religious letters of the divinely-crowned Tsar [of Muscovy], I beseech your piety to examine whether I have appeared to say what is right and agreeable to the rules of the fathers, and to confirm it synodically. I judge, then, that it is right that the most orthodox city of Moscow, having been by the goodness and grace of God distinguished to be the seat of empire, should be magnified also in ecclesiastical respects, according to canon xxviii. of the Fourth Council of the DCXXX. holy fathers of Chalcedon, which says thus: 'Following in all things the determinations of the holy fathers, and recognising the canon just read of the CL. divinely-inspired bishops who were assembled in the time of the Emperor Theodosius the Great of blessed memory, in C. P., New Rome, we also decree and vote the same respecting the privileges of the most holy church of Constantinople or New Rome. For [to the chair of the elder Rome], because that city was the seat of empire, the fathers reasonably gave the precedence: and moved by the same consideration, the CL. most godly bishops [of the Second Council] awarded equal privileges to the M. H. chair of New Rome, judging reasonably that the city which was honoured with the presence of the emperor and the synclete, and which had obtained equal rank with the elder capital Rome, should be exalted like it in ecclesiastical matters also, so as to be second after it; and that the metropolitans only of the Diœceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and in addition the bishops in the barbarian parts of [or bordering on] the above-mentioned Diœceses, should be ordained by the said M. H. chair of the church of C. P.; that is, that each metropolitan of the above-mentioned Diœceses should ordain the bishops of his province, as is prescribed by the divine canons, but that the metropolitans themselves of the said Diœceses should be ordained by the archbishop of C. P., an agreement by votes having first been obtained in the usual way and being carried up to him'[1] (K. fol. 41). But canon xiii. [iii.] of the holy fathers of the Council of C. P. says: 'The bishop of C. P. shall have precedence of honour next after the bishop of Rome, because C. P. is New Rome' (K. fol. 35). But neither does the holy and great council of the CCCXVIII. fathers seem to use any other language when distinguishing the order, and regulation, and authority of the patriarchal chairs, which it describes only by reference to the imperial dignity, Alexandria presiding over Egypt, Libya, and the rest, and Antioch over Syria and all the East, in like manner as in Europe Rome. So also Asia is rightly presided over by Constantinople, which in later times obtained equality with old Rome because the seat of empire was transferred thence to it, as is decreed by canon xxxvi. of the holy Council held in the palace in Trullo, which speaks thus: "Renewing the constitutions of the CL. holy fathers who were assembled in this capital, and of the DCXXX. at Chalcedon, we decree that the chair of C. P. shall receive equal honour with the chair of old Rome, and shall be magnified like it in ecclesiastical matters, being the second[1] after it: after it the chair of the great city of Alexandria; then that of Antioch; and after this the chair of the city of Jerusalem' (K. fol. 74). Now, then, I judge that it is right, and I pray this great synod to judge, that the chair of the most religious and orthodox city of Moscow be, and be entitled, henceforth a patriarchal chair, because the same city has been honoured to become the seat of empire in that country; and that all Russia and the northern regions be subject to the patriarchal chair of Moscow and all Russia and the northern regions; and that the same chair have its place next after the M. H. patriarch of Jerusalem in the sacred diptychs, and in ecclesiastical assemblies; that we may observe the above-mentioned canons of the holy fathers in full force; and that it have precedence over all bishops, metropolitans, and archbishops throughout all the Catholic orthodox Church of Christ; and that it be the head of all that province [eparchy] of Moscow and all Russia and the Northern Countries; and be recognised as such, in conformity with canon xxxiv. of the holy and most laudable Apostles, which commands thus: 'The bishops of every nation must recognise their primate, and regard him as head, and do nothing extraordinary without his consent; each doing those things only which are of his duty in his own see and its dependencies. Nor either is he [that is, the primate] to do anything without the consent of all: for so there will be concord, and God will be glorified, through the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost' (K. fol. 4): And that he [the patriarch of Moscow] be, and be called, the brother of the orthodox patriarchs, having equality with them in point of title, and in the rank of his chair, and be styled, and subscribe himself, after the custom of the orthodox patriarchs, 'Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and of the Northern Countries;' and that at his ordination the usual order of the church shall be observed, the bishop of the first see pronouncing the prayer [of consecration]. I for my part judge that this should be so: but let the holy synod declare its mind."

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[1] Enforcing all former canons. Bever. i. p. 111.

[2] Here he cites the full canon. See Bever. i. p. 16.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 145. Balsamon interprets these elections to be made by the metropolitans of three persons, from whom the patriarch chooses one. 'But before this canon,' he says, 'the bishops of each province ordained their metropolitans. Another interpretation argues that the chair of C. P. has not the privileges of old Rome, since the patriarchs of C. P. do not take the imperial state like the Pope, nor does the civil law reënact their equality. But I, as incardinated in the church of C. P., wish them to have all their canonical privileges.' Zonaras argues against those that would interpret *after* (*μετὰ*, *post*) to mean only *after* in point of time, and who assert an absolute equality of rank and privileges for the chair of C. P.

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[1] In the present Greek Πηδάλιον there is a note that 'this *after* means only in order of *time*, as some say with Aristin, not implying any inferiority, as Zonaras wrongly interprets it: else we should have five different ranks of subordination for the five patriarchs.'

'The H. M. Ecum. Patriarch Jeremiah then said: "In this matter we also have ourselves acted by anticipation; and we have made a declaration concerning the same in a writing to the most religious Tsar." The M. H. Patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronius [spoke to the like effect]. The holy synod itself, re-enacting unchangeably the same, said: "This constitution, as being framed in accordance with the holy canons, we all accept; and we ordain concerning that empire thus: That the most religious Tsar of Moscow, the Autocrat of all Russia and the Northern Countries, shall be commemorated, as hitherto, in the sacred services of the Eastern churches, both in the sacred offertory and in the holy diptychs; likewise, that before the beginning of the *ἑξάψαλμος*, that is, after the ending of the two psalms about the king, he shall be proclaimed after that Exclamation, by name, as the Most Orthodox Tsar." All said, "This also is good and proper. And farther we decree that it behoves that this act be sent, confirmed by our signatures, to the most religious Tsar of Moscow, and to the most entirely holy Job patriarch of Moscow and all Russia and the northern countries." All said, "So it pleases us." And to these things they subscribed their hands, and affixed their seals, for a perpetual confirmation' (Kormchay of 1653).

But how dost thou, O thou schismatic, not in thy right mind! dare, in contravention of the Apostolic canons and the Seven Ecumenical Councils, to make answers to the destruction of Christian souls? Seest thou this Act of the holy fathers, how it allows nothing to be either taken away or added? And farther, they have expressed their reasons in their Act. These fathers say that the patriarch is to be the head of all the bishops. But thou sayest, 'There is no difference; he is just the same as the rest.' Again, thou sayest that 'the glory and honour of Rome has passed to Moscow.' Whence hast thou learned this? Show me. Thou hast seen the acts of the holy fathers of the synod at

C. P. And what is said on this point in them? It may be seen above. The patriarch of Moscow, being equalled in honour with the patriarch of Jerusalem, is to be named in the diptychs *after* the patriarch of Jerusalem. And we rejoice to remain within such a rule and constitution, and not to overpass the measure and the rule of the holy fathers, *i.e.* of the most holy ecumenical patriarchs.

As for what thou sayest to the Tenth Question in thy Answer, that 'Christ is the head, the bishops only the eyes and lips, and the laity the limbs,' canon lv. of the holy Apostles says: 'If any clerk insult a bishop, let him be deposed; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.'[1] The gloss: 'For the bishops, being after the likeness of our Lord Jesus Christ, and being named *heads* of the body of the Church, are consequently worthy of greater honour. Therefore, if any one insult them, he is deposed. But the priests and deacons, being after the likeness of hands, because by them the bishop manages the direction of the Church, are also on that account worthy of honour; yet not in the same way with the bishops; for the *head* is more honourable than the hands'[2]. (K. fol. 6). Canon xiv. of the synod of Neocæsarea: 'The country bishops (*χωρεπίσκοποι*) are after the likeness of the LXX.; but the city bishops (*ἐπίσκοποι*) are after the likeness of the XII. holy apostles'[3] (K. fol. 22). And the head of them all is the patriarch, as has been written above: but it is not as thou, O schismatic, sayest. Canon xxxiv. of the holy Apostles, as also canon ix. of the synod of Antioch in Syria (K. fol. 26), command that the metropolitan also is to be honoured with a primacy. But thou, either not having or not knowing the divine scripture, not having in thine Answers any words of cogency from the genuine instrument, betakest thyself to strange lies and fables for the deception of the simpler sort of men, though the Lord testifies, 'Woe unto that man through whom offence cometh.' And again: 'Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones to offend, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.' Say, thou forger of falsehood, where is it written that his own bishops may assemble and judge their archbishop or metropolitan? whereas really a bishop is to be judged by the metropolitan, assisted by the bishops; but a metropolitan by the patriarch under whom his metropolitan see is, or by the patriarch of C. P., as canon ix. of the Fourth holy Council says (K. fol. 38). But not even a bishop may be judged before information has been taken about his case; nor before he has been summoned; as Basil the Great writes in his First Book, ch. 51: 'It is not proper to condemn any one before exact knowledge has been carefully obtained of his case, though there may be many who accuse him.' 'Nicodemus said, he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them, Doth our law judge any man before it hear him and understand what he doeth?' (John vii. 50, 51.) And 'Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix; about whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him. To whom I answered, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him' (Acts xxv. 14-16.) Canon lxxiv. of the holy Apostles: 'A bishop accused and called to trial, and not obeying, is to be called a second and a third time by two other bishops;[1] but if he then come not, let the synod condemn him as it may judge proper.' The gloss: 'If a bishop is accused of any offences by trustworthy persons, and, upon being called to trial by a synod, obeys not, the synod is not at once to proceed to condemn him, but it is to summon him a second and a third time; and each time that he is summoned there are to be sent to him two bishops. But if he continue contumacious, and come not to his trial, the synod shall then go into the case with one of the parties only present, and shall condemn him according as the crime may deserve (that he may not think to escape judgment by keeping away).'[2] And canon xix. of the synod of Carthage[3] says that a bishop is not to be judged without being summoned; and then [if he appear not] it is necessary to have accusations made against a bishop proved by competent witnesses; and then only he may be condemned as the crime may deserve. Seest thou now that neither is a bishop to be judged without being summoned a second and a third time? and that about metropolitans there is no such canon as authorises their own bishops to judge them; but they are to be judged by the patriarch, together with all the metropolitans: as has been written above from canon ix. of the Fourth Holy Ecum. Council? (K. fol. 38.) But for the case of patriarchs, it is nowhere found that a patriarch may be judged by his own bishops. And by what name, then, can any one call that their conciliabulum, when they, in the teeth of all the holy canons, even by the rule for simple bishops, attempted to make me guilty, and neither questioned me at all respecting my departure, nor summoned me as a bishop, according to the above-transcribed canon lxxiv. of the holy Apostles?

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[1] The abridged canon of Aristin, Bever. i. p. 37.

[2] This is the gloss of Zonaras, as Aristin merely repeats the abridged canon. Bever. i. p. 37.

[3] The first words of the canon, and the first words of the gloss (see the K. of 1834, fol. 22,) from the full canon and from the gloss of Zonaras, not from Aristin. Bever. i. p. 413.

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[1] The *Πηδάλιον* here has a note: 'Then there were no patriarchates: but now the *αὐτοπιστία* of the patriarchal notaries is enough.'

[2] K. fol. 8, and Bever. i. p. 49, Aristin.

[3] The sense of canon xix. of the K. (fol. 49, ed. 1834) is alluded to; but it is not a quotation, though the copyist thought it to be one. See canon xxii. of Bever. vol. i. p. 543.

Chap. xiv. of Basil the Great, lib. i., says that 'we ought not to give heed to such as teach otherwise, though they fashion themselves so as to deceive such as are not well instructed, so as to be able to expose them.' The Lord says, 'Take heed that no man deceive you. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many' (Matt. xxiv. 4, 5). 'Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love greetings in the markets, and the highest seats in the synagogues, and the chief rooms at feasts; which devour widows' houses: the same shall receive greater damnation' (Luke xx. 46, 47). 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments; and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men Rabbi.' And a little farther on: 'Woe unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when ye have made him, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith. These ye ought to have done, and not to leave the others undone. Ye blind guides, who strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel! Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and injustice. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also appear outwardly righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city. Verily, verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation' (Matt. xxiii.). 'But Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn away the deputy from the faith. Then Saul, who is also called Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him, and said, O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?' (Acts xiii. 8-10.) 'But if we or an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than that which we have preached, let him be anathema. As I said to you before, so now also I say again, If any one preach to you anything else than that which ye have received, let him be accursed' (Gal. i. 7). But thou liest, O thou Answerer, against me, when thou sayest that I contemned the first four Ecumenical Councils, and for that ought to be anathematised. But where is there any word of ours that I so spoke? Even thy questioner himself says nothing of this. The Latins [it may be] receive only four Ecumenical Councils, and take no account of the other three.[1] It is plain that thou art an abortion from that synagogue; for thy speech betrayeth thee. But we receive and embrace, not four Ecumenical Councils only, but seven, as is enjoined in canon i. of the Seventh Ecum. Council, which we have cited and written out above: 'The holy canons we embrace, and receive, and observe; viz. those of the holy Apostles, and of the six Ecumenical Councils, and in addition to these those also of the Local Councils, and farther those of our holy Fathers, as inspired by one and the same Holy Spirit; and whom they anathematised we anathematise, and whom they deposed we depose, and whom they excommunicated we excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we put to penance.' Why, O hypocrite, dost thou sentence us to be anathematised, but considerest not what regards thyself? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam from thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote from thy brother's eye. Look out for thyself, and see what is written of all thy iniquities, as we wrote before, and now will write again. Canon xiii. of the synod of Antioch in Syria: 'If a bishop, not being requested by any other, go off to another diocese, and ordain, or do any ecclesiastical acts, let the acts be null, and let him be himself deposed.' Canon v. of the holy Ecum. Council of Chalcedon: 'Let bishops who go from city to city be punished according to the canons made for them.' The gloss: 'It is said in canon xiii. of the synod of Antioch that a bishop is not to presume to go away from his own province into another, and there ordain a priest or deacon, without the consent of its bishop, or do any other act of episcopal authority. And if he does anything of the kind, his act is to be null and invalid, and he himself is to be punished for his disorderly conduct, and to be deposed from his rank by the Holy Trinity. So, therefore, also the canon here enacted ordains.' And in the same way canon iii. of the Council of Sardica, and canon xii. of the same council, and canon xviii. and canon xxiii. of the Council of Carthage, and canon xx. of the Sixth Ecumenical Council: 'A bishop in another city than his own, and uninvited, is not to teach the people; and if he be found doing so, he is to be deposed from the episcopate, and to act for the future only as a priest' (see pp. 2-6, and 35).

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[1] Paisius had spoken of 'the four councils,' and had quoted St. Gregory the Great as saying that he received the *four* councils 'as the four gospels.'

X. REPLY AGAINST THE TENTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Thou askest, O Questioner, 'Is it competent for the members to judge the head, and their own ruler?'

Reply. Does not nature itself teach thee the answer to this thy senseless question, whether the members can judge the head? If it must be so, that the head be separate without the other members, it is still a head; but for the other members without the head to hold together is impossible. And these things are so. But we will say something to thee also out of the divine commandments. The Lord says: 'A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven.' And again elsewhere the Lord says: 'For I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father that sent me.' And again, in another place it is said: 'What hast thou, which thou hast not received?' But thou, whence hast *thou* received such audacity, to meddle gratuitously with things that are none of thine, though the Son of God himself says, 'I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father that *sent* me'? But thou, where hast thou found any commandment of God that thou shouldest seek for a judgment against us? Hast thou never heard what is written of the man that had not on a wedding garment, *i.e.* worth, or suitable capacity? 'And when the Lord had come in to the wedding, he said, Take him, and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' Which may the Lord do to thee, according to the work of thy hands, for thy causeless attack upon us: as also the great Paul in one place says, 'Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil. The Lord reward him according to his works,' &c. Canon iii. of the council held in the church of S. Sophia: 'If any secular person casts a bishop into prison, or scourges him, when he is innocent,[1] or makes up a charge against him, let him be anathema' (K. fol. 88). And again, the Lord says of such: 'Woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh!' Wherefore dost thou introduce the innovation of making inquisition into things not of thy cognisance? Hast thou not heard the words, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged'? It is not of him that judges according to law that the Lord speaks, but of him that judges without any warrant from the law and the commandments. For elsewhere it is said: 'But judge righteous judgment.' And the divine Apostle says: 'Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come,' &c.

Hear, too, what we shall reply to your Answerer. Thou, O

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[1] But in the Greek, *χωρὶς αἰτίας, ἢ καὶ συμπλασάμενος*, Bever. i. p. 364, Aristin.

Answerer, in thy answer writest: 'How are patriarchs to be judged who have fallen into sins of fornication? The only *head* is Christ: and he it is that is called [in the book of the prophet Daniel] the head of gold. Bishops are only the eyes and lips, and lay-people the limbs, of the body of the Church. All [their true successors] are under the authority of the XII. apostles, as also all priests [are successors and subordinates] of the LXXII. disciples. And it is to all the above-mentioned apostles that Christ after his resurrection from the dead said, "Receive the Holy Ghost to bind and to loose;" wherefore also they have in its fulness even the very identical power of that glorious Source itself.'

Reply. The Lord saith, 'He that is of God heareth God's words.' And again: 'He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him, even the word that I have spoken to you, that shall judge him.' And the divine Apostle says, 'If we or an angel from heaven preach unto you anything else than that which ye have received, let him be accursed.' So also the holy fathers in the Ecumenical Councils made it a law, and enforced it by anathemas, that for time to come no man should either add anything or take anything away. Why, then, dost thou, in contravention of the divine commandments and laws, everywhere introduce private conceits of thine own? Hast thou not heard the scripture which teaches that one ought with discernment to give an answer to every man? 'And they asked him, saying, Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, neither acceptest thou the person of any, but teachest the way of God truly. Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no?[1] But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me? Show me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They say unto him, Cæsar's. And he said unto them, Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's' [whereas they wanted him to say the contrary] (Luke xx. 19-22). And again the Lord saith, 'If thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee,' &c. (Matt. v. 29). See the true judgment of God; that without the other members it is possible for a man to live, but without the head [of cutting off which nothing is said] it is *not* possible. Therefore it is not possible for the other members to cut off the head, and so remain afterwards all living and acting as before. So also the divine Apostle legislates: 'Render, therefore, unto all their dues; custom to whom custom is due, tribute to whom tribute, fear to whom fear: owe no man anything, except to love one another.' And again he says: 'There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars,' &c. Canon ix. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council: 'If clerks, having a suit, instead of going before the bishop, apply to secular courts, let them be punished according to the canons: and if a clerk have any matter against a bishop, he must wait for the meeting of the synod: or if a bishop have any matter against a metropolitan, he must make it known to the patriarch of C. P.' The gloss: 'A clerk having a suit against another clerk may not go to law before secular judges, but only before his own bishop: but if, instead of going before his own bishop, he applies to secular courts, he is to be punished according to the canons. Likewise a clerk, having any matter against a bishop, must go to the metropolitan of the province; and when at the set time all the bishops of his province assemble together to the metropolitan, then he shall have his cause judged before the metropolitan in the synod. But if a bishop or clerk have any matter against a metropolitan, his cause is to be judged either before the exarch of the Diœcese, that is, the patriarch, under whom are the metropolitans of those provinces, or by the patriarch of C. P. But this power, viz. that of judging a metropolitan subject to another patriarch, is given to no one of the other patriarchs, neither by the canons nor by the civil laws, but to the patriarch of C. P. only' (K. fol. 38). And nowhere is there to be found anything of a patriarch being liable to be judged by his own bishops, except in thine own filthy loquacity.

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[1] Is it lawful or needful for us to obey this Patriarch?

XI. Reply against the Eleventh Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, that I 'never would call the bishops my brethren, but regarded them as vastly beneath me, because they had been consecrated by me.'

Reply. Thou sayest falsely, O hypocrite, that I was not used to call them brethren. The liturgy itself is proof, in which, after the oblation of the holy gifts, the bishop says to the rest of those who are celebrating, 'Remember me, my brethren and fellow-ministers.' And if in the most essential acts I acknowledged them as brethren, how sayest thou that I regarded them as altogether beneath me? Elsewhere we will show that the head *is* to be honoured above the member. But at present we will say something to these words: '*because*,' thou sayest, '*they were consecrated by him*.' Thou sayest rightly, that they were consecrated by us: for so they were. And now there is no grace upon them, as thy word testifieth: as canon xiii. of the council called δευτεροπρώτη (*i.e.* the First and Second), held in the church of the holy Apostles, says: 'If any priest or deacon, as if condemning his own bishop for some crime, before he has been synodically judged, withdraws from his communion, and mentions not his name [in the liturgy], let him be deposed, and stripped of all sacerdotal honour; and whoever follow him, if they are priests, let them lose their own honour; but if monks or laymen, let them be excommunicated, until they repent.' And canon xiv.: 'And if any bishop presume to do the like towards his metropolitan, let him be deposed. For every one must know his own measure.'[1] And canon xv.: 'In like manner if any bishop or metropolitan presume to do the like towards the patriarch, he shall be stripped of all share in the episcopate.'[2] Is this enough for thee, as an answer to thy question? If thou thinkest that it is not, listen to what I shall say more, together with thine Answerer. For thou sayest, O Answerer: 'Jesus, being God and man, said to the holy women, Fear not: go and tell *my brethren*. If those whom he has ordained bishops are not his brethren, are they his sons? That cannot be, because lay people are sons, and he is a father of all the lay people.' But any other bishop is equally their father, according to the Lord's word, who said to the holy women, as thou sayest, Go, and tell my brethren. But thus it may equally be shown that by the Lord's word and commandment it is not allowed for any one to be called a *teacher*.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 353, the abridged canon of Aristin, *μέτρα*, 'his own measure,' Bever. i. p. 354.

[2] *ἱερατείας.* The canon continues thus: 'But if any man withdraws from any bishop not on the ground of any crime committed by him, but on account of his heresy, though he has not as yet been judged by a synod or by the holy fathers [in the original Greek, which is inaccurately abridged, it is, 'on account of some heresy condemned by the holy synods or fathers, before he be tried for it synodically], such a one is worthy of honour and acceptation as being orthodox' (K. fol. 87).

'But be not ye,' he said, 'called teachers; for one is your teacher, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.' And again the Lord says: 'And know not any man as your father upon earth; for one is your Father, who is in heaven.' Why then dost thou say that *I* am *not* a father to my children, but *they* [the bishops] *are* fathers to their sons, when the Lord forbids all to call any one upon earth father, but bids them call him only Father who is in heaven? But thou sayest that the bishops are fathers to all the lay people. But why is the chief bishop called *πατριάρχης*, if it be not that this office is a [headship or] *beginning* (*ἀρχή*) to all *fathers* (*πατράσι*) small and great? But the name *bishop* (*ἐπίσκοπος*), what is it [that is, in its etymology] but *overseer*, neither father, nor beginning of fathers? Thou hast already seen in the holy First and Second Council, held in the church of the Apostles, how each degree has its own separate canon, canon xiii. being of bishops, canon xiv. of metropolitans, and canon xv. of patriarchs. Would not one canon [according to thy view of the matter] have been enough? But it pleased the holy synod to frame a separate canon for each one of these ranks, according to its honour and degree. Read also canon lxxxiii. [lxxxvii.][1] of the holy synod of Carthage: 'Thou shalt not honour thyself above him who is before thee, but shalt follow him; and whoever is disrespectful towards them that are before him, shall be himself despised.' The gloss: 'In Africa at that time, and in other countries, the orthodox bishops had not different degrees of honour for their different chairs, but were all equal in honour. But the bishop who had been first ordained was preferred in honour above such as had been ordained after him, both in the order of his sitting, and in all other canonical conferences; and in like manner the rest took rank after him according to the dates of their several consecrations. So if any bishop in Africa were unwilling to conform to this custom, but was arrogant and disrespectful towards his seniors, the fathers decreed that such a one should be treated as unworthy of respect by the whole synod' (K. fol. 59). And what right hast thou, thou presumptuous man, in the teeth of the doctrine of the gospel, and of the canons of the holy apostles and of the holy fathers, to bring in the maxim that no respect is to be paid to seniority, a thing before never heard of? Hear how the apostle Paul writes to Timothy: 'Deal not roughly with an elder, but treat him considerately, as a father; and the younger men as brethren' (1 Tim. v. 1). Why has the apostle also made a distinction between an elder and a young man?

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[1] Bever. i. p. 623, canon lxxxix. of Aristin. In the Greek Πηδάλιον it is canon xcv. or xc.

'A Patriarch is a living and animated image of Christ, by deeds and words picturing in himself the truth. The aim of the patriarch is, first, to preserve them whom he has received from God in piety and in virtuous living; then to convert all the heretics also, so far as he may be able, to orthodoxy and to the unity of the Church (but those are by the laws and canons called heretics who communicate not with the Catholic Church), and yet farther to strike the unbelievers also by his bright and supernatural conduct, so as to win them to follow the faith, and by the sight of his works make them, so far as he can, to become worshippers of the all-holy and consubstantial Trinity.

'The end of the patriarch is the salvation of the souls committed to him, and to live in Christ [but to be crucified to the world].

'The special qualities of the patriarch should be these: to be apt to teach; to place himself on the level of all, high and low alike, with facility; to be gentle towards all who come to him and converse with him, instructing them; at the same time to be capable of reproving the disobedient; and for the truth's sake, in defence of the doctrines of faith, and for the observance of justice and piety, to speak before kings without being ashamed.

'Society being made up of divers parts and members, after a certain analogy to the human being, its principal and most essential parts are the king or emperor (the Tsar) and the patriarch; and hence the peace and happiness, spiritual and bodily, of the subjects is to be found in the perfect concord and harmony of the empire and the pontificate.

'The chair of Constantinople, having been distinguished by the seat of empire, was named by the decrees of the councils to be the first: and the divine [*i.e.* the imperial] laws, following the same decrees, have enacted that such questions as were too difficult for the other chairs[1] should be carried up to it for examination and judgment.

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[1] In the Greek, *καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς ἑτέρους θρόνους γενομένας ἀμφισβητήσεις.* In what

'The duty of caring and providing for all metropolitan and episcopal sees, and for all monasteries and churches, and farther, the right of judging and condemning or acquitting, belongs to their own patriarch. But the primate of Constantinople has the right even in the provinces of other patriarchal chairs, in places where there is no previous consecration of a church, to exempt them, by fixing his cross [so making the place a stauropegion]; and not only so, but he has the right to take cognisance of questions arising between other chairs [in or under the other patriarchates], and to rehear and finally determine them by his judgments. So likewise in cases of penitence and conversion from sins and heresies he, even alone, is the final judge and corrector and appointer.'[1] Canon xiv. of the synod of Neocæsarea:[2] 'But the country bishops (χωρεπίσκοποι) being after the likeness of the LXX. apostles, as fellow-ministers [of the city bishops], and honoured for the care they take of the poor, may celebrate in a city church.'[3] The gloss: 'For the city bishops are after the likeness of the XII. apostles, on whom the Lord breathed and said, Receive the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained, &c. And see hence to whom it was given also to impart the grace of the Holy Ghost to others'[4] (K. fol. 22). And hast thou seen already above the refutation of thy opinion in canon xiii. of the holy synod held in Antioch of Syria? and in canon xx. of the Sixth holy Ecumenical Council?[5] Why should I any longer waste words?

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follows Nicon shows that so far are the bishops from being all equal, that not only are metropolitans above bishops, and patriarchs above metropolitans, but not even among the patriarchs themselves is there any such equality.

[1] In the Greek διαιτητής τε καὶ γνώμων. From the Σύνταγμα Ἀλφαβητικὸν of Matt. Blastar. Bever. ii. p. 219.

[2] In this quotation Nicon returns to the original question of the equality of bishops: even this canon, adduced by Paisius in favour of equality, proves the contrary.

[3] This is partly from the abridged canon and partly from the gloss of Aristin. Bever. i. p. 414.

[4] This is from the gloss of Zonaras. Bever. i. p. 404.

[5] See above, pp. 58 and 6. Both these canons enact that any bishop presuming to teach in a diocese not his own, as Paisius was then doing, is to be deposed.

XII. Reply against the Twelfth Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O dishonest Questioner: 'Nicon styled himself Great Hossoudar, because our most prosperous Hossoudar the Tsar always so called him, wishing to show extraordinary respect to him. Did Nicon commit any breach of duty by taking to himself this most exalted title? Did he render himself culpable, or not? Tell us, and explain.'

Even thou thyself, O Questioner, sayest that our most prosperous Hossoudar the Tsar always so called him, wishing to honour him beyond what was customary. So of that respecting which thou questionest another thou already thyself witnessest, that the Hossoudar the Tsar so called me. And for this, then, let *him* be called to account by the Lord God. But where and when he first so styled me I will tell thee. When the Great Hossoudar the Tsar returned from [the siege and capture of] Smolensk to Viazma, and we met him there with the Tsaritsa and the imperial princesses, he, the Tsar, then spoke to us of this, praying us much that we would write ourselves 'Great Hossoudar:' but *our consent* to this *was not given.* But if he has repented of *his own act and will*, and now blames *us* as if we had begun so to write ourselves, the Lord God will judge of this at the day of judgment, upon the evidence of his own letters, in which this title is written. Therefore also they have been laid by us upon the altar of God. But nevertheless, tell me, if ye can, what difference is there between *hossoudar* and *hospodin?*[1] And now [not only patriarchs but] even ordinary bishops also [as well as metropolitans and patriarchs] all write themselves 'Velikie Hospodini' [Great Lords, Μέγας Κύριος, Μέγας Δεσπότης even, in Greek]; while the boyars and all manner of lay persons are '*hossoudari.*' And what addition of honour was it that the great Tsar willed that from that time we should be written and styled Veliki Hossoudar [instead of Veliki Hospodin], when that merely provoked against us his humble beadsman ill-will? And which is more suitable for the honour of the Tsar, the present style [which it seems had come in in consequence] by which the Great Hossoudar is now written and styled 'The Great Hossoudar the Tsar,' &c., and all the people write on their affairs [in their reports or petitions], 'To the Great Hossoudar the Tsar,' &c., or the style that was formerly in use, when everybody wrote 'To the Tsar the Hossoudar'? However, in the sacred books, ye say, there is nowhere to be found a lord of lords and king of kings (Hospod Hospodem i Tsar Tsarem), but only a king of others who reign, and lord of others having lordship, (Tsar tsarstvouyoushchem i Hospod hospodstvouyoushchem). But there *is* written expressly of One in the Apocalypse: 'He hath upon his vestment and upon his thigh a name written, *King of Kings and Lord of Lords*' (Tsar Tsarem i Hospod Hospodem. Rev. xix. 17 and xvii. 14). And [if it were not so] why does now everybody call whom they please 'hossoudar'? Whether they be of the lower or higher or middle classes, their own equals or even inferiors, all alike they write and name thus. But if any presumptuous blockhead were to call another, though he were one of the highest for rank, 'Tsar,' and the other were to accept it as a gratification, would not they both be regarded as fools, and with reason?

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[1] The latter word *hospodin* being the ordinary style of bishops, as *hossoudar* was of sovereigns; though both words, meaning alike *lord*, were also used indifferently with a variety of other applications.

XIII. Reply against the Thirteenth Question.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, that 'Nicon is building now at this time a monastery, and has named it New Jerusalem. Does it follow hence that so the holy name of the city is transferred and another given?' I cast no reproach on the old-new Jerusalem if I call the monastery of Voskresensk New Jerusalem, since it is written in the prophets, 'Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' Of that law I am a lover; and of the word of the Lord I am an observer. I will not be ashamed to call even myself also a citizen of Jerusalem, together with all those that follow us. It is written, 'A child is born to us, a son is given unto us; and the government is upon his shoulder; and of his peace (salem) there is no limit.' And a little farther on, 'Great is his power; and of his peace (salem) there is no limit.' Who, then, has limited to the law which is from Sion a locality? It is written, 'Not all they that are of Israel are Israelites, nor they that are from Abraham are sons of Abraham; but he that doeth the works of

Abraham, he is a son of Abraham.' So not all who are from Jerusalem[1] are Jerusalemites, but he that keepeth the law which has gone forth from Jerusalem. And who shall reproach me for this, except he that loveth not the Lord? If any one calls that monastery Jerusalem, he errs not from the truth, since the origin of that [monastery and of the name itself] was from the Tsar's majesty, and all the sacred synod of the clergy, and all the Tsar's synclete. For at the consecration there of the first church of Christ's Resurrection, the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Great and Little and White Russia, was pleased to be present with all his synclete: and it pleased him, the Great Hossoudar, to call it by the name of the New Jerusalem, and in his imperial letters so to write and style it with his own hand, for the more confirmation. And such letters of his are now preserved here in a place of honour. Against whom then dost thou, O thou mischievous Answerer, frame reproaches, when thou sayest, 'O indignity! O extraordinary novelty! he calls not that monastery a new house, but a New Jerusalem'? Look, and see from whom this name began. Is it not against him, then, that thou utterest such reproaches, and makest assault?

And again thou sayest, 'I have heard also, O Nicon, that thou art beginning a new writing, about him whom the Jews desire; and they may expect perhaps that there shall come forth a new Messiah in the New Jerusalem. At a guess, then, there should be in thy New Jerusalem some mother of Antichrist.' I see very clearly one thing, O thou fool, that thou knowest not the divine scripture, nor its power. Thou sayest that I am *beginning* a *new* writing. And I from the sacred canons say anathema to thee, who, contrary to the divine canons, art *beginning* to put forth *new* laws, to the scandal of the people. The man would not err from the truth who should hang a millstone about thy neck and drown thee in the sea, as it is written in the gospel. If thou knowest not where thy father Antichrist is to be born, we will show thee the place from the holy books, and not as thou, who utterest whatever thou thinkest of thyself, and nothing true, but everywhere what is full of falsehood, even as here. Hear, thou forger of lies, how Antichrist is to be born, and where. The Lord says in the holy gospel, 'Take heed that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled; for all these things must needs be, but the end shall not be yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and there shall be famines and troubles; and fearful signs shall there be from heaven. All these things are the beginnings of the pains of labour. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake. And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.' 'Before all these things, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. . . . And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and kinsfolks, and friends; and some of you they shall cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved. And the gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come. When ye therefore shall see *the abomination of desolation* spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not (whoso readeth, let him understand)' &c. And a little farther on: 'In those days there shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created unto this time, neither shall be. . . . But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light. And the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and glory,' &c. (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; and Luke xxi.).

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[1] As Paisius; who being from Jerusalem, and from the patriarchate of Jerusalem, keeps not that law which went forth from Jerusalem.

See, O man, *where* it is that the abomination of desolation is to stand in the holy place. It is at Jerusalem, is it not? How, then, art thou to make out, by such absurd glosses, that Antichrist may come out of the monastery of Voskresensk called New Jerusalem? Hear also the Apostle Paul, who says, 'Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come except there come the apostasy first, and there be revealed the man of sin, the son of perdition, the opponent, who exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so as to have seated himself in the temple of God, as God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not that, when I was yet with you, I said this to you? And now ye know what withholdeth, that [so, being withheld for this present,] he may be revealed in his own time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, and extinguish by the brightness of his coming. Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish: because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them a strong delusion, that they shall believe a lie; that they might all be condemned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness' (2 Thess. ii. 3-13). Let us attend to the Saviour's words, how he ever charges us to be steadfastly fixed. 'Take heed,' he says, 'that ye be not deceived; for many shall come in my name, saying, that I am Christ.' For after his ascension to the Father some of those things did come to pass; and there did arise certain which said, I am Christ, as Simon Magus, and many others, whose names there is not time now to mention. And in like manner, in the last days of the end, there must again arise false prophets, men who say, Lo, here is Christ; or, Lo, there. Believe them not. But they that seek after vain wisdom, and do not read attentively the Scriptures, shall seek to find me, and shall not be able; for these things must first be; and so there must first be revealed the son of perdition, that is, the devil. Hence also the apostles, as divines, declaring the testimony of the Lord Jesus Christ, have every one of them pointed out an indication of filthy men, workers of corruption; and have proclaimed aloud their unrighteous works. First, Peter, the rock of the Church and of the faith, whom Christ our God pronounced blessed, the teacher of the Church, the first disciple, who has the keys of the kingdom, has taught us, saying, 'But this know, my children, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.' 'There shall be also false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in destructive heresies' (2 Peter iii. 3 and ii. 1). St. John the Divine, the beloved disciple of Christ, agrees, crying, 'The children of the devil are manifest. Even now are there many antichrists.' 'But go not ye after them.' 'Believe not every spirit;' 'because many false prophets and antichrists have entered into the world' (1 John iii. 8; Luke xxi. 8; 1 John iv. 1; and ii. 18, iv. 7). And Jude the brother of James says the like: 'In the last time there shall be mockers, who shall walk after their own ungodly lusts. These be they who feed themselves without fear' (Jude 16, 12). Do ye understand the consonance of the divines and the apostles, and the unanimity of their teaching? Hear yet, in addition to these, the boldness of Paul, how he plainly denounces of such: 'Beware of evil workers, beware of the concision' (Philip. iii. 2). 'Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit' (Colos. ii. 8). 'See that ye walk circumspectly, because the days are evil' (Ephes. v. 15, 16). But to say no more of this, we will turn our discourse to what follows. And we will say to you something about Antichrist, following, so far as we are able, the prophets; and will describe from the scriptures his deception which shall be over all the earth, and his lawless advent. For when our Lord Jesus Christ came in the flesh to earth, he took flesh of the holy and pure Virgin of the tribe of Judah, by being born of which he showed his royal lineage, according to the prophecy of Jacob, who in blessing his sons exclaimed to his son Judah: 'Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thine hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies: thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a young lion: who shall rouse him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until he come for whom it is reserved: and he is the expectation of the Gentiles' (Gen. xlix. 8-10). Ye see here the words of Jacob spoken to Judah, and fulfilled in the Lord. And in like manner the patriarch prophesies also of Antichrist by words parallel to those spoken of Judah, speaking of another of his sons, Dan: 'Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horses' heels' (ib. 49). What serpent is this, I ask, but that which was from the beginning a deceiver, which deceived Adam? But since, for the sake of many persons, it may be worth while to prove what we say, we will not grudge the trouble; but will show that it is indeed true that from the tribe of Dan is to be born the opponent, the persecuting king, and cruel judge, even the devil. The prophet says: 'Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.' Jeremiah says: 'From Dan shall we hear the snorting of his horses: at the galloping of his cavalry the whole land shall shake' (Jer. viii. 16). And again Moses says: 'Dan is a lion's whelp: he shall leap from Bashan.' For as from the tribe of Judah Christ was born, so in like manner from the tribe of Dan is Antichrist to be born, and to do all the things that Christ did. First of all he will be a lover of the Jewish nation: then he will do all manner of signs and awful wonders; not, however, in reality, but in appearance; so as to deceive such as are unholy like himself, and, if it were possible, even to turn the elect from the love of Christ. And he will understand how to feign every virtue, and will deceive all, so that they shall make him king. And at first that lawless one shall dissemble, and shall refuse his own exaltation; but the people shall insist, and press him to accept it, and so shall make him king. Then his heart shall be lifted up in his kingdom, and he shall make wars, and shall slay three kings in his wrath, the king of Egypt, the king of Libya, and the king of Ethiopia. And after this he shall build the temple at Jerusalem, and shall restore it to the Jews. Then he shall be lifted up in his heart also against every man; and not only so, but he shall also speak blasphemies against God; thinking, the wretch, that he is to be a king even for ever; not knowing, in the impotence of his passion, that his kingdom is soon to be overthrown, and he himself to be cast into the fire prepared for him, with all those who obey him and serve him. And for the rest, if any one wishes to learn more closely the particulars of what is to come to pass, let him read and consider what has been put together on this subject from the holy gospel and the holy apostles by Hippolytus, or the treatise of Methodius, bishop of Patara, on Antichrist: 'He is to be born in the village of

Chorazin, and is to be bred up in Bethsaida, and is to be made king in Capernaum. And all Chorazin shall rejoice, because he was born there; and Bethsaida, because he was bred up there; and Capernaum, because he became king there. For this cause the Lord in the gospel said in his parables: Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! Woe unto thee, Capernaum! because thou art exalted unto heaven; and thou shalt be brought down to hell. And the son of destruction shall enter into Jerusalem, and shall sit in the temple of God, and shall do all the rest of those things which are written of in other books.' So also St. Ephrem writes: 'He is to be born of an impure woman, and will pretend at first to be altogether good and gentle: and the filthy Jews shall conceive an affection for him, and shall begin to honour him, and to rejoice at his reign. And he, on his side, the most filthy wretch, will begin to pay court to them, and will [restore to them their] land, and build them a temple.' And St. Andrew in his ninth homily on the interpretation of the Revelation writes: 'I will mention of Ephrata that from those parts Antichrist is to come forth, who will also take the new Jerusalem, and enslave the beloved city, out of which the divine law, through the Apostles, ran forth into all the world. But where they say that Antichrist will sit in the temple of God, this must be either in that Jerusalem which in old time was destroyed for the sin sinned against Christ, and which the Jews fighting against God expect him [that is, Antichrist] to restore; or else in truth in the temple of God, that is, in the Catholic Church, oppressing it, appropriating it to himself, showing himself that he is God, as says the Apostle. But it shall not be for long,' he says: 'for fire which shall come down from heaven (either visible fire such as fell upon the two captains and their fifties in the days of Elias, or the glorious coming of Christ) shall slay him with the breath of his lips.' There is enough for thee, thou man of lying words, respecting the coming of Antichrist in what has been now briefly said out of the holy books. But for us, who have been taught by our Saviour Christ to pray that we enter not into temptation, let us pray continually and earnestly for this, knowing our own weakness, that we may be spared the trial of those things which are foretold, and may neither see the coming of Antichrist, nor that agitation of the nations which is to precede it, nor persecution unto death to compel us to apostatise from the saving faith; but that doing our best to preserve the testimony of our conscience, we may show it unimpaired and unwounded towards Christ our God, who has redeemed us by his precious blood, and showing the warmth of our love towards him by good works we may merit everlasting happiness.

Thou sayest, O Answerer, that 'there is only one Jerusalem on earth, and one other, a second, in heaven.' Show me, if thou canst, the precise circumscription of the quality and quantity, either of the heavenly or the earthly; and say, if any man keeps that law which was promulgated through the apostles from Jerusalem, can he be called a Jerusalemite or not? Or why, I pray, did the Christian name begin to be named first in Antioch? and the Christians, who thenceforth and now everywhere call themselves by it, do they sin in so doing, or not? If it is not right to keep the Jerusalemite law, and to call oneself thence a Jerusalemite, then neither can it be right for any one to call himself a Christian, except only at Antioch, as is done now by everybody and everywhere. And if it is improper to call oneself a Christian, or to fashion anything whatever into a resemblance from any prototype, out of affection for the prototype, or to name it after the prototype with the same name, then it will follow that whatever things have been so imitated or named from any prototype, they are all unlawful, according to thy accursed writing, O thou senseless Answerer! Then it will be no longer right to call the gospel which was delivered by God in Jerusalem anywhere else the gospel; nor to call any other the holy cross, except on Golgotha; nor to call any other the church of Christ's Resurrection, except the one in the city of Jerusalem. And we shall have to strike out from the gospel the holy word which is said, 'Go into all the world, and preach *the gospel* to every creature: he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned.' 'And he said unto them: Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things.' See, O thou superstitious Answerer, that it is not to Jerusalem alone that the holy and sacred gospel is delivered, but to all the world, as it is written: 'And the gospel shall be preached in the whole world, and then shall come the end.' Do they sin in this, that when they have transcribed from it, *i.e.* from the original gospel, many other copies, they keep them all over the world, and call each of them the gospel, and not only a copy? In like manner also there is everywhere the holy cross which was venerated by the holy emperor Constantine and his mother Helena; and it is everywhere [called] the cross. Likewise also in the holy Icons we see the Lord's sufferings for us, his cross, his sepulchre, hell slain and broken down, the preaching of the apostles, the noble acts of the martyrs, their crowns, and even that salvation itself which the first giver and umpire of the contest (*ἀγωνοθέτης καὶ ἐπιστάτης*) and distributor of the crowns wrought first for us in the midst of the earth. Does he sin, then, if any one, to the glory of the Lord God, out of love, builds a temple in the name of his holy resurrection, after the likeness of the temple of the Resurrection which is at Jerusalem, in size, and proportions, and beauty? and if he calls it New, and so another, and not the same with that which is at Jerusalem? Or is it wrong if any one has undertaken to do thus? Answer me. And what are all the multitude of holy churches which are everywhere throughout the world? Are they not all that same church of Jerusalem and holy Sion? Except they be other churches of heretics, all the rest, *i. e.* the orthodox churches, are nothing else than this. Hear, thou deceiver, what tradition of an ecumenical council the holy Catholic Church has received, to keep the power of orthodoxy: 'There is due also to God an annual thanksgiving on that day on which we obtained the being of a church, together with the manifestation of the doctrines of piety, and overthrow of the malice of unbelief: and therefore, following the zeal of the prophet, obeying the doctrine of the apostles, and instructed in the histories of the evangelists, we keep as a festival the day of the Renewal, [*i. e.* the Dedication]. For Isaiah has said: '*Renew* yourselves, O ye isles, to God, foreseeing the churches from the Gentiles.' For churches were not merely the buildings and beauty of temples, but rather the assemblies of pious and orthodox worshippers which fill them, and through whom they serve to glorify God with hymns and praises. The Apostle teaches us this same thing, when he bids us walk in *renewal* of life; and, if any one be in Christ, to be renewed as a new creature in him. But the

Lord's words show also the accomplishment of what was prophesied. It was the Renewal [the feast of the Dedication], it is said, in Jerusalem, and it was winter; whether we understand intellectual winter, in which the Jewish people were, for the foul murder of the common Saviour, stirring up storm and obloquy, or that which pains the bodily senses by the change of the air to wintry cold. So for us also it was winter, no common winter, but one in good earnest, pouring out upon us the severity of great malice. 'Remember, O Lord, the reproach of thy servants, which I bear in my bosom, even the rebukes of many tongues, with which thine enemies have slandered me, O Lord, with which they have slandered the substitute[1] of thy Christ' (Ps. lxxxviii. Gr. lxxxix. Heb. v. 50, 51). For the 'substitute' of Christ are those who have been redeemed by his death, and have believed in him through the word of preaching, and through the primary representations by which the great work of the economy is made known to them that are delivered, as through the cross, and by his sufferings and miracles, both before the cross and upon it. Whence also the imitation of his sufferings spreads to his apostles; and from thence it passes to the martyrs; and by them even to the confessors and ascetics: who all believe and preach, that is proclaim, the gospel by words in letters, and by things in delineations, and use both these methods to one and the same good end; by words preaching, and by Icons making clear the truth; by word giving sanctification through the lips to the ears of them that hear the word, but knowing and teaching that in like manner also by the venerable Icons the eyes of them that behold them are sanctified, and that the mind is by them lifted up to the knowledge of God; as also by the divine temples, and by the sacred vessels, and by other things, in writings or paintings, and in significant devices, in sacrifices, in temples, in representations; while it is to Him, as God and Lord, that they give adoration and worship. This is the faith of the apostles: this is the faith of the fathers: this is the orthodox faith: this faith has upheld the universe.' Seest thou, O thou unfair Answerer, how the holy apostles and the holy fathers, by sacred representations, and by temples, and by sacrifices, and by sacred vessels, and by other things, in writings, or in significant devices, addressed the eyes of beholders? And the mind is by these things excited to the contemplation of God: as also it is the opinion of Basil the Great, that 'by sacred images the mind should be elevated to the prototype.' What sin, then, can it be, if any one takes a copy of any holy thing from its prototype? as, for instance, from the holy and sacred gospel and the other holy books? or by making such a representation as is seen in an Icon, according to the rule of the holy apostles and the holy fathers; as of the nativity of Christ, or his baptism, his preaching of the gospel, his suffering from the malicious Jews of rebuke, insult, spitting, crucifixion, and death, his burial in the sepulchre, and his resurrection, and the breaking down of hell? likewise of the preaching of the holy and consecrated apostles, and their sufferings, and the acts and tortures of the holy martyrs, and the lives and virtues of the other saints? or if, in like manner, one makes a representation or copy of any holy churches or other sacred things built or made to the glory of God? Or if any one founded a holy precinct to the glory of God after the likeness of Jerusalem itself, for a representation of that ever-to-be-remembered Jerusalem in which the Saviour suffered for us, can this be a sin? or is it, think you, a dishonour? Or to build another city different from the original, is this a transgression? If so, everything is condemned by thy irreligion. And it will follow that neither can any one any longer, without blame, take a copy of the gospel, or make any representation, or build holy churches, or reproduce any other sacred things, after the likeness of any model. And what difference canst thou assert to exist between linear representations or images, which are Icons, and the imitation of churches and altars, which are copied and multiplied freely from their originals every day and on all sides? Rather, everything—everything, I say—which is introduced as an innovation, or made, contrary to the tradition of the Church and the doctrine and pattern of the holy and ever-memorable fathers, is indeed accursed.

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[1] ἀντάλλαγμα, commutationem.

Thou sayest, O Answerer, that 'it will be a question who is the true patriarch of Jerusalem.' Look at the Chrysobulla of the M. H. ecumenical patriarchs, subscribed by the hands and attested by the seals of lxxxii. persons, respecting the honour of the patriarchs of Moscow, and the place of their chair, and their equality of honour. If thou knowest it not thyself, ask of others who do know it, and they will tell thee that there is here at Voskresensk neither a city, nor anything more than a monastery and holy churches.

XIV. Reply against the Fourteenth Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, 'Does not St. Germanus, patriarch of C. P., say that the preparatory assignation of the prosphora [the stamped bread for the offertory] figures Bethlehem, and that the holy throne [the altar] figures the sepulchre which received the Body of God?' He errs not from the truth, if any one calls the prothesis holy Bethlehem, and the sanctuary, which is the altar, Christ's sepulchre. Nor does he either err from the truth who calls every orthodox church whatsoever a holy Sion or New Jerusalem. And the prothesis represents the place of Bethlehem, where was born Christ, being one of the H. Trinity, the Son of God, and the Word Incarnate, of the H. Mother of God, in one person perfect God and perfect man, like unto us in all things, except sin. In the same way the Lord's Body also is taken out, as if from the womb and blood and flesh of the H. Virgin the Mother of God, I mean, it is taken out from the whole prosphora [the whole oblation or cake of bread, of its own substance], so as to have its own hypostasis. But what is called the place of sacrifice (*θυσιαστήριον*), or sanctuary, on which Christ is offered for our sins, is that altar on which Christ offered his holy body to God and the Father as a sheep that is slain, and as a high priest, and on which the Son of Man offers himself for a mystical unbloody sacrifice, immolating himself, and giving himself to the faithful for a rational service, by which we partake of eternal and immortal life. But the *table* symbolises the place of burial, the place in which Christ was buried. Farther, the table is said to be the throne of God. But the golden altar is Christ; in which all sacrificial and sanctifying power is fixed and established, and on which the sacrifices of martyrdoms are offered; of which the altar showed to Moses, together with the tabernacle, was a representation. But the incensing is the prayer of the saints, as being a sweet odour to God; as it was said: 'And before the throne' &c.; that is, before the highest holy powers of Christ; for an outpouring among them of the burning love of God and of pure excellent wisdom and knowledge. Though the visible holy things may be fashioned into substances and colours, whether they be altars, or thuribles, or anything else, still the things themselves are invisible and intellectual. For at such an altar as this it was that the angel stood, and holding a thurible--that is, a pot of incense—offered as incense to God the prayers of the saints, by which they offered that he would put down, before the end of the world, by plagues and punishments, the ungodly and lawless, and in the world to come appoint them torments, but distribute at his coming recompenses to them that have laboured for him. But of the prothesis and of the sanctuary, which is the holy altar of sacrifice, we have said enough.

But now we will return, O Answerer, with the help of God, to thy Answers. What meanest thou—thou that art swollen with diabolical envy—by saying that 'So it is: but that which is called a type (*i. e.* a derived form or copy) is one thing, and that which is called the prototype (*i. e.* the original form) is another thing, and the very truth itself? A word which is a type or copy has its origin from the true or prototypal word. And now the Jerusalem of Nicon is not a type or copy following the true original or prototype, but [it is, or pretends to be] the very prototypal New Jerusalem itself. And so all the constitutions of the Church are antiquated; for this reason, that the truth of Jerusalem has ceased, and there exists no more the New Jerusalem, nor a mother to the churches of the divine life and habitation, as our affectionate John Damascene sings, extolling her. And so too [after Nicon's introduction of his New Jerusalem] there has ceased the chair of James, the Lord's brother after the flesh, and the first bishop of Jerusalem: and Christ spake falsely when he said, "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." For now they have prevailed: now the Holy Places have been done away as if by witchcraft; those which were trodden by the Saviour's feet.'

Respecting Jerusalem, O Answerer, we have already spoken above; and we will speak here briefly. Can there, I pray, be a type or image, if there is no truth for its original? Can there be a son without a father? or can he that is begotten of a father as a son be called by the name of father? Why was the first created man called Adam, or Eve called Eve? Of their descendants there have been many Adams and Eves: but herein there is nothing whatever of dishonour or diminution to the new Adam, [who is] Christ. For both the old Adam and the new Adam, Christ, and they that were before Christ and after Christ, are distinguished by times and years and places, as is now also the case. There are many Abrahams, but one Abraham who was great in faith, who was accounted worthy to see God. There are many Isaacs, but one who was offered in sacrifice. There have been many Jacobs, but one who wrestled with God; many Moseses, but one above the rest who was glorified by God before Pharaoh, the great lawgiver; many Jesuses, but one Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God, Amen; many Johns, but one above all, John the Forerunner; many Peters and Pauls, but only one Peter and one Paul heads of the apostles. So also the names of all other things, whether of holy churches, or monasteries, or cities, are taken from the prototypes; but each separate thing which is so named is distinguished from the first by times and localities, and as old Rome from New Rome. (But already the glory of New Rome has come to an end, but old Rome remains.) The name of New Jerusalem is not circumscribed, nor restrictively defined. For 'Jeru' (*ἱερο-*) is a *sanctuary* or *consecration*, and 'salem' is interpreted *peace*; and 'Jeru' being coupled with 'salem,' and pronounced together, makes Jerusalem, that is, 'Holy-peace.' It will be intelligible, then, to every one that the Church also is a Jerusalem, that is [a city of] holy peace, in which men are sanctified by holy baptism, and are enlightened with the unctions of the holy oil and the holy chrism. But whence hast thou learned, O Answerer, to say that now the Niconian Jerusalem is not a copy? And why, as if Nicon were naming it after himself, dost thou say 'the *Niconian* Jerusalem'? Nicon is not Jerusalem: Nicon is Nicon. But that thou meanest the monastery of the New Jerusalem at Voskresensk may be understood from the context. And thou sayest that the truth of Jerusalem has ceased, and the New Jerusalem is not. Why so? Is it because the power of the Saracens has taken that city for your sins? According to the reports we hear, ye have no power whatever in the holy church of Christ's holy Resurrection, but all is full of all manner of abomination and desolation: and, considering what takes place there, thou sayest that the truth of Jerusalem has ceased, as Caiaphas also with an unconscious prophecy prophesied, saying that it is expedient that one man should die for the people, and not that the whole people perish; which also was fulfilled. And thou sayest that neither does there exist any longer the mother of the churches of God, [the scene] of the divine life and habitation. Wherefore? Dost thou then see there, and inform us here, who see not nor know what may be taking place there, that it has ceased? Also that the chair of James, the Lord's brother after the flesh and first bishop of Jerusalem, exists no longer? Thy word is exact enough in a sense; but it is not true. Thou quotest what was said by the Lord to Peter in the gospel: 'And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' And thou sayest now that they *have* prevailed. What is meant by the Church is not properly a place, but a habit of soul; and not stone walls of churches, but church laws, and faith, and living. Thinkest thou this, thou senseless man, because to the glory of Christ our God a church is being built after the pattern of the holy church of Christ's Resurrection which the pious empress Helena built, a model of which was brought us by our brother the M. H. Paisius of blessed memory, patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem, God having sent him hither beforehand for this: for all things are subservient to God? And the gates of hell do not prevail against it; that is, the persecutors, who arose at different times, and [the heretics], who by their deceits sent down the Christians to hell: for the heretics are the gates leading down to hell. For many persecutors and many heretics has the Church vanquished, as it is written: 'Let them be put to shame of the Lord, as many as have evil will against Sion. Let them be even as the grass [growing on the house-tops] which withereth afore it be plucked up' (Ps. lxxviii.). For Christ shall cut their necks with the cutting sword of torments. And thou sayest that 'the true Jerusalem has vanished, and the mother of the churches of God, [the scene] of the divine life and habitation, exists no longer.' Say, how has it ceased? For neither has that Jerusalem been carried away elsewhere, nor has that mother of the churches of God been carried away out of the same Jerusalem; but only a model made from them. But they themselves are still where they ever have been to this day. Hear, thou sophistical Answerer! 'And God saw that it was good. And God said, Let us make man in our image and in our likeness.' And, again, Solomon says that, 'God made man in incorruption, and in the image of his own likeness made he him. The Lord created man of the earth, and turned him into it again. He gave them a number of days, and a time, and he gave them power over the things therein. As they were by themselves, he endued them with strength, and made them in his own image' (Ecclus. xvii. 1-3). See, thou deceiver of this world, did God err from the truth when he made man in his own image and likeness, which should follow from thy words when thou sayest, 'Now the Niconian Jerusalem is not a copy, following a true model, but it is the prototypal Jerusalem itself'? And above thou sayest, 'A copy has its origin from a true word.' Is not the first the original of the second, and likewise of the third, and so on to any number? as when a son is born to a father, he is first called son, then after him [*i.e.* like him] a second is called son, and afterwards others are in the same manner numbered or reckoned. Nevertheless, all are sons of one [original] father, as also the one church of Jerusalem is called the mother of all the churches; as Isaiah says, 'For out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' Have there not been built now in C. P., and in Alexandria, and in Antioch, and in the other metropolitan cities churches? Have not those too, I ask, had their orign from the prototypal [church of Jerusalem]? Answer me. If thou wilt say, From the prototypal, why did not the prototypal [church of Jerusalem] cease to exist [upon their construction], even the mother of all churches and the divine habitation, as thou now sayest [it has ceased to be through the building of the church at Voskresensk]? Listen, thou pleaser of men, until God scatter thy bones, not to any composition of ours for the sake of controversy, but to what is taken from the book of the great Athanasius, abp. of Alexandria, whom the governor the prince Antiochus questioned thus: 'In what way is one to teach an ignorant person or barbarian that the Catholic Church has the true faith, rather than any one of all the heresies, and does not err? Answer: They who are unable to hear [and understand] from the scriptures the difficulty and the depth of doctrines, ought hence to be persuaded of the truth and piety of the Catholic Church; hence, I say, that all the salutary and venerable spots of Christ's sufferings have been given and intrusted by God to our Catholic Orthodox faith and Church, I mean Nazareth, where Christ first tabernacled in us, Bethlehem, where he was born in the flesh, Sion, where he wrought the salvation of the world, Jordan, where he renewed Adam, Tabor, where he prefigured the heavenly kingdom, the Mount of Olives, where he ascended up from us into heaven to the Father. For it is not without a meaning or for nothing that he has confided all his holy and venerable sites to the Catholic Church, but as marking her to be more pious, that is, more honourable than the churches of all the heretical creeds that are named. And as a king commits and intrusts his honourable halls, bed-chambers, and treasuries, to the most faithful of all his servants, so Christ also, from the beginning of his coming, has confided his honourable places to the Catholic Church.' If any adversary shall say that it is by the emperor's [*i.e.* the Sultan's] power that we hold them, let such an one observe that though the barbarians have often taken Palestine, Christ has not suffered his Holy Places to be delivered up to the heretics. But if in some small degree [or for a time] this began to be done, the Catholic Church in a short time again drove them out, as swine, from the holy courts and places of Christ our God. Hear, thou maker of schism in the holy church, that the church is not circumscribed by any locality, but is over all the earth, nor is named differently in different places, unless [any church be] heretical. 'And they went up over the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints, and the beloved city' (Apoc. xxi. [xx.] 9). The gloss: 'The host of the saints signifies the church of Christ established in the four quarters of the universe which they attack, seeking to enslave and destroy it, not knowing that not one angel only but many angels encamp around them that fear him.' 'And the four living creatures said Amen: and the four-and-twenty elders fell down and worshipped Him that liveth for ever and ever' (ib. v. 14). The gloss: 'Through the four living creatures and the elders it is shown that there is one flock and one church of angels and men, Christ our God having united together the things that were separate, and having broken down the wall of partition.' Wherefore, thou evil-minded man, dost thou build up again the middle wall of enmity which Christ himself broke down? Where dost thou not err from the truth, and think what is contrary to God? Hear once more: 'And all the angels stood round about the throne, and the elders, and the four living creatures, and they fell down on their faces before the throne, and worshipped God, saying, Amen. Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and majesty, be unto our God for ever and ever, Amen' (ib. vii. 11). The gloss: 'And all the angels stood round about the throne and the elders.' See here one church of angels and men, with all who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; not one on this manner and another on that manner, but 'the name of the Lord' in every place, 'theirs and ours.' For though the epistles [from which these words are quoted] be inscribed to the Corinthians only, the writer makes mention of all the faithful over all the earth, showing that the church over all the world must be one church; and though it is divided by many places, yet the Lord unites all, being common to them all. Therefore also uniting them the apostle puts in the words 'both theirs and ours.' But He is much more prevailing to unite than that [difference of localities is to separate]. For as they who are in one place, when they have many contrary lords, are distracted, and are profited nothing towards unity by the place, while their lords order them different things, and draw them each to himself (for 'ye cannot,' he says, 'serve at once God and mammon'); so they who are in different places, if they have not different lords, but only one, are nothing hindered from union by the difference of localities, their one Lord uniting them together. I say not moreover, he says, that ye, being Corinthians, should have unanimity towards Corinthians only, but towards all men over all the universe who have one common Lord. For this cause also, after having already once added the word 'our,' he has repeated it: for after he had already said to them 'our Lord Jesus Christ,' that he may not be misunderstood by such as are dull to be speaking distinctively, he repeats again the Lord 'both ours and theirs.' That what I say may be clearer, I will read it according to the sense, thus: 'Paul and Sosthenes to the church of God which is in Corinth, and to all who call upon the name of the Lord, who is at once ours and theirs, in every place, whether at Rome or wheresoever they are, grace be to you from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.' Or, again, thus: 'To them that are in Corinth sanctified, called, holy, with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours, grace be to you and peace:' 'To you that are in Corinth, who have been sanctified and called, not alone, but together with all who in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ [who is] also theirs.' But if peace is of grace, why dost thou think highly of thyself? why art thou so mightily puffed up, being saved by grace? 'As the body is one, and has many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ' (1 Cor. xii. 12). It was in order that he should say, 'So also is the Church;' for this is what the words preceding required; but he says not this: instead of it he puts 'Christ,' carrying up his words to the summit, and shaming the more his hearers. But what he says is this: 'So also is Christ's body, which is the Church.' As the body and the head are one man, so the Church and Christ are said to be one. Therefore, also, he has put Christ instead of the Church, so naming his body. For as, he says, our own body is a certain unity, although it is composed of many elements or parts, so also in the church are we all one body. For though it also is composed of many members, still 'all these many members are one body. But ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.' He says not only that we are the body, but also that we are *members*. For of both these he was speaking before; of many things or members which go to form together a certain unity after the likeness of the body, and of this unity composed of many things and existing in many things, many things being held together of this, and being capable, if separated, of being many. But what are those words 'in particular'? They mean that as much as is possible for you, and may be suitable, parts should be built up of you. But because he calls the body not the church which was among the Corinthians, but that which is everywhere throughout the world, on this account he says 'in particular:' that is, since the church which is among you is a part of the church which lies round about on all sides, and of the body which is composed of all the churches, therefore have peace, not only with yourselves, but also with all the church that is in all the universe, that so you may be in due order, if ye are members of the whole body. 'Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timothy our brother, to the church of God which is in Corinth, with the saints that are in all Achaia, grace be to you, and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. i. 1). 'To the church of God which is in Corinth': Again he names them the church, collecting all into one, and binding them together with the rest: for the church will not be one, if they that are in it are separated from one another, and rise up and fight one against another. It is together with all the saints that are in Achaia that he honours these Corinthians with this epistle, saluting them all; and he collects together into one the whole nation [the whole province]. But he calls them saints, to show that if any one is not pure, he is not included in this address. But wherefore does he not always, when writing to a metropolitan church, do the like, and send to address all the rest around? For in writing to the Thessalonians he has nowhere sent also to the Macedonians. And in writing to the Ephesians in like manner he has not taken in all Asia. And the epistle to the Romans is not sent to all that live in Italy. But here he does this; and in his epistle to the Galatians. For neither there does he write to one city, or to two or three; but he writes to all that are scattered over all that country, saying, 'Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised him from the dead, and all the brethren which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia, grace be to you, and peace.' And to the Hebrews in like manner he wrote one epistle addressed to them all, without dividing them [according as they might live] in different cities. What, then, is the reason of this? It seems to me that, because there was some common disorder here, he therefore sends a common missive; because they needed a common correction. For all the Galatians were in an unhealthy state, and all the Hebrews; and, as I suppose, these too [of Corinth and all Achaia]. However, he puts together the whole people in each case, and salutes them as his rule was to address all, saying, 'Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.' But why, in the Apocalypse, does John write to the seven churches which are in Asia, 'Grace be to you, and peace from him who is and was and is to come, and from the seven Spirits which are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ'? The gloss: 'There being many churches in different parts of the world, he sent to seven only, signifying, through the mystical number seven, all the churches that are everywhere; and in agreement with our present life, in which there is the cycle of seven days. Therefore, also, he mentioned seven angels, and seven churches, to which he says, Grace be to you, and peace from the tripersonal Deity. For hereby the Father, He who Is, is manifested; who announced himself to Moses, saying, *I am He who Is;* hereby the Word, that was, which was in the beginning with God; and hereby He that cometh, the Comforter, who ever cometh to the children of the Church by holy baptism, but in a more perfect and extended sense in the life to come. Also, the seven Spirits may be understood of seven angels which have received the guidance of the churches, not numbered with the supreme and reigning Trinity, but as it were servants, who are mentioned together with It; as also the divine Apostle says, I adjure thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and his elect angels. Unless, perhaps, this is rather to be understood in another way; and by Him who is and was and is to come, the Father is designated; who contains in himself the beginning, middle, and end of all things; and through the seven Spirits the operations of the lifegiving Spirit; and through what follows Christ our God, who for our sakes was made man. For in many places any one of the three divine persons indifferently is by the apostles put before or after any other: and so here also he says, "and from Jesus Christ," and what follows.' And so, behold, thou hast heard that in the seven churches also are contained all the churches of the whole universe; and in all one church only, of angels and men, in Christ our God, who has united together what were separate, and has broken down the middle wall of partition of the city, though in point of localities and composition of members many churches are named. And what difference is there whether an image be from the prototypal church, or from that which is not prototypal? Certainly, there is none at all. An icon is so called from its being *like*, and in Slavonic an *obraz*, or image, from its imaging some other person. There is a difference between an image by nature and an image by likeness: for the one has not a difference of nature from its source, but a difference of person or identity, as a son is to a father (for the nature in these is one and the same, but there are two persons); but the other, contrariwise, has not a difference of identity from the prototype, but one of nature, as an image of

Christ is to Christ; for the person in these is one and the same, but there are two distinct natures. For the nature of the material which is painted is one thing, and that of Christ according to his humanity, according to which he is painted, is another. When the icon is worshipped, Christ is worshipped, of whom it is the likeness: and when any one dishonours the icon of Christ, Christ is dishonoured: and he who dishonours any church, whatever it be, dishonours the prototypal church. For he who swears by the altar [*i. e.* the sanctuary], swears also by him that liveth in it. In the case of every person or thing that is imaged by a likeness, it is not the nature, but [the personality, identity, or] composition which is imaged. And for this cause the image is the same thing with its prototype, not in nature, but in person or composition. That is, we set up sacred icons in the likeness of the [form or] composition [of their originals], that, looking on these, we may by them fancy ourselves to see their prototypes. They are to us a remembrance and an admonition of love to their originals. For as often as the images are looked upon, so often their beholders are excited towards the originals by memory, and wish, and affection. But that service which is in spirit and truth is given by the orthodox only to the blessed Trinity. But to the holy images not any kind of *service* is given, but veneration, and salutation, and honour. For though the honour of the image passes to the original, still *service* (*latria*) belongs to the blessed Trinity alone, and not to the venerable icons; that we may not appear to be servers of creatures, nor of things created. For in the case even of Christ himself the worship of *latria* is not of his human nature viewed apart; but he that worships him, worships the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, one nature in three persons, which is the worship and *latria* of the Trinity. But in the case of the icon of Christ, there is a peculiar worship, that is, one of affectionate devotion, which is homonymous. For he who does his worship to this icon, does not worship thereby the Father and the Spirit, but only Christ who is represented on it, who on account of his incarnation is figured in the form of his visible body: and this worship is peculiar [relating to the peculiarity], that is, an affectionate worship, and personal, that is, of the person [lit. composition]. For Christ is seen in his icon, which is to him as a shadow to a body from which it is inseparable.

Although the cause of this be not visible, still, as a shadow is cast by the shining of the sun, so also the icon of Christ is his likeness by the fashioning of the material.

Thou interpretest the name Nicon to mean in Greek strife and commotion [from νεῖκος or νεικῶ]. But the name is not Neico (νεικῶ), but full Nicon (νικῶν), which means a Victor, one who is victorious. There is not, nor ever was, any idea of disorder in it. So in laying thy first foundation thou liest. But they who [really] are moved to disorder, as they who [have suborned] thee, and thou thyself, and they [that are misled] by thee, shall be broken in pieces by the rock of offence, even Christ, upon which they that fall shall be broken, but upon whomsoever it shall fall it shall grind them to powder. Or perhaps from thine unworthy lips there has unwittingly been uttered the prophecy of Simeon, 'Behold this [man] is set for the fall and for the rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be spoken against.' So also this church [of the New Jerusalem] shall be for the 'rising' [the spiritual resurrection or revival] of them that love Christ and adore his holy Passion, but for the fall of all that hate him, when Christ shall cut their necks with the excision of everlasting torments.

XV. Reply against the Fifteenth Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, that I 'plundered the episcopal see of Kolomna, making it to give up its monastery to myself: that it was the nearest bishopric [to Moscow]: and that I did not like that there should be any bishop's see so close to the side of the patriarch.' In this also thou liest, thou transgressor! for it is neither of thy competence to put questions about these matters, nor of the competence of thine Answerer to answer, who ought to have known his own measure. However, we will reply, for the refutation of your malice. Ye say that I plundered the see of Kolomna. To plunder or to lay waste is [to take away violently] without giving an equivalent; but to give one thing instead of another is not to plunder, but to make a rearrangement. For the bishopric of Kolomna was contiguous to the patriarchal diocese, being very near [to Moscow]: but the country of Viatka and Great Perm [which before belonged to the patriarchal diocese] is at a distance of 1500 versts. It is of no small extent, and has a multitude of people, and to it adjoin the countries of many heathen tribes, and in it there are many remains of heathen customs: some say that there are even people still in it of the remains of idolatry. And on this account, after consultation with the Great Hossoudar the Tsar, &c., that arrangement was effected; but not for the sake of the monastery at Voskresensk. Moreover, at that time the monastery at Voskresensk was not so much as begun. But the ecclesiastical revenues of the see of Kolomna being of such and such an amount, a full equivalent was given for them by way of exchange out of the patriarchal diocese. And in like manner the same number of hearths of peasants which had belonged to it was, by ukaz of the sovereign, transferred [in the public registers] in that region [of Viatka and Perm], and those of the see of Kolomna were taken to the crown. And after that the sovereign was pleased to grant them to his majesty's house of prayer at Voskresensk, when he was there at the consecration of the church, saying, 'Holy things ought to go to holy persons.' It was not I that took them, nor that plundered. But that arrangement by which the bishopric of Kolomna was transferred to a distant and populous region was designed for the glory of God and the salvation of God's people. And thou thyself, O Answerer, in thy Seventeenth Answer, sayest that the chair of Antioch has been transferred to Damascus, and that of Alexandria in Egypt to a better and safer place. Why, then, dost thou attack what has been done by the imperial and episcopal authority in a province which is none of thine? Whereas the Lord has commanded, saying, 'Go and teach all nations, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' And again, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' And the Apostle commands, 'Do all things without murmurings and disputings' (Philip. ii. 14). And canon xiv. of the Apostles does not forbid a bishop to move from one chair to another, if it be done in accordance with the judgment of the other bishops. Canon lvi. of the synod of Carthage (Canon lx. Bev. i. p. 592, Aristin): 'If any district wishes to have a bishop of its own, with the consent and bidding of him who has jurisdiction over it,[1] it may have one. But such a bishop, when ordained, is not to go into the other districts.' The gloss: 'It is enacted that, without the will of the primate [*i. e.* the metropolitan] in each province, there shall not be made any new bishop: nor in any village or small town, where even a single presbyter is enough, is a bishop to be appointed, unless in any such place the population has increased, and it seems worthy to give a title to a bishop. But if in any district, in which before there was no bishop, at the request of the people and by the will of the metropolitan having authority in that province, a bishop be appointed, he is to have that population only to which he has been appointed bishop; but any other district he is not to claim' (K. fol. 54). And canon xxxviii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council: 'If any city has been built new, or shall be built new hereafter, by the emperor, the order of ecclesiastical affairs is to follow the civil and popular laws.'[2] If they revile me alone for that, the documents issued from the Posolski Prikaz testify that it was done with the will of the Tsar, and with the advice of the bishops. Canon xvii. of the synod of Antioch: 'He is not to be admitted to communion who, having been ordained a bishop, immediately abandons his see, until he repents and takes it.' The gloss: 'He who will not go to the church for which he has been ordained bishop is to be excommunicated until he repent and undertake the charge of the souls committed to him'[3] (K. fol. 27). Canon xviii. of the synod of Ancyra: 'If any one ordained bishop is not received by the diocese (*παροικίας*) to which he was called, and begins to cause trouble to other sees, let him be excommunicated. If he is willing to be reckoned among the presbyters, let him be so reckoned. But if then he cause trouble to the local bishop, let him be excluded also from the honour of the presbyterate.' The gloss: 'If any one ordained a bishop, and not received by the people committed to his charge, attempt in the diocese of another to do any episcopal act, and cause trouble to the local bishop, he is to be excommunicated. But if he is willing to be reckoned among the priests, and to sit with them, and have the same honour with them, he shall be so reckoned with them. But if he afterwards cause division against the local bishop, or usurp any episcopal rights, he is to be deprived also of this honour of the presbyterate, and is to be excommunicated' (K. fol. 19).[1] Dost thou see now, O thou unfair Answerer, that the bishopric of Kolomna has not been spoiled and destroyed, but has been transferred [to a part more in want of a bishop] for the greater advantage of the Church? And if the bishop of Kolomna goes not to the church assigned to him, but lives elsewhere as an interloper, and transgresses the canons of the fathers, he is subjected by the sacred canons to deposition. For if they depose even him who is not received by the people of the city for which he has been ordained, how much more him who, when his people are ready to receive him, will not go to them? Whereas, if it had been to a metropolitan see, or a patriarchal, though the divine canons do not permit such appointments to be made without the counsel of all the bishops, he would have been ready enough to go on the mere command of the Tsar.[2] But thou, O thou maker of schism, abusest us, without adducing any testimony from the divine scripture. As St. Gregory says to the CL. bishops, 'Ye have not anything to say against me, but ye wish by hostility to subdue me,' so also is it with thee: thou hast nothing to write, but thou seekest thy purpose by malicious words.

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[1] 'Of the bishop,' *τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος* in the Greek; and below in the gloss, *κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχοντος ἐπισκόπου* in the *second* place, so as to require the consent both of the diocesan bishop and of the metropolitan.

[2] K. fol. 74, Bever. i. p. 593, Aristin. In the Greek it is *ἐκαινίσθη ἢ καινισθείη*: but in the Slavonic 'if any *old* city be built new, *or* new city built.'

[3] Bever. i. p. 447, Aristin.

XVI. Reply against the Sixteenth Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, 'Is it proper for a bishop to set up baggage-trains [like those of an army], and build fortified precincts? For Nicon loves to live in waste and unpeopled places: and he has filled those places with hired men, and with feudal retainers [tenants and servants, like those of a boyar].'

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[1] Bever. i. p. 395, Aristin.

[2] Balsamon indeed, on canon xvii. of the C. of Chalcedon, which enacts that the ecclesiastical order for new cities shall follow the civil, bids the reader to observe that by this canon the emperors can lawfully take away ecclesiastical privileges. 'For if it is allowed them,' he says, 'to make what orders they please respecting the territorial relations of such cities as they build new, much more, as it seems to me, will they have power to honour an episcopal see by making it to become a metropolitan see, and to advance superiors, and command other like things of their authority.' Bever. i. p. 134. But Nicon would not admit this reasoning: and the canon in question does not so much as allude to any right of kings or emperors, but enacts freely what seems most convenient.

Reply. I have organised no baggage-trains. And though I am surrounded by a wall, after the custom of other monasteries founded in former times, I put no trust in this, as facts testify. But it is true that he who is founded and built upon the rock of faith, and who is fenced round by the divine grace, will not be shaken, though the winds blow and the floods of disturbance beat violently against him, according as it is written: 'The floods are risen, and have lift up violently their waves. The rivers of the floods shall make glad the city of God. The Most High has sanctified his habitation. God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be moved; God shall help her, and that right early. And though an host of men be set on array against me, yet shall not my heart be afraid; and though there rise up war against me, yet will I trust in God. I will not fear for ten thousands of the people which have set themselves against me round about.' And again: 'The angel of the Lord encamps round about them that fear him, and delivereth them. The ungodly have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as are of a right conversation. Their sword shall go through their own heart; and their bow shall be broken' (Ps. xxxvii. 12-15). For the Saviour has taught us not to fear them that kill the body but cannot touch the soul, but rather to fear him who has power to cast [both body and soul] into the lake of fire. And the divine Apostle teaches us, saying, 'Our warfare is not with flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places' (Ephes. vi. 12). And, 'We have not here an abiding resting-place, but we look for one to come.'

Thou sayest, O Questioner, that 'Nicon loves to live in waste and unpeopled places.' It is written, 'It is better[1] [to dwell in the wilderness than with them that are contentious and angry.' Prov. xxi. 19?] . . . . with all the synclete, we also

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[1] Here there is an omission in the MS. which cannot be filled up. After noticing what had been said of his loving to live in unpeopled places, Nicon relates how his monastery of Voskresensk, or the New Jerusalem, was founded canonically, and dedicated, the Tsar himself being present with all the synclete, &c.

[of the clergy] being assembled together, the bishops and the rest of the sacred order, archimandrites and hegoumens, for the consecration of the same holy place. And canon xxv. [xxiv.] of the Fourth holy Council: 'Let a monastery founded with the consent of the bishop remain unchanged; and let whatever belongs to it be inalienable. If any one attempts to infringe this constitution, he shall be punished.' The gloss: 'Monasteries founded without the will of the bishop are mutable and unhallowed. But monasteries founded at the bidding and with the blessing of the bishop, as being God's property, ought so to remain for ever, and not to be converted to other uses, nor made into secular dwellings. Also they are to keep their immovable possessions (their fields and vineyards, &c.) unalienated. But if any contravene this constitution, they incur penalties by the canons'[1] (K. fol. 41). And canon xlix. of the Sixth holy Ecum. Council: 'No monasteries once founded with consent of the bishop are ever afterwards to be converted into secular dwellings, nor given into the hands of lay people.' The gloss: 'This canon, like canon xxiv. of Chalcedon, forbids any monastery to be founded without the bidding of the local bishop'[2] (K. fol. 76). And canon i. of the holy First and Second Council, held in the church of the holy Apostles: 'Without the consent of the bishop no one may build a monastery: but when the bishop has knowledge of it, and makes the prayer [of consecration], the monastery so founded, with all things belonging to it (inside and out), is to be described in a written charter, and is to remain for ever subject to the bishop. And without the consent of the bishop, the founder may neither himself become hegoumen in it, nor appoint any other'[3] (K. fol. 86).

Farther, thou, O Answerer, sayest: 'However, it was suitable enough for Nicon that he should live in an unpeopled place [as he would have nobody there to quarrel with].' It is not uninhabited: it has more than [there is now] at Moscow: it has the patriarchate. For [there is now at Moscow] nothing. But the Tsar's majesty, contrary to the divine canon written out here above, has appropriated everything to himself; and the holy Great Church has no lot in Moscow, as she had formerly in the time of former Tsars and Grand Princes, but is emptied of all her pristine patrimony, and left desolate and helpless as a widow.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 141, Aristin. [2] Ib. p. 217, Aristin. [3] Ib. p. 334, Aristin.

And thou too puttest thy questions, O thou enemy of all truth, in contempt of the teaching of the gospel, which says: 'I say unto you, that for every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account on the day of judgment:' 'He that loveth not me keepeth not my words:' 'Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?' (Rom. ii. 23): 'Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience' (Ephes. v. 6): 'Because when they had heard they received not the truth, that they might be saved: For this cause God sent them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie' (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11): 'Therefore, putting away from you lying, speak the truth' (Ephes. iv. 25). And canon lx. [lxv.] of the holy Apostles says: 'If any one reads publicly any lying writings of the ungodly heretics as holy books in the church, to the hurt of the people and the clergy, let him be deposed' (K. fol. 7). And canon xix. of the Sixth holy Ecum. Council: 'The heads of the clergy every day, more especially every Lord's-day, shall teach the people the divine commandments, and shall speak not of themselves, but as the divine fathers have understood.' The gloss: 'The bishops ought on all days to teach the clergy and the people the doctrines of piety; but especially on the Sundays (they ought to teach all the clergy and people, as aforesaid, the words of piety, culling from the divine scripture the true sense and judgments, and not transgressing the boundaries already laid down, and the traditions of the divinely-inspired fathers, but delivering and teaching from the divine scriptures only the true sense of God's commandments). And if any one ask them about any word of the divine scriptures, they are not to explain it out of their own mind (but in such way as the lights and doctors of the church have expounded it in their writings). For this is their praise, to know the traditions of the divinely-inspired fathers, and according to them to resolve all questions which may be asked, that so they may not get into difficulties, and attempting to answer out of their own minds err widely from the true sense'[1] (K. fol. 72).

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[1] Bever. i. p. 179, Aristin amplified. The clauses in parentheses are added in the Slavonic.

XVII. Reply against the Seventeenth Question and Answer.

Dost thou see now, thou senseless schism-maker, and transgressor of the unchangeable bounds laid down from the beginning by the holy and divinely-inspired fathers, how they ordain, and forbid to teach or gloss the commandments of God otherwise than according to the tradition of the holy and divinely-inspired fathers? But thou, out of thine own mind, to the scandal of God's people, makest answers with malicious buffooneries and citations from lying [heathenish and spurious] books. It is written in the Psalms: 'The Lord is known to execute judgment: the ungodly is trapped in the work of his own hands' (Ps. ix. 16). And a little farther on: 'He lieth in ambush with the rich, as in secret ambuscades, to murder the innocent: his eyes are set upon the poor. He lieth in ambush secretly; even as a lion in his den, lieth he in wait to ravish the poor; to ravish the poor when he getteth him into his nets. [When he hath gotten him] in his snare, he will oppress him. He shall bow down and fall when he has mastered the poor. For he hath said in his heart, [God hath forgotten: he has turned away his face, and will never see it'] (Ps. ix. 29-32; or Heb. x. 8-11). 'After these things, the Pharisees and the scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands? He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you, hypocrites! as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. . . . Laying aside the commandment of God, [ye hold the tradition of men'] (Mark vii. 5-8). 'Ye men of Judea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words. For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy' (Acts ii. 14-17). Hast thou had enough, thou dealer in lying words, to prove that a man ought not to teach or preach anything foreign to the scripture, as canons lx. and lxxx. [lxxxv.] of the Apostles, and xc. [xix.] of the Sixth Ecum. Council ordain? Wherefore then dost thou rage like one possessed, and answer without heeding the scripture and the commandments, saying that the chair of C. P. exists only in Constantinople, and that of Jerusalem only in Jerusalem? Dost thou wish that I should shortly show thee that the ecumenical patriarchs can go out of the boundaries of their chairs into other countries, and reach even to us here? as in our own time, also, we have seen here the patriarch of C. P. Athanasius, and the patriarch of Antioch Macarius, and the patriarch of Jerusalem Paisius; and as in former times Jeremiah patriarch of C. P., and Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem, and of other metropolitans archbishops and bishops God knows how many. Or why, again, did each of these, though living at the time far from his own diocese, yet all the same subscribe and style himself by the title of his chair, as thou dost thyself at this day, and here writest and callest thyself Metropolitan of Gaza in a foreign country? And yet thou sayest that we have no right to take our own title *within our own diocese*, because, on account of the badness of the times, we have gone away from Moscow. If so, why dost thou, in a strange land and diocese, write and call thyself Metropolitan of Gaza? Where, pray, is Gaza? and how long hast thou been wandering about away from it, as a serpent wriggling on the ground, and spitting out thy venomous lawless words, and wounding the simpler sort of men? But why ask of thee how long thou hast been away from Gaza? Perhaps thou hast scarcely ever been at Gaza? Or is there in Gaza any episcopal seat or chair? Thou seest the mote in thy brother's eye; but the beam that is in thine own eye thou seest not. Thou hypocrite! cast out first the beam from thine own eye, and then mayest thou see clearly to take out the mote from thy brother's eye. For so the Lord enjoins. It is written: 'Speak not evil one of another, brethren; for he that speaketh evil of his brother and judgeth his brother speaketh evil of the law and judgeth the law. But if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge. There is one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy. Who art thou that judgest another?' (James iv. 11, 12.) Hear too canon vii. [vi.] of the holy fathers of the First Ecumenical Council: 'Let the bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction over

Egypt, and Libya, and Pentapolis; and the bishop of Rome over those who are under Rome; and the bishop of Antioch, and the rest, each over his own bishops' (K. fol. 13).[1] And canon ii. of the Second Ecum. Council: 'Let no one going out of his bounds trouble the churches, nor ordain any priest or bishop. But for the churches among the barbarians let the custom of the fathers remain in force.' The gloss: 'In many of the canons it is said that no bishop is to invade the diocese of another, but each is to abide within his own bounds'[2] (K. fol. 34). Thou thyself witnessest that the patriarch of Alexandria has removed into another part of Egypt, and that the patriarch of Antioch has removed to Damascus. Why then do they not now subscribe themselves the one Patriarch of Egypt, the other of Damascus? Indeed, if we are to follow thy interpretation, these patriarchs also are both of them deposed. Thou senseless man! why, in disobedience to the divine scriptures, dost thou revile us without justice? Seest thou now that a bishop has not offended who is abiding within his own bounds? Nor is there any one place prescribed to a bishop within his diocese where he must exclusively abide: but only this is true, that all disallow and depose him who abandons his own diocese, and lives in those of others, as thou dost, thou unedifying man, who hast set at naught all the holy canons, and art caught as a thief not entering, as it is written, by the door, but creeping in some other way. But a thief 'cometh only to rob and to kill and to destroy.' 'From their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?' 'Take heed unto yourselves,' says the Apostle; 'for after our departure there shall enter in grievous wolves, not sparing the flock' of Christ (Acts xx. 28, 29). And, 'Beware of dogs and evil workers' (Philip. iii. 2).

Thou sayest, O thou Answerer, that 'if there occurred through war any destruction [of the episcopal city] or any other like cause, in that case it would be possible [*i.e.* allowable] to remove to some other place, as has been done in the cases of Antioch and Alexandria, the chairs of both which cities have been removed to other more convenient places.' What need is there of more war than he has already who has to endure the Tsar's wrath, as says St. Gregory the Divine; as has been written above?

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[1] Bever. i. p. 67, Aristin.

[2] Ib. p. 89, Aristin.

Seest thou what efforts the Tsar makes, what earnestness he shows, of his great wrath against me, to get any lie, however absurd, told by any one who can be got to tell it? And he himself, contrary to all the commandments of God and canons of the Apostles and Fathers, causes inquiry to be made throughout all Russia with the greatest terrors and threats concerning our private acts [*i. e.* acts done or communications held without his cognisance]. And he is himself at once judge and prosecutor. He has taken to himself all the episcopal jurisdiction and government, though the Lord has commanded, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged' (Matt. vii. 1, 2). 'Condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned.' 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. But he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand' (Rom. xiv. 4). 'Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things. But we know that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things. And thinkest thou . . . that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?' (Rom. ii. 1-3.) 'Speak not evil one of another, brethren, nor condemn one another: for he that speaketh evil of his brother and judgeth his brother speaketh evil of the law and judgeth the law; but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge. There is one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest another?' (James iv. 11, 12.) But disregarding all these divine precepts, as he had also done before, the Tsar, contrary to the divine canons by his own command alone, assembled a synod, the first heading of which runs thus: 'In the year of the world 7168, of the Incarnation of our Lord 1665 [1660], by command of the Most Religious the Great Hossoudar, Tsar, and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, there were assembled the most rev. the metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, archimandrites, and hegoumens, and all the sacred synod of the clergy: and they were assembled for this cause: Forasmuch as previously, in the year 167 of the above-mentioned eighth thousand [of the years of the world], it had come to pass that the M. H. Nicon, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, left his patriarchal chair, in this present year, upon the 6th day of February, all the sacred synod of the clergy appeared before the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, and heard from his sacred lips his great concern because the holy catholic church [*i.e.* the cathedral] has no pastor and bridegroom, and his wish that the sacred synod of the clergy should consider of this strenuously and unanimously and conscientiously, setting aside all personal hatred or vain human affection, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, remembering every one of them that judgment and retribution which will be to every one according to his works. So after that they, the sacred synod of the clergy, had heard the most wise command of him the Great Hossoudar, on the morning of the 27th of February, by ukaz of him the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, the boyar Peter Michaelovich Soltikoff brought and laid before the synod certain written depositions: and the most rev. bishops received the depositions, and examined personally the witnesses before the synod, according to their written depositions, those of the sacred order on their sacerdotal word, and the rest on the holy undefiled law of the gospels. In the depositions of the most rev. Pitirim, metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and of the boyar the prince Alexis Niketich Troubetzkoy, it was written: 'The patriarch Nicon renounced his patriarchate with an oath:' but in the other depositions, in all of them, it was written with perfect agreement between them all only that he renounced his patriarchate, and declared that he would no longer be patriarch. And the sacred synod of the clergy, having heard the depositions, recognised as proved the fact that the M. H. Patriarch Nicon had abandoned his patriarchal chair of his own will: and of this they sent to make a report to the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia. And the Great Hossoudar, &c. &c. commanded the boyar Peter Michaelovich Soltikoff, and the same boyar came to the synod, and said: 'The Great Hossoudar &c. has commanded the sacred synod of the clergy to make extracts in writing from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers respecting the retirement of one who has been a patriarch or a bishop: and he the Great Hossoudar has commanded that the making of these extracts be committed to the most rev. Marcellus abp. of Vologda and Bielo-ozersk, and the most rev. Hilarion abp. of Riazan and Mourom, and the most rev. Macarius abp. of Pskoff and Izborsk, and to Paul archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery, and Simon hegoumen of the monastery of St. Alexander Svirsky. And by ukaz of the Great Hossoudar &c. the sacred synod of the clergy ordered that the extracts from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers should be made; and that the making of them should be superintended by the most revv. Marcellus, Hilarion, and Macarius, with the archimandrite Paul, and the hegoumen Simon.' And in that their collection of extracts for the case of the retirement of a patriarch, and for judging him, from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical Councils nothing appeared whatever; but only for the case of a bishop. But by canon ix. of the Fourth Ecum. Council[1] it is not allowed even for a metropolitan to be judged by another metropolitan; but he is to be judged only by the patriarch under whom he, the metropolitan in question, is, or by the patriarch of Constantinople. In like manner from the Code of the Novells, chapters 57 and 58 enact. But they in their appendix have written out canons [enactments of the civil laws] which relate to bishops, but none relating to patriarchs. And consider how much falsehood instead of truth is written in the writing of the synod. We had been living, after our withdrawal, in the monastery at Voskresensk for a year and more; and the Hossoudar the Tsar had made no question whatever about the patriarchate being vacant, as knowing very well the cause of our withdrawal. Nay, when we were once more at Moscow, it was even told us [as a motive for going away] that the horde [of the Tartars of the Crimea] was about to make an irruption into the territory of Moscow. And the Hossoudar the Tsar, when we had a personal interview with him, uttered not a word to us of this; and made no allusion whatever to our previous departure; but did all just as if we were still living at Moscow, in such manner as was customary at the reception of the patriarch, and bade us to sit on that seat [which was proper for the patriarch], as all know who were present. Afterwards, when we were ill off for the needs of our bodily maintenance, we went away to the Iversky monastery; and from the Iversky to the Krestnoy. Then the Tsar determined by his own command alone to assemble the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, the archimandrites and hegoumens; and, having called them before him, he spoke to them about our departure in such terms as it pleased him, and sent such a collection of depositions as he had prepared to the Krestovaa [the reception hall] of the Patriarchal palace, respecting our departure. Who had *questioned* each of the witnesses, *is not written:* but it may be understood that he, the Great Hossoudar himself, or some boyar for him, questioned them, and conducted the examination. By what canon of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers, *is not written.* But there is in the canons of the holy Apostles, in canon xxxvii., an enactment for the assembling of a synod: 'Twice in the year the bishops shall assemble themselves for ecclesiastical matters and for doctrine.' The gloss: 'This canon of the most glorious Apostles orders that twice in the year there shall be held a synod. However, this has been given up. For canon viii. of the Sixth Council in Trullo, and canon vi. [v.] of the Second Council of Nice, order that the synod of all the bishops in every province shall be held once a year for ecclesiastical matters, and for questions relating to the divine doctrines, and for the decision of doubtful and difficult causes'[1] (K. fol. 4). And this canon orders that the bishops shall of themselves assemble themselves, but it is not directed that the Tsar shall assemble them. In like manner canon v. of the First Ecum. Council, and canon xii. [xx.] of Antioch,[2] and canon xxxix. of Laodicea, and canon xxx. [xviii.] of Carthage, and canon viii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council, and canon vi. of the Seventh Ecum. Council. In all of them it is uniformly said that they shall *assemble themselves.* But at canon xx. of Antioch, at the end, the gloss says: 'But it shall not be lawful for any to make a synod by themselves' [*καθ' ἑαυτούς*]. And there is no instance to be found, after the Seven Ecumenical Councils, in which either an emperor convoked a council, or a council assembled in conjunction[3] with emperors, except the 'Eighth council,' of Florence, and now perhaps the

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[1] That is, as interpreted in the gloss. See above, pp. 39 and 61.

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[1] See above, p. 33. [2] See above, pp. 33-40, for these same six quotations.

[3] That is, with emperors or kings sitting or acting in it conjointly with the bishops.

Ninth. Since at the Seventh holy Ecumenical Council it was enacted, under pain of anathema, that thenceforth none could either add anything or take away, as has been already written above at length. And this council, which is so the Ninth, I may well call not only a Judaical synagogue, but a diabolical one; since both in the first place it was called together not according to the canons; and then in all their proceedings they acted only at the Tsar's command, just as he pleased. The synod was convoked by his imperial ukaz, and did all that it did by his imperial ukaz, as is written in the acts of that synod, and attested by the subscription of their hands, with the gospels for their witnesses, as it is there written, and by their own tongues. And all that they have written they have written falsely. Canon civ. of the synod of Carthage:[1] 'Any bishop applying for a secular trial from the emperor is deposed.' And canon cvi. of the same synod: 'He who for any necessary cause wishes to go to the emperor must make this known to the bishop of Carthage and to the bishop of Rome, and take from them a letter dimissory: else, let him be out of communion.' But if even he who seeks for himself the Tsar's judgment is deposed, how much more is it unlawful for the Tsar to assemble the bishops by his own ukaz to pass a judgment? Since canon cvi. says, that without permission of the patriarch or Pope, no bishop on any pretext whatever may go to the emperor; as also canon xi. of the synod of Antioch: 'Any bishop, or priest, or deacon, who of himself alone, and unbidden by the metropolitan of the province, goes to the emperor, is to be excommunicated and deposed' (K. fol. 27).

Thou sayest, O thou interpreter: 'Now, by the mercy of God and by the grace of the Lord, Moscow lives and reigns. Wherefore dost thou abstract from her the chair, and carry it away to a monastery without any special cognisance of the Tsar's majesty, and without the counsel of all the bishops and all the sacred order; seeing that thou art not, by thyself alone, an irresponsible head and autocratic ruler? For canon xxxiv. of the holy Apostles says that the bishops are not to undertake anything without their primate and head; but that nevertheless neither is the first of them to undertake anything without the consent of them all. And why,' thou sayest to the patriarch,

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[1] Canon cvii. and cix., Bever. I. p. 611, 612.

'didst thou not make known the secret reasons of thy departure, but without any consultation or representation, merely of thine own will, didst go out and go away?'

Reply. I did not go away without the knowledge of the Tsar: but the Hossoudar the Tsar knew that I went because there had begun to be wrath against me without any just cause. And there came to me from him the Hossoudar his lords of the chamber, the prince Youry Ivanovich Romodanofsky, and Athanasius Ivanovich Matiushkin: and to them the same was said; viz. that 'it is on account of his imperial displeasure that I am going away from Moscow; and I hope that he, the Hossoudar, may be more at his ease without me. Now, because he is wroth against me, he abstains from going to the church. And about that his wrath it is known to all the empire that he the Hossoudar, on account of his displeasure against me, does not go to the holy cathedral.' There had been many wrongs done: and he had begun not to observe the divine commandments of Christ and of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, which he had pledged himself to observe at our appointment to the patriarchate. And we, at our election to the patriarchate, had ourselves also equally engaged with an oath, with the subscription of our hand, to keep the commandments of God and those of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. But he, the great Hossoudar, in contravention of the divine canons, took away the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and ordered that both we ourselves, and the bishops, and the archimandrites and hegoumens, and all the sacred order, should be judged by the people of his own courts,[1] as now also is done in the sight of all. And of all these things, after the holy liturgy, when we were about to go forth from Moscow, in the holy church, before God and his holy angels, we *testified*, and before the holy gospel, and all the holy things, and before the bishops who were on that occasion present, and all the sacred assembly of the clergy and all the people. And so I did not go away without its being known why. But they were compelled by the Hossoudar the Tsar to call that my act of *testifying* an abdication: and with many [threats of] severities they wrought upon them, and ordered them to depose in such manner as the Tsar required. And to all the bishops he distributed his imperial largess, to induce them to subscribe against me, and according to his pleasure: and this is known to all the empire. And after one year [from my original departure] I went again to Moscow: and the Hossoudar the Tsar allowed me to see his face: and while I sat with him he made no allusion whatever to anything which had before passed, knowing that I had nothing to answer for as towards him the Hossoudar. And he afterwards would have given orders to send me to the monastery of Koliazin;[1] only I did not choose to go there, but retired again to my own monastery at Voskresensk, conforming myself to the divine command which says, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another' (Matt. x. 23). 'And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet: verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city' (Matt. x. 14, 15). 'The disciple is not above his master, nor he that is sent above him that sent him. If they have cast me out, they will also cast you out. If they have kept my word, they will also keep yours. But all these things they will do unto you for my name's sake. It is enough for the servant that he be as his master, and for the servant that he be as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household?' (Matt. x. 25.) 'Give not place to wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'

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[1] Alluding chiefly to the Monastirski Prikaz.

Again thou sayest: 'After his departure, why did he not explain himself by writing, instead of leaving all without any explanation [*lit.* allocution] for so long a time—for four years and more—that the affair might so cause no noise?'

I *have written* abundantly out of the divine scripture of all his the Tsar's excessive acts: and he the great Hossoudar does not listen to me, but rather adds anger to anger. But thou sayest, 'Why did he not himself demand a synod, that so he might purge himself, and justify himself, explaining what he taught?' Where is it written, as thou sayest, that one is to demand a synod for himself, [for his own trial]? and for what cause? Point out, if thou canst, any such canons for demanding a synod in order to justify oneself by explaining one's doctrine. And in whose name is such a synod to be called? and where are its members to be found? Since it is requisite that such a matter should be taken cognisance of by all the patriarchs. For if metropolitans cannot judge a metropolitan, how much less can they judge a patriarch, who is the head of the whole organised system, as has been shown above? Again thou sayest, O thou unfair Answerer: 'However, the passion of self-love is dreadful; and that pride is accursed, according to the parable; and it produces such acts: and through these causes now he, the said Nicon, has suffered of his own will that which he himself sought for.' What self-love is it, I pray, to suffer all manner of evils for the commandments of God? Thus it is written: 'If any one will sue thee at the law and take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat also' (Luke vi. 29). 'Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?' 'Now therefore this is a shame to you, that ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? The servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle to all. If ye bite and devour one another, take heed lest ye also be consumed one of another.' 'But judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block or an occasion to fall in his brother's way' (Rom. xiv. 13). 'But Peter took him and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee. But he turned and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.' And again it is written: 'God shall scatter the bones of the men-pleasers.' What pride is that of ours, which consists in fulfilling in deed that which is written, '*Depart* from evil; do that which is good'? (Ps. xxxiv. 14.) Is this what thou callest pride? The holy Apostle teaches us: 'See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil' (Eph. v. 15). 'And be not unwise, but understanding what is the will of God, holy and acceptable. And be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the will of God' (Rom. xii. 1, 2). And thou cursest pride. What pride? That by which thou art moved when thou stretchest thyself beyond thine own measure, being a stranger metropolitan, though he that does such things is by many valid canons disqualified even for the priesthood, to say nothing of the episcopate? But to this pride we with the holy canons say anathema even thrice. Be thou accursed! be thou accursed! be thou accursed!

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[1] For safety from an apprehended approach of the Tartars.

XVIII. Reply against the Eighteenth Question and Answer.

Against this Eighteenth Question enough has been written above to serve for a refutation.

Thou sayest, O Answerer, 'It was needful [perhaps he says] that he should go away. So Christ also withdrew on account of the persecution of the slaughter of the Innocents, and was saved in Egypt.' Hast thou not then read in the holy scripture that all the children were slain who were found at the time of Christ's birth in Bethlehem and in all the coasts thereof? And thou continuest: 'However, at any rate, as soon as the danger was over, he ought to have returned, on account of the scandal and hurt caused to men's minds by his absence, because so many souls go astray; and it is necessary that he should govern and feed them, because he will have to give a fearful account to the living God for them. A pastor is one who is required to have the greatest forethought for the flock: a bishop is one who has the work of careful superintendence: a careful superintendence is true and earnest work.' Why, O thou hypocrite, dost thou judge unjustly? For it is written, 'He who condemns the just unjustly, and justifies the unjust, the same is impure and an abomination before the Lord.' How long is it that *thou* hast abandoned *thy* chair, and hast been going about as a vagabond, like a wolf seizing and tearing the consciences of the brethren? Dost thou not see how great is the Tsar's ill-will [against me? how] he turns every stone to find something or other against me? Hast thou not heard those words written above, which are spoken by the Lord in the holy gospel, 'Wheresoever they do not receive you, nor hear your words, depart out of that city, and shake off even the dust of your feet for a testimony against them;' and the rest that follows? Again, it is written that it is not right even for one who has been wronged, for the sake of vengeance, to make a like return to the injurer. 'And he sent messengers before his face; and they went and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him.

And they did not receive him, because his face was as if he would go to Jerusalem. And when his disciples, James and John, saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. And they went to another village' (Luke ix. 52-56). 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. But if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican' (Matt. xviii. 15-17). 'But if any one obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed' (2 Thess. iii. 14). 'But if any man have caused grief, he hath not grieved me but in part, that I may not overcharge you all' (2 Cor. ii. 5). 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you your trespasses. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses' (Matt. vi. 14, 15). 'Pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven' (Matt. vi. 43-45).

Thou sayest, O Answerer: 'The rod of Moses was of hazel wood, but that of Aaron of almond.' That, again, is not to be found written in the scriptures. Of every thing thou sayest what is not true. Thou continuest: 'The naturalists write that when leaves of the almond or hazel are put into a bed, they have the property of causing the man who lies on them not to sleep for a long time.' It was not enough for thee to have the holy divine books to answer from, from which the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers have bidden us to teach, and to make decrees and answers, but thou makest thy answers from books of natural history, and with other irrelevant and verbose additions. Thou sayest, 'Simon, watchest thou?' (In this too thou art wrong; for what is written[1] is this, Simon, sleepest thou?) 'Nicon, sleepest thou?' [If I were sleeping] it is better to sleep than to be occupied with vain words. But thou writest: 'This sleep is lethargic (*i. e.* is deadly). It is not proper for a man to sleep long, who has counsels on his head. No; it is not proper. Are there not now not one only but seven years? and they are all for profit (all to be accounted for), as the Apostle cries aloud. And the same divine Apostle teaches (Acts xiii. 46), It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo we turn to the Gentiles. And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden earrings which are in the ears of your wives and daughters, and bring them to me. And they did so. And he received them at their hand, and melted them down to make an image, and made with them a molten calf. And they said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it. And Aaron made proclamation, Tomorrow is a great day to the Lord. And he rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt have corrupted themselves: they have turned aside quickly out of the way that I commanded them: they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and have said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people. Now, therefore, let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them' (Exod. xxxii. 1-10). Hitherto thou bringest in testimony the old transgressions of the Hebrew people, as if they were repeated, and as if the Lord would execute the same judgments over again. That he is already doing, and will do still more if they will not turn every man from his evil ways. In like manner as then also the Lord slew them, as it is written: 'They angered Moses also in the camp, and Aaron the saint of the Lord. So the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the congregation of Abiram. And the fire was kindled in their company: the flame burned up the ungodly. They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image. And they turned his glory into the image of a calf that eateth hay. . . . So he said he would have destroyed them, had not Moses his chosen stood before him in the gap and turned away his wrathful indignation, lest he should destroy them' (Ps. cv. 16-23). Also thou writest: 'Aaron died on the top of the mount, and Eleazar was high priest in his stead; as it is written in the Fourth Book of Moses (Numb. xx. 27): And Moses did as the Lord commanded; and they went up into Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount.' See and consider, then, that before the death of the high priest it is not fit that another should be made high priest, while he still liveth. As canon xvi. of the First and Second Council held in the church of the holy Apostles enacts: 'Under no pretence whatever let any one invade a see the bishop of which is living. For the cause of him whom they wish to put out must first be tried; and then only, when he has been deposed, another is to be appointed'[1] (K. fol. 87). But if any one by the aid and force of civil rulers takes or holds a church, read canon xxx. of the holy Apostles: 'If any bishop by the help of secular rulers obtains a church, let him be deposed and excommunicated.' The gloss: 'If any bishop be elected by secular rulers, and by their force takes a church of God (that is, to be bishop in it), such an one, as having committed a very great sin, is to be deposed and excommunicated. For he who is to be made a bishop ought to be made by all the bishops in the province. Or, if it be difficult for them all to meet, he must in any case be ordained by three bishops at the least, all the rest also who are absent giving consent[2] (by their letters)' (K. fol. 3). And canon iii. of the Seventh holy Ecum. Council: 'Let every election made by secular rulers be null' (K. fol. 83). The gloss: 'In many canons it is said that the election of him who is to be promoted to the episcopate ought to be made, if possible, by all the bishops in each province; but else at the least by three bishops, those also who are absent expressing concurrence by letters. But if any one make use of secular rulers, and through them get possession of any church, that is, be made bishop of it by their will and command, not only is this invalid, but it brings the penalties both of deposition and of excommunication upon him who has so obtained the episcopate'[1] (K. fol. 82, 83). So also canon xiii. of the synod of Laodicea: 'Any election (of a bishop) made by secular persons is null.' The gloss: 'A bishop is appointed by the judgment and election (*ψήφῳ*) of the metropolitan and the bishops (of the province). But if any one be raised to the episcopate not in this way, but by the choice of secular[2] persons, he is not validly elected, nor is he to be received' (K. fol. 30). But if against myself personally there were no malice, what reason is there to call for another? But in truth it had through the Tsar's anger become impossible to live [*i.e.* to go on]. It is written, 'The king's threat is like the roaring of a lion' (Prov. xix. 12). 'The wrath of a king is a messenger of death' (ib. xvi. 14). 'The tongue of the king is a sword, and not of flesh; and he who is delivered up to it shall be broken. For if his wrath be provoked, he will destroy men with their sinews, and will devour the bones of men, and will consume them as a flame. In long forbearing is the prosperity of a king, and a soft tongue breaketh the bones' (ib. xxiv. 22 in the Slavonic, and xxv. 15). 'Many seek to please before the face of kings; but every one who is evil is a reproach to a man' (ib. xix. 6, and xxix. 26 in the Slavonic and Greek). 'When a king hearkens to lies, all his servants are wicked' (*παράνομοι*, transgressors. Ib. xxix. 12). Dost thou see now, O thou Questioner, what is said of kings with the testimony of God, that neither before Solomon had there been any wiser than he, nor should be after him? And all that relates to the soul of a king he has clearly exposed and shown, as also their acts witness. Who was more righteous than Moses, who, when he had gone out to his brethren the children of Israel to see their suffering, saw a man, an Egyptian, smiting a Hebrew, and, having looked this way and that, he slew the Egyptian: and Pharaoh the king heard of it, and sought to kill him. But he withdrew, and dwelt in the land of Midian. And after his return with what great wonders and plagues did God chastise Pharaoh? and he did not soften, until the Lord slew him. Who was more righteous than David, of whom God witnessed, saying, 'I have found a man after my own heart, who will do all my will'? (Acts xiii. 22 and 1 Sam. xiii. 14 and Ps. lxxxix. 20.) And elsewhere it is written of him, 'He played with lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs (Ecclus. xlvii. 3) from his youth. Did he not slay the giant, and take away the reproach of his people? And he called upon the Lord most high, and he gave to his right arm strength: he overthrew the man that was mighty in battle, and raised up the horn of his people, and he was glorified among the tens of thousands, and by his sweet playing on the harp he drove away the evil spirit from Saul.' But how much did he suffer from him? Saul sought to kill him: he fled and hid himself from the face of Saul, as is testified by the scriptures in the First Book of the Kings, ch. xviii. 'Saul took a javelin, and said, I will smite David to the wall. And David slipped aside from his face twice: and David fled and escaped, and went to Samuel to Ramoth.' And the rest of the history of David's flying from Saul is witnessed by the books of the Kings. And Saul relented not towards David, until the Lord executed justice upon him for that of his causeless anger against David he slew the Lord's high priest Abimelec, and with him eighty-five men that wore an ephod. The same history is also witnessed by the book of the Psalms of David; as when in his flight he prayed, saying, 'Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man, and preserve me from the wicked man' (Ps. cxl. 1). 'Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee; and under the shadow of thy wings shall be my refuge until this tyranny be overpast' (Ps. lvi. or lvii. Heb. 1). 'Why boastest thou thyself in thy malice, O thou tyrant, for unrighteousness; all the day long is thy study for injustice. Thou hast sharpened thy tongue like a razor; thou hast acted treacherously deceit. Thou hast loved malice more than goodness, and injustice rather than to speak what is just: thou hast loved to speak all words that may do hurt, O thou false tongue, &c.' At another time he says: 'Judge thou, O Lord, them that wrong me, and fight thou against them that fight against me. Take the spear and the buckler, and stand up to help me. Draw the sword, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul to destroy it, let them be turned backward and brought to confusion that wish me evil. Let them be as the dust before the wind, and the angel of the Lord scattering them. For without a cause have they laid a snare for me. Let sudden destruction come upon him unawares, and his net that he set privily catch himself, that he may fall into his own mischief. But let my soul rejoice in the Lord, and be glad in his salvation. All my bones shall say, O Lord, O Lord, who is like unto thee, who deliverest the poor from the hands of them that were too strong for him, the poor, and him that was in misery, from them that oppressed him. False witnesses did rise up against me: they laid to my charge things that I knew not, they rewarded me evil for good;' and what follows. And, having learned by experience, he says to all, teaching them, 'Eschew evil, and do the thing that is good: seek peace [humility Sl.] and ensue it. For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers. But the countenance of the Lord is against them that do evil, to root out the remembrance of them from the earth' (Ps. xxxiii. in Heb. xxxiv. 14-16). In the same way also he says constantly: 'For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me' (Ps. l. or li. Heb.). And for all that Nathan the prophet said to him about the wife of Uriah he answered not with angry words, but said, 'I have sinned against the Lord my God' (2 Sam. xii. 13). For all the malice that Shimei showed against him he forbade those that would have put him to death (2 Sam. xvi. 5 &c., xix. 21). Who again was more righteous than Samuel, whose conception was granted to prayer, and whose birth was holy? Yet he also was in fear of Saul, [and hesitated] to execute the divine commandment which was spoken to him of the Lord. 'And Samuel said, How can I go? Saul will hear it, and he will kill me' (1 Kings xvi. 2). Who more than Elias was made glorious by miracles? For by his tongue he shut the heavens for three years and six months. And again he opened it [to give rain]. And with the same he slew the 400 false prophets. And the sacrifices which had been thrice drenched with water poured upon them he consumed together with the water by fire from heaven. And two captains of fifties with their men he also burned. And the Jordan he divided with his sheepskin cloak. And to Elisha he gave a double grace. And [in a chariot and horses] of fire he went up to heaven. Yet even he also was bidden by the Lord to hide himself from the face of Ahab at the brook Cherith over against the Jordan. And he fled from the face of Jezebel to Beersheba in the land of Judah, and there asked to die. Who is louder-spoken than Isaiah among the prophets? Yet he also was silent in the reign of Uzziah, who offered abominable incense to the Lord, and became a leper. Who was wiser than Jeremiah? who was continually lamenting; who prophesied against Jerusalem and against Jehoiakim king of Judah; the roll of whose prophecies the king burned, and gave orders to take him, but the Lord hid him and Baruch the scribe.

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[1] Mark xiv. 37.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 358, Aristin.

[2] Bever. i. p. 18, 19, Aristin. But the first part of this gloss, here placed in a parenthesis, is found only in the Slavonic.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 289, Aristin.

[2] In the Greek gloss it is *παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων*, Bever. i. p. 459, Aristin.

But what need is there to multiply words? Above there has been adduced a multitude of divine commands, and of examples of withdrawals [or flights] of Christ himself and his holy apostles, and all the saints of former time, in order to avoid putting themselves before the time into danger. Does the Tsar's majesty say, 'He has not been driven out by us: he went away himself of his own will'? All the saints went away themselves of their own will from the malice [of their enemies], and hid themselves. And if any of them had not hidden themselves, they would have been taken, and their persecutors would have done with them what they pleased. As Moses did, so did also David, so did Isaiah, so did Jeremiah, so did Christ, so did Paul, so did Peter, so did all the Apostles, so did all the saints, of whom to speak more particularly there is not room at one time; but some brief notice both of their sufferings and of their persecutors has been delivered to the Church in the book intitled the Prologue. So whoever wishes may thence inform himself in more detail of their persecutions and banishments, and of their persecutors; as Gregory the Divine says[1] (ch. xiv. p. 23): 'What then? We became the stronger; and our persecutors have suffered nothing from us, but escaped unpunished.' Therefore also he says: 'What governor has been the worse for us? Who of them that stirred up the people have been punished for it? What fear have we created for ourselves when we were able to cause fear to our enemies?' Following this example we also will say: What grievance has the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince ever suffered from us? or in what have we slighted him? or what affront has been done to him? Show me, if ye can; only do not lie. But we will show to all the people. Indeed it is already notorious. All the human race, both sexes, every age knows. The Hossoudar says that we did not respect his throne. But as then when we testified before God and the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy and Lifegiving Spirit concerning his the Hossoudar's unjust acts, and concerning his unreasonable and groundless anger against myself in the holy cathedral, so also since he has never ceased to persecute us. It seems to him a light matter that he has given license to every ill-conditioned person to abuse me to the utmost extent of his malice or ability. But we in the mean time through those good-for-nothing people are actually in danger for our life, did not God of his mercy support and help us in our many afflictions which we suffer for his holy name. According to the scripture, we comfort ourselves with hope. For 'Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, . . . and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of Man's sake. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for, behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in like manner did their fathers cast out the prophets before you' (Luke vi. 22, 23).

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[1] Greg. Theol. Opera, Col. 1690, p. 525 (in his Discourse before the CL. bishops of the Council): εἶτα τί; γεγόναμεν ἰσχυρότεροι, καὶ διαπεφεύγασιν οἱ διώκοντες. [Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἐμοὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἡ τοῦ ἀντιδρᾶν ἐξουσία· τοῖς δὲ οὕτως οὐ δοκεῖ· λίαν γάρ εἰσιν εὐτελεῖς καὶ δίκαιοι περὶ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπαιτοῦσι τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ.] Τίς ὕπαρχος (φασιν) ἐζημίωται; τίς δῆμος σεσωφρόνισται; τίνες δήμων ἀνάπται; τίνα φόβον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐχαρισάμεθα;

What persecution can exceed this, that he convoked all the bishops, archimandrites, and hegoumens after our departure, and has acted himself as at once a persecutor and as prosecutor for a crime? He got together and caused to be put in writing all that suited his will; sent written depositions ready prepared to the synod; and dealing with some by favours and largesses, with others by fear, he compelled them all to subserve his imperial will; the sin of whose souls the Lord God will require of him. And afterwards, whoever may have made to him on any matter whatever a lying information and suit, the Tsar sends to them all with sentences, as if in the case of a man already condemned, the people of his imperial council; and he sends orders to all that they are of compulsion to come before them personally for judgment, on whatever matter it may happen to be; a thing which even in the case of a common priest cannot rightly be done. And if any good people, out of a good affection, have visited us in our unjust persecution for God's sake, or if any good people, seeing our calamitous life, express in words their distress and regret, and this becomes known to him the Great Hossoudar, he [immediately] has them arrested: and some of them he sends to prison [or exile], and others he overwhelms with other terrors and fierce threats: and such conduct of the Tsar, though he were only to do so in a single instance, would naturally terrify all.

There is no evil more terrible than for a man to have to endure the Tsar's wrath, as Gregory the Divine, who had had experience of it himself, acknowledges, and the wise king Solomon: 'The wrath of the king is in truth as a messenger of death.' 'The tongue of the king is a sword, and not flesh.' 'Many seek to please him before his face: every one becomes malicious to [utter] reproach against the man [who is not in his favour].' 'Ah! ah! it is a terrible thing,' the author of the Proverbs says, 'when thou beginnest to fight with a lion; stand firm, lest he break thy bones.' What can show more rancour than this, which a certain man of our enemies confessed to me, saying, that 'Now in truth thou art well baited. Thou seest it is no longer the old time. Now they seek out even *us*' [*i.e.* the Raskolniki] 'to present some complaint against thee. And if any one now is backward to make a complaint against thee, and afterwards the Great Hossoudar receives and hears any complaint [against the same raskolnik], *he* is sure to come in for a severe punishment. I myself now of constraint, when I had scarce risen from my bed, have come hither from Moscow by the Tsar's command.' Or what can be more malicious than this, that the Tsar should have given orders to send letters over all the empire of Muscovy to the archimandrites and hegoumens of the monasteries, inquiring what I had received when I was in the patriarchate on my going thither out of the revenues of the monasteries—money, corn, horses, or estates—in exchange, for a price, or without price? and from the revenues of the churches, their treasuries and estates, corn, and horses, and estates, and vessels of silver and of gold, and books, or anything else? and how many chetverts of corn, and what kind of corn? and who afterwards carried the corn to me, and to what place? and in what year and month, and in the time of what authorities? And requiring that, respecting all these points, an exact and distinct report should be made out, article by article; and that the depositions and written reports authenticated by their hands should be sent by some expressly-chosen good elders or by some servant of the monastery without any delay, &c. But as regards himself the Tsar has not desired to see a just account made out of how much he has taken away from the holy cathedral of the Mother of God in estates, in people, and in other its domestic revenues of all kinds, corn, fish, money, horses, and other things (instead of making great offerings for his unction to the empire); and in like manner from the other holy churches and monasteries how much he has taken in estates, and people, and money, and corn, and horses, more than any man shall be able to count. But he the Great Hossoudar has no claim on the holy cathedral church, or on the other holy churches and holy monasteries: nor do they owe him anything whatever, neither service nor tribute, except only, according to the injunction of the Apostle, prayer and honour; as the Apostle Paul teaches: 'I exhort therefore that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth' (1 Tim. ii. 1-4). And the prince of the Apostles Peter commands us to 'honour the king' (1 Pet. ii. 17). But if any one speak to the king in behalf of truth, it is not right that he should be wroth at this, nor take vengeance upon him as in his own behalf, nor do him wrong, according to canon lxxxiv. of the holy Apostles, knowing that [to judge] of that there is the Lord in heaven. But those things which have been dedicated to the Lord and given to a church or to a monastery [are not to be taken away], according to canon lxxv. of the holy Apostles, and canon xxiv. of the Fourth holy Ecum. Council:[1] 'Let a monastery which has been founded with the concurrence of the bishop remain unchanged; and let its property be inalienable. But if any one attempt to do otherwise, he shall not be unpunished.' The gloss: 'Monasteries founded without the blessing and the bidding of the bishop are unfounded and unhallowed. But such as have been founded by the bidding and with the blessing of the bishop, as being divine places, and made over to God, are to remain unchanged and uninjured for ever. And secular dwellings are never to be made in them. Also they are to retain their possessions and acquisitions, their fields and vineyards, and all the rest, which are neither to be taken away nor alienated. But if any one infringe this canon, they will incur censures by the canons'[1] (K. fol. 41). To the same effect is canon xlix. of the Sixth Ecum. Council, and canon i. of the First and Second Council, and canon xii. of the Seventh Ecum. Council, and canon ii. of Cyril abp. of Alexandria.[2] These holy canons forbid to take anything away, or to hold anything taken away from the holy churches and monasteries, or to seek to convert them into secular dwellings, or divert them to secular purposes; as also the Lord commands to render unto God the things that are God's, leaving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He said also, 'Let the children first be satisfied; for it is not right to take away their bread from the children, and to cast it to dogs.' And again he said, 'Give not holy things to dogs.' But of the administration of the property of the Church, canon xxxvii. of the holy Apostles says: 'Let the bishop administer with authority the property of the Church; but let him give nothing from it to his own relations, unless they be of the poor.' The gloss: 'It is not proper to call a bishop to account for the administration of the property of the Church, for it is right that he should administer it authoritatively, as in the sight of God himself. He must not however make any part of such property his own, nor give away of what belongs to God to his own connections. But if they are poor, he may give them what is enough for their necessities (as he does to the rest of the poor; but in no case may he on account of them sell anything that belongs to the Church).'[3] And canon xli.: 'We ordain that the bishops have power to administer the property of the Church. For if the precious souls of men are to be intrusted to them, much more ought the property of the Church, so that they may administer all authoritatively, and may distribute to the poor relief for their necessities by the hands of their priests and deacons, with the fear of God and all discretion. It is proper also that the bishop take to himself, if he has need, of the same for his own necessities, and for those of such stranger brethren as may come, so that they lack no suitable provision. For the law of God ordained that they that serve at the altar should live of the altar: since neither does a soldier ever at his own cost bear arms against the enemy.'[1] The gloss: 'Though the property of the Church in a province is given to the bishop, still he is not to administer it arbitrarily by himself alone; but the divine canons bid him do this with the knowledge and with the advice of his priests and deacons. And they add, that the bishop may rightly take some portion to himself from the property of the Church, that is, so much only as he wants for necessary use' (K. fol. 5). Canon xxv. of the synod of Antioch: 'Let the bishop have power over the property of the Church. But if he is not content with that which he takes for his own necessary use, but takes the property of the Church, and the crops from its lands, and the revenue which comes in to the episcopate, and appropriates them to himself without the knowledge and consent of his clergy, let him be called to account before all the synod of the province for misappropriating to himself what should be given to the poor.' The gloss: 'He to whom the precious souls of men are committed is much more to be trusted with power over the property of the Church, that he may distribute it to them that have need by the hands of the priests and deacons; and supply himself also, if he is otherwise ill provided, with what is wanting, both for his own necessities and for those of the brethren and strangers whom he may have to entertain, so that they have no lack. But if he be not content with what is necessary, but seeks to take the in-coming revenues of the Church and the produce of its lands, and appropriate them, and to that intent puts into the place of econome of the Church some relation of his own, that he may not be discovered to be wasting the property of the Church, he shall be judged for this by the synod [of the province] according to the finding of the bishops.'[1] But that the king or emperor should dispose with authority of the property of the church, or of monasteries, is not to be found written anywhere. And therefore whoever presumptuously begins to make himself lord over the holy churches or monasteries, or over the property belonging to the churches or monasteries, movable or immovable, for that sin the wrath of God will be upon him, and upon all his kingdom. As St. Nicon writes in his second book, in serm. xxiii., which he wrote to N. the Prince and to the Princess Marina, showing that it is not right for secular princes to misappropriate the property of monasteries and monks to their own uses, since such sins are condemned as sacrilege: 'I am astonished,' he writes, 'that the letter which I sent to thee has been as if it had never been read by thy godly intelligence and piety, and that it has been so entirely forgotten. However, there had been no forwardness in me; but it was with a great effort that I forced myself to send that letter for the sake of thy salvation. For thou knowest how thou spakest to me, when thou wast here, saying: "Thou must teach me; and I for that am as one of the catechumens." And for this cause I wrote to thee what might help towards the salvation of thy soul and body at once, and towards that of all thy house. And I added these words: "And now, if thou givest heed to this epistle, I will say to thee yet again something more; but if thou dost not give heed to this, I will be silent, and will not speak to thee again." Nevertheless, though thou hast given no heed to any part of that my counsel, I now do write again. Thy authority knows what severe chastisement overtook thee: and a dangerous illness came upon thee, so that thou wert within a little of death; only the Lord preserved thee, seeking thy true repentance. Nor was it upon thyself alone, but also on all thy house, that so great sickness came, and on all thy beloved kindred, and upon others. Thus it happens, alas! to them that act violently against the word of God. And now, "Behold," he says to thee, "thou art made whole: therefore sin no more, lest a worse evil happen unto thee." And I looked on, and beheld this, but I did not write to thee. But that at least

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[1] Bever. i. p. 26, 27, and p. 141, Aristin.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 141, the abridged canon and the gloss of Aristin, but somewhat amplified and paraphrased.

[2] All similarly referred to in the Greek Πηδάλιον at canon xxiv. of the Fourth Ecum. Council.

[3] K. fol. 4, Bever. i. p. 27, Aristin, somewhat expanded from Zonaras.

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[1] This is the full canon, not the abridged canon of Aristin. Bever. i. p. 28, and the gloss which follows is a paraphrase of the gloss of Zonaras, not that of Aristin.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 452. This canon, and still more the gloss, are those of Aristin, somewhat paraphrased and expanded.

henceforth thou mayest try to show some fruit of true penitence, and as it were of hope—for I see no outward sign—I now write. For the property of the churches, and monasteries, and monks, and their affairs, are all consecrated to God; and are not to be expended in any other way than upon the poor, and strangers, and captives, and other such-like objects, and for all the needs of the monks, and the monasteries, and the churches. And I cannot say whether there has ever been down to this present day any other secular prince who has taken aught of these revenues: but if there has been any such, he is judged of God as a sacrilegious person, and is condemned with the condemnation of sacrilege by the divine canons in the present world and in the world to come. And, if thy mightiness will search the divine scriptures, thou wilt find that not only does he so greatly offend God and incur so great misery and torment, but, wherever men come in doing such things by violence, or by partiality, or by compulsion, or for relationship, or other like motives, they are presently hurled down, and the wealth which they had got together from other various sources comes to naught. And since thou hast again made order to take such property of the churches, the monasteries, and the monks, and to apply their labours and their fruits, which are dedicated to God, to thine own use, and that of thine house, and thine other servants who are smitten with the plague of covetousness, and hast again chosen to go against God; for this reason neither do I accept that of which thou hast written to me, as thou art uncorrected. Think of thine unrepented sins. For such orders as thou hast given show that thy other sins also are unrepented of, though they may be unknown to us, or are such as may be matters of dispute and deception between one man and another. For every tree is known from its fruits, as thou writest. But this tells both ways, for bad as well as for good. I am astonished, moreover, how thou canst also ask for prayers from a monk and from the churches, when thou art doing nothing to deserve their prayers; and not only givest not [alms] to them, as would be becoming, but even givest command to rob them. In word only thou art liberal, and doest nothing out of keeping with the character or manifestation of the world. For the manifestation of the world also has forms consisting in mere word; but the manifestation of the divine Spirit is in deed and in truth. Or knoweth not thy mightiness that the prayer of every man against him that oppresses him has a proportionate earnestness, either for good or for evil, and especially in them that are weakest, and that have not attained to that law of the gospel, which says, "Pray for them that despitefully use you" (Matt. v. 44): and, "Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again" (Luke vi. 28, 30); and other like words: which precepts are not given by him to be observed by monks only, but by you also of the laity, and by all Christians together. And however that may be, we have this to say, that monks who pray for them that do them wrong benefit themselves, as it is said in the Divine Ladder, in the discourse of the Shepherd, "Let us ask without wearying, and let us pray for all who give no heed; not that they may be pardoned, for this is impossible so long as they will not do anything for themselves; but that they may be moved by God to give heed to their souls." In saying this, and as much more to the like effect as I have written, I poor sinner have no thought of reviling thee; but I only wish to point out to thy godly virtue what is ignorance and deception. For this, as thou seest, exists in all, and especially in such as are princes, like thyself; and they rather take credit to themselves for this deceiving temptation.'

XX. Reply against the Twentieth[1] Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, 'Has our sovereign incurred sin that he has let the Church of God remain in widowhood?' Explain to me first what the Church is; and so I will tell thee. If thou knowest not, ask; and I will tell thee what the Church is. The Lord says, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' But by the Church he means not a place only, but a moral habit; not walls of churches, but church laws. For the Church is not walls and a roof, but faith and life. But how is it that the gates of hell have not prevailed against the Church? Because Christ is ever with us. For certainly if he had not been with us, the Church would not have prevailed as she did when the gospel spread on all sides over all the world from the holy Apostles, as the founders of the Church and the sowers of the word of the gospel. In truth the Apostles are the foundations of the Church. 'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them twelve names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb' (Apoc. xxi. 14). But the foundations of the wall, as we have said, are the blessed Apostles, on whom the Church of Christ is founded; whose names, as in a preface, are written on our hearts, for the more easy understanding and instruction of the reader. But the great wall of the Church which is high, and protects them that are within the holy city, is Christ; and he is the head or cupola (Eph. v. 23; Coloss. i. 18). But what is that which thou, O Answerer, sayest unrighteously? 'If he does that for some reasonable considerations, and in the way of economy, for reasons which are unknown to us, he sins not grievously; that is, it is not a mortal sin; nevertheless he is not, no, he is not, free from the lesser or venial sin; because many are scandalised, and ascribe that his conduct to remissness, as if he were not anxious, nor gave attention to the matter. And the very chiefest care of a king or emperor is the care of the Church, because the Tsar's estate can never be firmly settled nor prosperous so long as the estate of his mother the Church of God is not firmly settled. For the Church of God, O most illustrious Tsar, is thy mother; and as thou art bound to honour thy mother that bare thee, so also thou oughtest to love and honour exceedingly thy spiritual mother which has borne thee anew in the holy laver of baptism, and which has anointed thee to the empire with oil and the chrism of gladness.' Thou hast heard, O thou Answerer, together with thy Questioner, what the Church is; and what is the foundation of the Church; and what are its walls, and its head. Listen, thou deceiver, to the Apostle Paul, the lawgiver of the Church of God, and he will enumerate to thee step by step the orders of the holy Church: 'And God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret? But covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet show I unto you a more excellent way' (1 Cor. xii. 28-31). Seest thou the holy gradation? Why is not the emperor [the Tsar] named in the first place, for the eminence of the imperial power? It is well for every man to know his own measure, as it is written: 'In that calling in which any man is called, therein let him abide' (1 Cor. vii. 20-24). The Lord testifies, saying: 'When the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment: and he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having on a wedding garment? And he was speechless. Then the king said to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are called, but few are chosen' (Matt. xxii. 11-13). Why dost thou bring in to the divine wedding those that have not the wedding garments? Thou seest what the king threatens when he says to his servants, 'Bind him hand and foot, and take him and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' And there is no deliverance. 'Shall a man deliver [his brother? No;] for he shall not give to God a ransom for himself' (Ps. xlviii. Heb. xlix. 8, 9). 'But that servant who knew his lord's will, but did it not, neither prepared himself according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes' (Luke xii. 47). For it is not right to account the gift of God as a property, or in any other way to seek to acquire it as property. 'When Simon saw that through laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. Then answered Simon and said, Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me' (Acts viii. 18-24). 'And certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit answered and said,

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[1] So the Nineteenth Question and Answer are passed over without any special Reply.

Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus: and fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified' (Acts xix. 13-17). 'And when it was day, there was no small stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter. But when Herod had sought for him, and found him not, he examined the keepers, and commanded that they should be put to death. And he went down from Judea to Cesarea, and there abode. And upon a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat on his throne before the people and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not the glory to God; and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost. But the word of God grew and multiplied' (Acts xii. 18-24). Seest thou, O thou Answerer, from these terrible threats, to what great torments God condemns them that have not the wedding garment? So, even though a man be a king, he had better not do what it is not right for him to do. But what dost thou say? 'The Church of God, O most illustrious Tsar, is thy mother: and as thou art bound to honour thy mother that bare thee, so also thou oughtest to love and honour exceedingly thy spiritual mother which has borne thee anew in the holy laver of baptism, and which has anointed thee to the empire with oil and with the chrism of gladness.' And so, O Answerer, thy lewd and lying rhetoric concludes. Whence hast thou gotten such audacity to interpret [so as to lead] to sin, and not from the divine scripture? Paul says, 'If we or an angel preach to you anything beyond that which ye have received, let him be anathema.' But thou, of thy recklessness, in spite of this awful imprecation, introducest new legislation, and sayest, 'Nevertheless he is not free from some lesser or venial sin; because many are scandalised, and ascribe that his conduct to remissness, that he takes not care, nor shows diligence in that matter.' What care dost thou bid him to take? Such as that with which David committed murder and adultery? 'But,' thou sayest, 'the very greatest of royal cares is the care of the Church.' Whence hast thou taken such a foul assertion as this, that it is for the emperor or king to govern the Church?

Then thou sayest that 'the affairs of the emperor are never firmly settled and prosperous so long as the affairs of his mother the Church of God are not firmly settled.' What affairs? Is this one of them, that he should degrade his mother to adultery? Listen, thou deceiver! The Lord testifies, 'Every kingdom which is divided against itself shall be brought to desolation.' When God testifies that in division there is no good, who can make it to be otherwise? 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,' says the Lord. It behoves every one to know his own measure, and not to take to himself what belongs not to him. Nor is this economy, or edification of the Church, but rather persecution. As it is written in the Revelation: 'Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen; and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent' (Apoc. ii. 5). But the removal of the candlestick or the church is the stripping it of divine grace, whereby it is agitated and disturbed by the spirit of malice, and by evil men his ministers. 'And the serpent stood before the woman who was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it should be born' (Apoc. xii. 4). 'And the serpent stood before the woman:' For the apostate ever rises up against the Church, seeking eagerly and waiting to make them that are born of her from time to time his prey; since through the Church he persecutes also Christ himself, as being her head, who identifies them that believe with himself. And therefore it was that he said, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou *me?*' 'And the woman fled into the wildnerness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days' (ib. xii. 6). The gloss: 'And the woman fled into the wilderness: That is, he says, when the devil works in Antichrist, by whom he wars against the Church. But the elect and the most excellent, spitting upon the din and confusion of cities, and upon the disturbances of secular power, flee to a life desert of all malice but fruitful of all kinds of virtues, according to the words of the great Methodius; and so they escape the artifices of the demons that war upon them, and those of evil men. It is also to be believed that the literal desert saves those who fly to the mountains and caves and pits of the earth on account of the attacks of the apostate, and the false Christ, as also was the case with the earlier martyrs, for the space of three years and a half, expressed as twelve hundred and sixty days, during which the apostasy shall be dominant, from which there is one who delivers us, a certain Agonothete, who leaves not any one to be tempted above that which he is able to bear, and gives us a steadfast mind not to be corrupted nor conquered by the artifices of the adversary; that, having legitimately contended against the principalities and powers of darkness, we may after suffering be adorned with crowns of righteousness, and receive the honours and rewards of victory. He that envies fights against God, and not against him whom he envies. For when thou seest any one to have grace, and grievest at this, and wishest on that account to bring down the Church, thou fightest not with him but with God. For, tell me; suppose any one had adorned a damsel for the king, and had shown his skill in adorning her, and making her honourable, and thereupon some one else should wish to disfigure this same damsel, and, it not being in his power to steal her away, should on that account plot against the man who had been able so to adorn her, either against himself, or against her and her father? Even so it is now. Thou of envy assailest the Church, and fightest against God, because thou art blinded by envy of the grace given to thy brother; and the interest of the Church, being involved with his, must in his overthrow be ruined also. Therefore thou art doing a satanical work, plotting against the body of Christ. It is not this man, myself that is, who has never done thee any sort of hurt, against whom thou art poisoned with envy, but much more truly against Christ. For as the body and the head are one man, so the Church and Christ are called one. Wherein has he wronged thee, that thou sufferest not his bride to clothe herself with her apparel? Wilt thou learn that the pontificate is a more honourable and a greater principality than the empire itself? Tell me not of the purple, or the crown, or of robes of gold; for all these things are as grass, and inferior to any flower of the field. For 'all the glory of man,' it is said, 'is as the flower of the field,' though it be the imperial purple itself that you name. Therefore name not to me any of these things. But if thou wishest to see what difference there is between the priest and the Tsar, examine what those powers are which are given to each; and thou wilt see that the priest is seated very much higher than the king. For though the throne of the Tsar may appear honourable to you from the precious stones set in it and the gold with which it is overlaid, nevertheless they are only the things of earth which he has received power to administer, and beyond this he has no power whatever. But the throne of the priesthood is set in heaven. Who says this to you? The King of heaven. 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven' (Matt. xviii. 18). What honour shall there be equal to this? Heaven receives the beginning of jurisdiction from earth, because he who judges has his chair on earth. The Lord follows his servant. For whatever judgments the servant passes, the same are also confirmed by the Lord on high. And the priest stands between God and human nature, as drawing down from heaven graces unto us, carrying up from us utterances of prayers to heaven, reconciling him, when he is angry, to our common nature, and delivering us, when we have offended, out of his hand. For this cause kings themselves also are anointed by the hands of the priests, but not priests by the hand of kings; and the head itself of the king is put by God under the hand of his priests, showing us that the priest is a greater authority than the king: for 'the lesser is blessed by the greater.' If any one uttered a mighty loud voice proclaiming to all the people that the Tsar has forsaken Christ and God, who would applaud, except an apostate? How should such an one be other than an apostate from Christ, even though it be the Tsar? For the Lord hath said of all alike, 'He that heareth you heareth me, he that rejecteth you rejecteth me. He that doeth good is of God, but he that doeth evil hath not known God.' Who then can call him a Christian who rejects Christ? Again: if any one were to say that the Tsar dishonours his spiritual father [*i. e.* his confessor], every common man would blame this too, and rightly, unless he were out of his mind. How much more then, if he dishonour the head of that his spiritual father, will he be condemned, and receive double punishment of God? Hast thou heard what is said not by a man but by God himself? 'Whatsoever ye have done unto the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me,' whether it be good or evil: 'And these shall go away into everlasting punishment' (Matt. xxv. 40, 45, 46). If any one were to see the emperor in his royal robes celebrating as a priest the service of the liturgy [*i. e.* the mass], or doing anything else which belongs to the priesthood, who is there that could say of such an act that it was right and proper, unless he were out of his mind? How then dost thou say, thou insane Answerer, that the chief care proper for the Tsar is the care [that is, the government] of the Church? Is the Tsar the head of the Church? No! The head of the Church is Christ, as the Apostle writes: 'For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers: all things were created by him and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the Church: who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things he might have the preëminence. For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven' (Col. i. 16-20). But the Tsar neither is nor can be the head of the Church, but is as one of the members. And on this account he can do nothing whatever in the Church, not even what belongs to the order of the lowest reader or cleric. But if now, contrary to the will of God, he acts by force, does violence to the churches of God, and takes away all their rights and properties, and judges bishops, archimandrites, and all the sacred order of the clergy, he will be judged himself for this by a judge who accepteth no man's person, that is by Christ, who has power justly to condemn after their departure from this life them that transgress his holy commandments, and to recompense to every man according to his deeds. He himself says this: 'I am not come to judge, but to save the world. He who rejecteth me and receiveth not my words hath one that judgeth him, even the word that I have commanded, that shall judge him in the day of judgment.' Where is there any word of Christ that the Tsar is to have power over the Church? Christ says, 'All power is given me in heaven and on earth.' And again he says, 'Whomsoever thou shalt bind on earth, he shall be bound in heaven.' But to whom is it that such power is given? Thou hast heard that it is to the holy Apostles, and after them to their successors the bishops, but not to kings. The Tsar has committed to him the things of this earth, but I have committed to me the things of heaven. The

Tsar has committed to him the bodies, but the priest the souls of men. The Tsar remits debts of money, but the priest debts of sins. The one constrains, but the other consoles. The one acts by compulsion, but the other by counsel. The one uses material weapons, but the other spiritual. The one has his war with his enemies, but the other with principalities, and with the rulers of this world, of the darkness of this world. And for this reason the priesthood is a vastly greater thing than the empire. It is a marvel how the loving-kindness of God is so long-suffering, when now not only the Tsar himself has taken upon himself and bears the quality of the episcopate, but all they that hold his authority do the same. Hast thou not heard what in old time befell Dathan and Abiram and Kore, who rose up against Aaron, as it is written: 'And they angered Moses in the camp, and Aaron the holy one of the Lord. But the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the congregation of Abiram. And the fire was kindled in their company; the flame burned up the ungodly' (Ps. cv. 16-18). Hear besides what happened to Saul, the first king in Israel: 'And the word of the Lord came unto Samuel, saying, It repenteth me that I have anointed Saul to the kingdom; for he has turned back from following me.' What then had Saul done, that he is said to have turned back? 'Because,' it continues, 'he hath not kept my words' (1 Kings xv. 10, 11). 'And Samuel rose up early in the morning, and went to meet the Israelites early. And they told Samuel, saying, Saul came near to Carmel; and behold already his hand slackened, and he turned about with his men at arms to Gilgal. And Samuel came to Saul. And behold he was himself offering up a whole burnt-offering to the Lord of the first-fruits of the spoil which he had taken from the Amalekites. And Samuel came to Saul. And Saul said unto him, Blessed be thou of the Lord: I have performed all that the Lord said unto me. And Samuel said, What is the bleating of these flocks in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear? And Saul said, We have brought them from the Amalekites. They are the best of the flocks and herds, which the people collected to sacrifice unto the Lord their God: and the rest I have slain. And Samuel said unto Saul, Stay, and I will tell thee what the Lord hath said to me this night. And he said unto him, Say on. And Samuel said unto Saul, When thou wast little in their sight did not the Lord make thee ruler of the banners of the tribes of Israel? And the Lord sent thee on an expedition, and said unto thee, Go and root out Amalek, and destroy them that have sinned against me, and war upon them until thou hast made an end of them. Wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the Lord in all that he said unto thee, but didst fly upon the spoil, to take it? Hath the Lord as great delight in sacrifices and burnt-offerings as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. As witchcraft is sin, so also is rebellion; and as idolatry is sin, so is disobedience. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king over Israel.' And a little later: 'The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel out of thine hand this day' (1 Kings xv. 10-28). Seest thou, O thou Answerer, this word of God, for it is not the word of any man, that 'I made thee ruler of the banners of the tribes of Israel, and anointed thee to the kingdom of Israel,' but not to offer sacrifices and burnt-offerings, teaching beforehand for all future time that the priesthood is a greater thing than the empire, and that he who aspires to more loses that which was his own? Or is this not enough for thee in the way of proof? The king Uzziah entered into the temple of the Lord in disobedience to the priest, to burn incense, saying, I am righteous. Thou art righteous, may be: but keep within thine own prescribed bounds. The prescribed bounds of the empire are such and such: the prescribed bounds of the priesthood are different: and this latter is a greater thing than the former. 'And Azariah the priest went in after him.' And was it without ground that I said that the priest is greater than the king? For he sought not to expel him with respect as a king; but as some vile outcast and thankless slave. So he went in to him angrily; even as some faithful dog might run in to a foul wild beast to drive it out of his master's house (2 Paralip. xxvi. 17, &c.). Seest thou how the soul of the priest was filled with great courage and lofty wisdom? He looked not to the majesty of the ruler; he thought not how hard it is to restrain a soul drunk with its own passion; he listened not to Solomon saying, 'The wrath of a king is as the roaring of a lion:' but he looked to the true king, the King of heaven; and thinking of that judgment-seat and recompense which is to come, and strengthening himself with such thoughts, he so hastened in to the persecutor. He knew well, yes, he knew, that is clear, that the wrath of the king is like the roaring of a lion, the very fancy of which to a man keeping his fields is terrible. But against him who is prepared rather to die within the sanctuary than to suffer without resistance the sacred commandments to be infringed, this lion is more contemptible even than the smallest dog. Nothing in fact is more powerless than the man who attacks the laws of God; as, on the other hand, nothing is stronger than the man who contends for the same laws. For he who committeth sin is the slave of sin, though he have a thousand crowns on his head; but he who does what is just is more of an emperor than the emperor himself, though he be the last of all. All these thoughts of true wisdom were present to that good and noble high priest when he entered into the temple. Let us too, if any one has a mind, go in with him, that we may see what he will say to the king. And it will be not at all unedifying for us to witness the administration of a reproof from the priest to the king. What then was it that the priest said? 'It appertaineth not unto thee to burn incense unto the Lord.' He addressed him not by the name of king, nor by any other title of authority, because he had already by anticipation stripped himself of honour. But what then did God, seeing that the priest was outraged, and the word of the priest was trampled under foot, and the priest himself could do nothing farther? The priest's part is to rebuke only, and to show courage; not to lift a weapon, nor to grasp a shield, not to brandish a spear, nor bend a bow, nor shoot an arrow, but only to rebuke, and to show courage. And since the priest had rebuked the king, but the king did not submit himself, but lifted up his arms, his shields, and spears, and took what liberty he would by his power, the priest said, 'I have done my part: I can do nothing farther: do thou, O God, defend the priesthood which is trampled under foot, thy laws which are outraged, thy ordinances which are transgressed.' And what did God, the lover of mankind? Immediately he brought out visibly a leprosy on the king's forehead. The same part, the brow, which had shown irreverence was branded in punishment. Seest thou the loving-kindness of God, and the punishment? He hurled no thunderbolt; he caused no earthquake; he darkened not the heavens; but he brought out a leprosy, not on any other part but on the forehead, that it should bear the mark of punishment, even as the letters of an inscription are engraven on a column. For it was not done on account of that sin as when Dathan and Abiram desired to share the priesthood with Aaron; whom the earth opened and swallowed up. For when he could have inflicted a worthy punishment he did not inflict it. But this I say not to reproach the Tsar, but that thou who art drunk with pride and rage mayest learn that the priesthood is a greater thing than empire. Uzziah went forth from the temple marked to be an example for all men. The sanctuary was cleansed; and he was driven out, without any of his servants deserting him. And while he sought to take the priesthood, he lost even that which was properly his own. 'The Church of God, O most illustrious Tsar, is thy mother; and, as thou oughtest to honour thy mother who bare thee, so thou oughtest also to love and honour thy spiritual mother which bare thee anew in the laver of holy baptism, and which anointed thee to the empire with oil and with the chrism of gladness.' Yes; love very much thy spiritual mother the Church; only not with such love as that with which Christ loved her, who gave himself for her, that he might betroth her to himself, and made himself food for us poor mortals, as many as she has fed from her breasts, and for them that are with himself. Hear, thou Answerer, the tremendous admonition of the supreme Bishop and King addressed to such in the parable: 'Who then is the faithful and wise servant whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their meat in due season?' (Matt. xxiv. 45.) 'Blessed is that servant whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. But and if that evil servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat his fellows, and to eat and drink with the drunken, the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him asunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers' (Luke xii. 42-46). 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' Again the Lord says, 'I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink;' &c. But to them that have *not* done works of mercy what does he say in the day of judgment? 'Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment' (Matt. xxv. 34-46). But if any man have not only not done himself works of mercy, but have even by violence and power taken away from others what they had, and diverted it forcibly to his own use, what punishments will not such men incur? Canon lix. of the holy Apostles: 'If a bishop or priest does not give what is needful to any clerk who is in want, let him be excommunicated; and if he persist in his uncharitable conduct, let him be deposed; for he is a murderer of his brother.'[1] The gloss: 'The property of the Church is called by holy scripture the wealth of the poor; and it is a duty to distribute it to the poor. But if it is the duty of the rulers of the churches to make distribution to others who are in need, as it is, how much more must it be their duty to be charitable to the clerks under them, and to give them what is necessary? If they do not this, they are excommunicated; and if they persist without amendment, they are to be also deposed; since they are even murderers of their brethren. For he who has not what is necessary for the support of life is in danger of dying: and though he do not absolutely die, if God gives him [in some other way] what suffices for life, the guilt is the same' (K. fol. 7).

XXI. Reply against the Twenty-first Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner: 'And if there are any bishops and boyars who do not petition the Tsar, and move him to make a perfect end, and to set all to rights in this business, do they sin in this, that they do not give their counsel for what would be best?' Why, turning thy back to the light, dost thou go off to darkness, abandoning the commandments of the gospel and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers? The Lord says, 'Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' (Luke vi. 46.) 'When any one heareth the word of the kingdom and giveth not heed to it, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart;' and what follows (Matt. xiii. 19). 'See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what is the will of God' (Eph. v. 15 and Rom. xii. 2). 'Professing to know God, but by works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and for every good work unprofitable' (Tit. i. 16). That a man should not ask questions tending to no good [is shown by the example of Judas]: 'And after the sop Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus into him, That thou doest do quickly. But no one at the table understood with what intent he spake this unto him' (John xiii. 27, 28). 'When they were come together, they asked of him saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel? But he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power' (Acts i. 6, 7). Canon xiii. of Laodicea: 'Any election of a bishop made by secular people is null.' The gloss: 'A bishop is appointed by the judgment and election of the metropolitan and the bishops of the province. But if any one be raised to the episcopate not in this way, but by the choice of secular people, he is not [validly] elected, nor is he to be received' (K. fol. 30). In like manner also canon iii. of the Seventh holy Ecum. Council (K. fol. 82).[1] But thou, O Answerer, sayest: 'They sin very much and grievously, because they do not consider the good of the commonwealth, and only leave the Church in degradation, when it is in their power to put an end to such a disgrace; and so they do not show any zeal or affection towards such a dignity as the patriarchate. And thereby they show themselves worthy of blame, because whoso is able to do good and doeth it not, he is to be blamed for his indifference.' Dost thou make, O Answerer, one answer to the *bishops* and the *boyars* all together, or to which? Say distinctly. And as for the boyars, enough has been said already above to thy questioner for all of them together. But as for the bishops, they have power by the blessing of the M. H. Ecumenical patriarchs, and by the synodal act, which has been written out above, and by the letters given sealed with the seals, and subscribed by the hands of lxxxiii. [lxxiii.] bishops, *after the death* of any patriarch to create another; as also canon xvi.[1] of the council called the First and Second, held in the church of the holy Apostles, ordains: 'Under no pretence whatever let any one enter upon a see the bishop of which is still living' (K. fol. 87). And, behold, I am still living. He is *dead* from the life everlasting, through whom I have had to go away. And there is the episcopal engagement made at the election of each one of them, according to canon xviii. of Carthage, and cap. ii. of the Novells of the Emperor Justinian (K. part ii. fol. 3), and Tit. xxviii. of the Civil Law, cap. ii., with the subscription of their hands.[2] And the first words of that writing are as follows: 'This I write with my own hand and of my own mind, professing before God and his elect angels our orthodox and unsullied Christian faith, as defined in the First, the Nicene, and the Second Ecumenical Councils, which is thus: I believe in one God, &c. Moreover, I receive the Apostolical canons, and those of the Seven Ecumenical and of the Local Councils. What they received I also receive; and whom they rejected I also reject.' Farther, he also promises to keep the peace of the Church, and in no manner of way to hold any sentiments contrary to hers. In all of this they have foresworn themselves before God and his elect angels. They promised to keep the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and to keep the peace of the Church; and they have kept nothing of these things. Of them, however, there is not time here to make mention at length. If there be need, we will speak of them separately. But now we will say only what is absolutely necessary. Nowhere in any canon of the holy Apostles, or of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, is it written that bishops may judge their metropolitan, to say nothing of a patriarch. But canon ix. of the Fourth Ecum. Council[3] does not allow either that metropolitans alone should judge even a metropolitan; but a metropolitan is to be judged only by his own patriarch, or by the patriarch of Constantinople. When it befell us, on account of a certain displeasure of the Tsar, to give place to wrath we did according to the Lord's commandment in the scripture, 'If they persecute you in this city, flee into another.' We did as Christ also our God himself set us an example for doing when he fled, while yet in swaddling clothes, from the malice of Herod; and the holy Apostles, Peter when he went away out of the prison, and Paul when he escaped from Damascus; as is written in the Acts. And again as in the Acts (ch. xiv. 5): 'When there was an assault made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully and to stone them, they were ware of it, and fled into Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about. And there they preached the gospel.' And for the other saints who fled in like manner, read, if thou wilt, what is written for the commemoration of each of them in the Menæa for the whole course of the year. So thou shalt know exactly how they fled, and from what malice of enemies. But those metropolitans and archbishops had promised 'in all things to follow and to obey the ecumenical patriarchs, and after them us also, as their father, and the M. H. Patriarchs who by the blessing of God should be after us; and not to do anything by compulsion, either of the Tsar and Grand Prince, or of any number of boyars and princes, or of any multitude of the people, though they threaten me with death, or command me to celebrate, or to do any episcopal act in another metropolitan province than my own, or in any other see, except only in that one see which has been given to me by my spiritual father. Or, if I be away from my own see, in whatever other region I may be, I will not act ecclesiastically without the bidding of my father [the local patriarch, metropolitan, or bishop]. And farther, I pledge myself to this also, that when called by my father and all the sacred synod, I will, without any word of gäinsaying, come to a synod. Farther, I also pledge myself to this, that though princes seek to force me, or boyars, or the multitude of the people, I will not disobey the command of my father and all the sacred synod, or of the M. H. Patriarchs who may be after their time. And farther, I promise this also, that I will not receive any other patriarch than one of the holy Eastern Church, of the Greek law, according to the divine and sacred Apostolical canons, and those of the Seven holy Ecumenical Councils. But if I do any of the things above written, without the bidding and without the letter of my father, and transgress in any one point of all the things herein above written, let me be degraded from my office *ipso facto*, without a word.' Seest thou what sort of an engagement they made before God and his holy angels, and before the Hossoudar the Tsar, and before all the synclete, and before the multitude of the people? And what have they performed? Nothing. In every point they have foresworn themselves. They promised to follow the M. H. Ecumenical Patriarchs. The Ecumenical patriarchs made a constitution that there should be in Moscow a patriarchal chair, according to the canons of the holy Apostles[1] and the holy fathers; and they ordained that all the bishops should regard the patriarch as their head, and that without his consent they should do nothing. But they, in utter despite of this constitution, without having made any inquiry respecting our departure, assembled together, and made a council in pursuance of letters from the Tsar, contrary to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, as their own irregular act attests; for there is nothing in it taken from the canons of the holy Apostles or the holy Fathers, but it is compiled from other sources, in contravention of canon i. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council. And therefore they are all of them guilty by the canons of the holy Apostles and holy fathers, and by the constitution of the ecumenical patriarchs, and by their own solemn engagement. Nowhere in any canons is it to be found that metropolitans can judge even a metropolitan; but they can judge only a bishop; and then there must be not fewer than twelve bishops. But these have committed by their synod a new sort of lawlessness, and have pronounced a judgment against their patriarch. In their engagement it was written moreover, that they would do nothing by compulsion of the Tsar and Grand Prince, nor of the boyars, nor of any number of princes, nor of any multitude of the people, though they even threatened them with death, ordering them to officiate, or to do any episcopal act, out of the diocese committed to them. And that is perfectly well known to the Hossoudar the Tsar himself, and to all the princes and boyars, because

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[1] This is the full canon and the gloss of Zonaras. Bever. i. p. 38, 39.

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[1] And canon xxx. of the Apostles. See above, pp. 110, 111.

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[1] See above at p. 110.

[2] K. part ii. fol. 51. This ch. ii. of Title xxviii. of the Civil Law prescribes what writing shall be given in by a bishop on his appointment.

[3] See above at pp. 39, 55, 56, 61, 101.

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[1] Canon xxxiv. is specially alluded to.

that engagement is customarily made in presence of the Tsar and of all the synclete. And the Tsar himself could not with any decency after that send letters to them for such a purpose. Canon xi. of the local synod of Antioch: 'Any bishop, or priest, or deacon, who of himself, and unbidden by the metropolitan of the province, goes to the emperor, is to be excommunicated and deposed.' The gloss: 'The fathers allowing no place for insubordination in any, and enforcing order, forbid both bishops and priests and all other clerics without the consent and letters of their metropolitan[1] to go to the emperor, or trouble his ears, or make any reference to him. And therefore they enact that any bishop or priest going without the consent of his metropolitan to the emperor is both to be degraded and to be excommunicated'[2] (K. fol. 27). Canon xii.: 'If one who has been deposed troubles the emperor with his case, let him ask [by the emperor's intercession] for a greater synod; and by its judgment let him abide. But if even after that he be impatient, let him not obtain restoration.' The gloss: 'If any bishop, or priest, or deacon, having been synodically deposed, thinks himself wronged, he is not forbidden, but rather he is directed, by this canon to appeal to a greater synod, and to plead his cause before it, in order to obtain a reversal of the judgment against him. But if any one is unwilling so to appear and to plead his cause before a greater synod, but seeks to trouble the emperor's ears, to get him to interfere, this canon shows him no indulgence, nor allows him any opportunity of self-defence, nor any hope of the reversal of his sentence. But except for some wrong done, or for the protection of orphans and widows, ecclesiastics are not to go to the emperor: and even in those cases it is to be done with the cognisance of other bishops'[3] (K. fol. 27). Canon viii. of Sardica:[4] 'In behalf of orphans, widows, or other friendless persons suffering oppression, let the bishop be bold even to go to the emperor and to beseech him, to the best of his ability, to be gracious to them. But he must not on such a pretence remain long at the camp [or court]; but rather let him send a deacon' (K. fol. 43).

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[1] τοῦ πρώτου αὐτῶν.

[2] Bever. i. p. 441, Aristin.

[3] Bever. i. p. 443, Aristin. The last clause of the gloss, 'But except,' &c., is not in the original Greek. Nor the clause 'and to beseech him,' &c., in the canon following.

[4] So in the K. But in the full Greek canons and in the abridged canons and gloss of Aristin it is canon vii. Bever. i. p. 491.

Canon ix.: 'Let the bishops help them that have recourse to the Church.' The gloss:[1] 'To defend orphans and widows, and to comfort the afflicted, and to assist the oppressed and friendless, and those too who fly to the Church on account of their offences, and need mercy, and to go in their behalf to the emperor, seeking for pardon, is made the duty of bishops by this canon. Nevertheless, it does not permit them for such causes to leave their churches for long, nor to go to the camp or elsewhere where the emperor may be, and trouble him about them, as this might bring upon the bishops popular blame and obloquy; but it bids them send the petitions to the emperor by his deacons' (K. fol. 44). And canon civ. of Carthage: 'Any bishop applying for a secular judgment from the emperor is deposed.' The gloss: 'A bishop or clerk accused of any crimes, if he decline the ecclesiastical tribunal, and seek from the emperor secular judges, is to be deprived of his rank.' Canon cvi.: 'He who for any necessary cause wishes to go to the emperor must make this known to the bishop of Carthage, and to the bishop of Rome, and must take a letter dimissory. Else let him be out of communion.'[2] The gloss: 'A bishop or clerk who wishes to go to the emperor must first explain his reason to the bishop of Carthage, and take from him a letter dimissory, and then, going to Rome, he must show it to the bishop of Rome, and tell him the cause for which he is going to the emperor: and when the bishop of Rome has considered it and judged it to be sufficient, he is to take from him also a letter, recommending him to the emperor. But whatever bishop or clerk goes off after any other sort to the emperor, he is to be excommunicated'[3] (K. fol. 61). And of this see canon xi. of Antioch, and canon ix. of Sardica.

And so they [the Russian bishops] are all guilty by these sacred canons, and by their own engagement. And that scripture has been fulfilled in them which says, 'He loved not blessing, therefore it departed from him;' and the rest (Ps. cviii.; in the Heb. cix. 17, 18).

Again thou sayest, O thou Answerer: 'We know that in the week of the Passion [*i. e.* Holy Week], on account of the saving sufferings of our Redeemer, we are all in mourning and tears, showing openly on our faces our inward sorrow. On the contrary, on the festival of his holy Resurrection we put on bright garments, and rejoice: and if any one on that day does not rejoice with the Church of God, we do not count him for a real Christian, because he rejoices not with the Spouse of Christ, which has regained the sight of her beloved bridegroom. So now we have all the utmost sorrow for the widowhood and separation of the Church of God, and we should have the utmost joy if our mother the Church of God were to put off her garments of mourning, and array herself in bright and white garments. The chair [or church] of the patriarchate is in widowhood, because one, as soon as he has renounced her, is accounted as a man dead; but she desires to possess her husband. What then? How long is she to live in mourning? and how long is she to wear that garb of tears without consolation? If a man abandon his wife, and for four years show no thought of her, nor provide for her necessary maintenance, the canon allows her to become the wife of another. And may not much more the Church of God take another husband, seeing that Nicon, who is buried alive, takes no care of her, nor feeds her?'

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[1] Canon viii., Bever. i. p. 494. The gloss of the K. is a paraphrase rather than the gloss itself of Aristin on the two preceding abridged canons. Bever. i. p. 494.

[2] These are canons cvii. and cix. in Bever. i. p. 641. See above, p. 103.

[3] Bever. i. p. 643, Aristin.

Listen, thou Answerer! It is written: 'Unto the sinner said God, In vain dost thou preach my law, and takest my covenant within thy lips: whereas thou hatest to be reformed, and hast cast my words behind thee' (Ps. xlix. 16). And the Apostle Paul says: 'Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified' (Rom. ii. 13). And the Apostle James writes: 'If any man be a hearer of the word and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass; for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was' (Jas. i. 23, 24). Consider honestly of thyself, what manner of man thou art, as the Lord bade, saying, 'He that is without sin, let him cast a stone at her.' Thou sayest, 'All our great sorrow is for this; for the widowhood and separation of the Church of God.' Art thou speaking of this church [of Moscow]? Why didst thou not rather consider what was true about thyself? when thou hast abandoned thine own church of thine own will,[1] and wanderest about in all parts contrary to the divine laws. The canons deprive those who, without sufficient cause, go off and wander about, and do not attend to their churches, as we have shown repeatedly above. But canon xix. of Sardica, speaking of such as are driven away unjustly from their churches, and go in consequence even out of their own districts[1] (K. fol. 45), by no means forbids them, nor disagrees with the divine command, 'If they persecute you from this city, flee into another.' Again thou sayest, 'We should have all joy if our mother the Church of God were to put off her weeds of mourning and array herself in bright apparel.' To these words of thine, such is their absurdity, it is impossible to say anything, unless it were to bid a peasant from the village stop thy mouth with some words equally void of meaning. Thou sayest, 'The patriarchal chair [or church] is in widowhood, because one, as soon as he has renounced her, is considered as a man dead.' That man is really dead who, having left without any good reason his diocese, goes hither and thither, and causes in disobedience to the divine laws many disturbances and uproars in different cities, as thou didst trouble the Moldavians, and caused the expulsion of the Hospodar; and now, having come here, art in like manner fomenting many troubles and scandals. If such a one be found alive, it would be well, according to the gospel of Christ, to tie a millstone about his neck and to drown him in the sea. 'If a man abandons his wife, and for four years shows no thought of her, nor provides for her necessary maintenance, the canon allows her to become the wife of another.' Tell me, thou Answerer, where precisely is that written, that after four years the canon allows her to become the wife of another man? What is the canon? Point it out, thou deceiver! Is it one of Christ himself? or of the holy Apostles? or of the holy Fathers? and I will show you [something more to the point]. But first we will speak of this point, that 'he provides not for her necessary sustenance.' Seest thou not that she has no lack, and that the Tsar precisely on this account has fallen in love with her, as a second David taking Bathsheba the wife of Uriah, and he gratifies himself with her sustenance, together with all his house? 'May not then,' thou continuest, 'much more the Church of God take another husband, when Nicon, who is buried alive, takes no care of her, nor feeds her?' *She has been fed even to fulness, and beyond measure: therefore she has loved also to commit adultery with many lovers, as is now seen.* But for that thou sayest, 'Nicon is as it were buried alive;' he is 'dead indeed through weakness, but he liveth by the power of God.' And that a man may not separate from his wife, nor a woman from her husband, and that it is not lawful for a man who has put away his wife to marry another, nor for a woman who has been put away to be married by another man, thou mayest learn from hence: It is said, 'He that putteth away his wife, except for the cause of adultery, causeth her to commit adultery; and he that marrieth a woman put away by her husband committeth adultery.' Seest thou, thou promoter of adultery, how Christ has affirmed that every one who putteth away his wife, except for the cause of adultery, maketh her to commit adultery. But I made a declaration respecting this in the holy church, complaining that the Tsar was in very many things committing adultery, as now also it is seen by all how he makes the holy Church to commit adultery in respect of all ecclesiastical regulations, and causes, and property. But, as the Lord said, in condemnation of such disorder: 'He who taketh a woman who has been put away by her husband committeth adultery.' Hearken; and understand how terrible is the sin of adultery. Who was more righteous than David? Yet, when he had incurred that sin, what would have become of him if he had not shown worthy fruit of penance, when the angel was ready to cut him asunder? And who was greater than John the Baptist? of whom Christ himself witnesses that no one has risen up of them that be born of women greater than John the Baptist, yet he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. Yet even he was not spared by the passion of adultery; as the holy gospel witnesses, saying thus: 'At that time Herod the Tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, and said unto his servants, This is John the Baptist whom I have beheaded: he is risen from the dead: and therefore mighty works are done of him. For Herod had taken John, and bound him, and put him in prison, for the sake of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife. For John said to him, It is not lawful for thee to have her. And he sought to kill him, but he feared the people, because they counted him for a prophet. But when Herod's birthday was kept, the daughter of

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[1] Paisius himself says of himself that he had come to Moscow *ἰδιοθέλως*.

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[1] Canon xvii., Bever. i. p. 505, Aristin. See above at p. 29.

Herodias danced before them and pleased Herod. Whereupon he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she should ask. And she, being before instructed of her mother, said, Give me here in a charger the head of John the Baptist. And the king was sorry: nevertheless, for the oath's sake, and them that sat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her. And he sent and beheaded John in the prison. And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel; and she brought it to her mother. And his disciples came, and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told Jesus. And when Jesus heard it he departed thence by ship to a desert place apart' (Matt. xiv. 1-13). Seest thou the ravening of adultery, how it spares not even a prophet, and cares not for a kingdom? Half the kingdom Herod offers to give to the dancing-girl: but adultery cares not for that, it cares only to destroy him who reproves it. And when Jesus had heard of the malice of adultery, he thereupon *withdrew* into a desert place. In like manner as in our own case, some having heard words about us from the Tsar, told us, saying, that 'If it were not that he feared God, he would do, yes, even to the patriarch, something that he wot not of;' in like manner as Herod did that which has been written above: 'And he sought to kill him, but he feared the people, because they counted him for a prophet.' And were it not that the hand of the Lord protected us also, they would have killed us long before now: as Rodion Streshneff and Joseph Kouchin [Lopouchin] for certain words of mine, being with me in my cell, actually threatened me with death, saying, 'If thou say again any more such words, I will not endure it.' But the word that I had spoken was this: 'There is little of Christianity in the Tsar. If there were [in him true] Christianity, he would have listened to those words written in the holy gospel: He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me. For he that rejecteth rejecteth not man but God, who has given to us his holy Spirit' (Luke x. 16). 'Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off even the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city' (Matt. x. 14, 15). Seest thou that they who are testified to by the word of God, and submit not themselves to them that are sent to them from God, but even revile them, do not stop short there, but carry up their rebellion to him that has sent them, and bring upon themselves a judgment more intolerable than that of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah? Again, thou sayest, 'May not then much more the Church of God take another husband, when Nicon, who is buried *alive*, takes no care of her, nor feeds her?' This which thou sayest is nothing to the point, because it is nowhere written that a woman may separate from a husband who is still *alive*. But rather listen to the Lord, who says: 'Whoever shall put away his wife and marry another committeth adultery against her; and if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery' (Mark x. 11, 12). 'Know ye not, brethren (for I speak to them that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? For the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. So then, if while her husband liveth she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress' (Rom. vii. 1-3; canon lxxxvii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council; and canon ix. of St. Basil the Great). 'And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband. But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband.' And again: 'Let not the husband put away his wife' (1 Cor. vii. 10, 11). 'Let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband' (ib. 2). 'It is verily reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from you. For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to deliver such an one unto Satan for the mortifying of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Your glorying is not good' (1 Cor. v. 1-6). Seest thou now, thou new Luther,[1] and reviler of the gospel, how the Lord himself has made marriage indissoluble, not for four years only, but for life? Whence hast thou taken such a satanical assertion as that, if a man for four years show no care whatever of his wife, the canon allows her to become the wife of another man? Say, what canon is it that so allows? Hast thou now noticed how the divine Paul says, by the word of God, 'Unto the married command not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband: but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband'? Canon cii. of the synod of Carthage:[1] 'Married persons who have separated the one from the other, unless they be reconciled, must remain as they are. Else they are to be compelled to do penance.' The gloss: 'It seemed good to this synod, according to the doctrine of the gospels and the apostles, that no one shall put away his wife lightly, nor separate from her. But if it happen, whether by the man's will or the woman's, that they separate, and are not reconciled, nor will unite and live together again, they are to remain as they are, single, and are not to contract another marriage; because he who takes a woman put away commits adultery. But if either the man take another wife, or the woman take another husband, they are to be compelled to do penance, and are to have the penance appointed for adultery' (K. fol. 61). See canon lxxxvii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council: and of St. Basil canons ix., xxxv., lxviii., and lxxvii., are to the same effect (K. fol. 90, 93, 94, 96). Canon lxxxvii. of the Sixth holy Ecum. Council: 'A woman who goes from her husband to another is an adulteress; and he who goes from his wife to another is, according to the Lord's word, in like manner an adulterer'[2] (K. fol. 79). How dost thou, thou perverter of the truth, dare to write falsehood in the teeth of our Lord Jesus Christ himself and of the holy Apostles? Of such the Apostle writes: 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach unto you anything else than what ye have received, let him be anathema.' In like manner also respecting him who had committed fornication with his father's wife, who however was not his mother, the Apostle commanded to deliver such an one unto Satan for the mortification of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved. How much more is it worthy of condemnation if the sin be committed with his mother? Farther, thou sayest that the Tsar in that did well, that he delivered over to the metropolitan of Kroutitz to commit adultery his mother the great cathedral church which anointed him with the oil of gladness to the empire. And ye, seeing such wickedness, are puffed up, and have not rather mourned and gathered yourselves together in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to deliver such an one to Satan for the mortification of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ; as it is written, 'Thou hast destroyed all them that commit fornication against thee' (Ps. lxxvii.). 'Wives,' the Apostle says, 'submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church: and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore, as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything' (Ephes. v. 22). Canon vii. of St. Basil the Great cuts off him who is guilty of adultery from the divine communion for fifteen years: and canon xxii. of the same father fixes for incest with a sister the term of penance to twenty years. And what then shall be that penance which shall be suitable for the same crime with a mother? But as regards the commandments of God and the canons of the holy Apostles respecting adultery, enough has been now set forth to thee. Wilt thou, O thou fomenter of enmity, that I now show thee farther what the canons of the holy fathers say as to that assertion of thine, that after four years a woman is allowed by the canon to be married to another husband? By what canon? Look at canon xcii. of the Sixth Ecum. Council:[1] 'If a woman's husband disappear, and she has no news of him, and so be married to another man, she commits adultery; and on the husband's returning, if he pleases, he may take her again.' The gloss: 'To the same effect with this canon is Novell xvii. [cxvii.?] of Justinian in Tit. vii. lib. xxviii.[2] of the Basilica. For that also ordains that if any woman have a husband who is a soldier, and he goes away to the war, and she hears that he is dead, she may nevertheless in nowise marry again, unless she receive from the commanders of the regiment (the ordo) in which her husband was serving an attestation made in presence of the holy gospels, and with a reference to the official account of the circumstances, that her husband is really dead. And when she has received such a written attestation, she shall afterwards abide still as she is, and wait one year. But if, without observing this caution, she be married to another, both she herself and the man who marries her shall be punished as guilty of adultery. But if, when she has waited the prescribed time, and has then married, it turn out that they who gave her the attestation upon oath that her husband was dead attested in fact what was false, they shall be stripped of their rank in the army, and shall pay a fine of ten pounds of gold to the man whom they falsely certified to be dead. And if he pleases to take again his wife, he is not forbidden to do so.[1] But if any husband have left his wife for some time, and she marry again through ignorance, it is not imputed to her as adultery[2] (K. part ii. fol. 23). And of this see canon xlvi. of St. Basil' (K. fol. 80). Canon xxxi. of St. Basil the Great: 'If a woman's husband go away from her, and nothing be heard of him, and she, without making accurate inquiry, and not knowing with fair certainty that he is dead, be married to another, she commits adultery.' Gloss to this there is none[3] (K. fol. 92). Canon xxxvi.: 'The wives of soldiers who, when nothing had been heard of their husbands, have married again, are to be treated with less severity than other women who when left by their husbands wait not for their return.' The gloss: 'In both these cases alike the women incur the penalties of adultery. For if it be not the wife of a soldier but of some trader, or other ordinary person, and her husband has gone away to some other country, and she without receiving tidings of his death be married to another man, she is in that case condemned as an adulteress: that is, if she, without having first received certain intelligence of the death of her husband, be married to another. In the same way the wives of soldiers also who have heard say of their husbands that they are dead, are bound to make accurate investigation concerning their death. Novell cxiii. [cxvii. ?] of Justinian in Tit. vii. lib. xxviii. of the Basilica so enacts. To the same effect also it is written in canon xci. of the Sixth Ecu-

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[1] Alluding to the superepiscopal power which Lutheranism ascribes to the civil governor, and to its allowance of divorce.

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[1] Canon cv. in Bever. i. p. 639, 640, Aristin.

[2] Bever. i. p. 261.

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[1] Canon ciii. Bever. i. p. 267. It is the abridged canon, and gloss of Aristin.

[2] In the Nomocanon of Photius it is Tit. xiii. ch. 3; and so it is quoted and given in the K. of 1834.

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[1] Here the gloss of Aristin ends. Words like what follow are at the end of Balsamon's gloss.

[2] The above canon xcii. of the C. in Trullo is all, except its last clause, made up of canons xxxi., xxxvi., and xlvi. of St. Basil.

[3] This is an expansion of Aristin's abridged canon, making it nearly identical with Zonaras's gloss. Bever. ii. p. 91. At the end no gloss, only 'Σαφής.'

menical Council held in C. P. in the hall of the palace called Trullo. And this canon decrees that some leniency ought to be shown both to the wives of soldiers above others, and also to those whose husbands go away for trading, or for any other work, if they even contract a second marriage, when nothing more is heard of their husbands [but to the wives of soldiers more than others], because the going of a soldier to war looks more towards death, and gives rise to a strong suspicion, if nothing be heard of them, that they have either died, or have been slain'[1] (K. fol. 93). Of the same father St. Basil canon xlvi.: 'A woman in ignorance was married to a man whose wife had left him, and afterwards the first wife returned, and this woman was thereupon put away. She has committed fornication, but through ignorance. And, if she pleases, she is at liberty to marry. But it is better, if she do not marry.' The gloss: 'A man is left by his wife for a time: he supposes that he is separated from her for ever, and marries another, who is ignorant that he is left only for a time by her. The first returns to him, and he receives her, and puts away the second. This last who is put away is considered to have committed fornication, but only through ignorance; and so, if she wishes to be married afterwards to another, it is not forbidden her. She is not reckoned as a woman who has been put away, because he was not really her husband who put her away. But if she be content to remain unmarried, rather than to be married to another, this is better'[2] (K. fol. 94). Again thou darest with the tone of a teacher to say to all the bishops: 'But when ye, O ye bishops, take no care for the election and the appointment [of a patriarch], who else will do it? Do that which it is yours to do. That is your business; that is your care. Therefore, O ye pastors, why are ye regardless of the patriarchal chair, which is the common flock?' Show, O thou dealer in false words, on what holy canons such doctrine as this is based, and speak not only from thine own foul effusions. Thou didst write before that after four years a woman who has been left may be married to another husband, and that is all lewdness, which is refuted by the holy gospels and by the canons of the holy fathers. But now thou writest as a teacher, as one having authority. By what canons hast thou taken upon thyself such confidence? Show where it is written, that a bishop who has left his own diocese, and gone into a foreign diocese, may there lay down laws to other bishops; to say nothing of his dictating what is contrary to the divine and sacred canons and ordinances? The divinely-inspired fathers in the Seventh Ecum. Council enacted, as from their first canon has been copied out above—and they reënact the same ordinance every year on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, for all men and in all places—that if any one, being puffed up by his own evil mind, shall either take away or add anything, he shall be accursed. Or hast thou not *heard* on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, when this was read? The prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled in thee (Is. vi. 9): 'Having ears to hear, thou hearest not, and thine eyes hast thou closed; for thy heart has waxed gross,' thou lover of vain-glory. 'Beware,' thou sayest, 'lest that your negligence provoke God to vengeance and wrath: for the prophet Zachariah says, I see a flying sickle,[1] in length twenty cubits and in breadth ten cubits' (Zach. v. 1). As everywhere else, so here also thou speakest falsely, saying that this is the reason that the sickle is sent down (if it be so) from heaven, on account of the negligence of the bishops, because they are so long without electing a new patriarch. Listen, thou man of false words; and we will here show thee at length wherefore it was in truth that that sickle came down, as the prophet says: 'And I turned, and lifted up my eyes, and looked, and behold a sickle flying. And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I answered, I see a sickle flying, in length twenty cubits and in breadth ten cubits. And he said, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for every one that *stealeth* shall be cut off on this side from it; and every one that *sweareth falsely* shall be cut off on that side from it. And I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of hosts, the Sovereign of the universe, and it shall enter into *the house of the thief*, and *into the house of him that sweareth by my name falsely*, and it *shall dwell in the midst of his house*, and shall consume it, both the timber thereof and the stone thereof' (Ib. 1-4). Seest thou now, thou senseless man, against whom that sickle came down? 'This is the curse,' says the prophet, 'which goeth forth over the face of the whole earth; for every one that stealeth shall be punished from this unto death. And I will bring it in, says the Lord of hosts, even *into the house of the thief*.' But who is the thief? Art not thou thyself the thief, thou man of falsehood, who hast come into the country of Russia to steal away its piety, creeping over the fence of the divine scriptures? The Lord himself has said, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever entereth not in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.' How then canst thou be other than a thief? By what doors dost thou enter into the sheepfold? and what doest thou when there? The Lord says, 'I am the door: if any one enter in by me, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture. The thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy' (John x. 7, 9, 10). Art not thou such an one, since thou bringest forward nothing from the holy gospel, or from the tradition and writing of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers, but turnest right and truth into falsehood? And he is such a thief and a robber who deceives simple people by his pernicious and senseless answers. Into the house of the soul of such a one it is that that sickle shall enter, and shall abide there until it be consumed. According to canon xv. of St. Basil the Great, a robber is to do penance for twenty years, and cannot communicate. According to the civil laws, Tit. xxxix. cap. xv., robbers are to be hanged at the places where their robberies have been committed. And who is he that swears by the name of God falsely? Hast thou noticed what has been written above? how canon xviii. of the synod of Carthage[1] commands that every bishop at his election is to make his profession of the holy creed, and hear enumerated to him all the laws of the Church under the teaching of his consecrator, and shall engage solemnly to keep them all? But thou and all the Russian metropolitans and archbishops have counted as nothing that vow; and there has been fulfilled that which is written in the Psalm, 'The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand or seek after God. But they are all gone out of the way; they are all together unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not even one. Have they no understanding, that they are all workers of iniquity, eating up my people as it were bread? they have not called upon God. There were they in great fear where there was no fear [*i. e.* they feared to resist the Tsar and the boyars], for God shall scatter the bones of the men-pleasers. They shall be put to confusion, because God hath despised them' (Ps. lii.; Hebr. liii. 3-6). Into the houses of such men as these, who swear by the name of the Lord falsely, it is that that fiery sickle shall enter and abide in the midst of their houses till it shall have consumed them. Many of them, indeed, it has even already consumed. Some having inflamed themselves with wine have been consumed by it as if by fire: another has hanged himself: another has died miserably in some other way, as is notorious to all. Thou sayest: 'Behold, what is so good, or what is so lovely, as for brethren to dwell together in unity? There is nothing else, however honourable, better than the mutual counsel and union of brotherly love. Wherefore then do ye, O ye bishops, not bear one another's burdens, nor aid one another in common' [*i. e.* by a synodal act]?

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[1] Abridged canon and gloss of Aristin, expanded, and slightly varied. Bever. ii. p. 93.

[2] Abridged canon and gloss of Aristin, Bever. ii. p. 104.

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[1] In the Latin Vulgate it is 'volumen volans, a flying *roll*.'

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[1] Canons xviii. xix. xx. and xxi. of Bever. i. p. 511, are all consolidated into one short canon xviii. at fol. 49 of the K. of 1831. Both canons xviii. and xix. of Bever. begin like canon xviii. of the K. by requiring that he who is to be ordained be first instructed by his ordainers in the decrees, that is, of faith and discipline; but there is nothing of any written profession or pledge to be made by him who is ordained bishop except after canon xix. In a second gloss subjoined to that of Balsamon, whose work is posterior to those of Zonaras and Aristin, though placed before them by Bever. Canon xix.: 'Likewise it pleased the synod that when a bishop or clerk is ordained, the decrees of the synods be read over to them by their ordainers, that there may be no danger of their disobeying the decrees of the synod [of any synod], and so having to repent of it.' Balsamon: 'This canon also likewise decrees that clerks ordained are to be taught the decrees of the holy fathers, and it adds that they who do not will have to repent of it. But of what sort is this repentance, and the correction to follow from it does not appear from the canon.' I suppose that, unless they have an

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accurate knowledge of the dogmatical decrees and disciplinary canons, and either in teaching or professing deviate from the straight and royal road to impious and uncanonical maxims, they will be canonically deposed, and their repentance will profit them nothing. Read also what we have written on canon xv. concerning uncanonical sentences or decisions.'

Another gloss: 'From this present canon probably the form was introduced that they who are to be ordained bishops must before their ordination write or subscribe to in the register of their ordainer the holy symbol of the faith and the rest of the sacred dogmas [*i. e.* decrees of faith and discipline]. For I have seen a bishop in great danger because he had not carefully and according to the custom so made his written profession. But that clerks in general should be taught the sacred dogmas is canonical and right. But that they should make a written profession we have not known hitherto to be required.' Bev. i. p. 541. This is no doubt what Nicon is alluding to. It is not in the K. of 1834.

Wherefore didst thou not finish thy quotation, and say not only 'bear one another's burdens,' but also '*and so fulfil the law of Christ*'? (Galat. vi. 2.) Where is it written in the law of Christ that men are to hate one another, and to teach in words to love but by actual deeds to destroy? And thou sayest that 'we have a commandment from God to love our neighbour as ourselves. All Christians, as being of one faith, ye are bound to love; but more especially are ye bound to love your own people and kindred: and if ye yourselves do not take care for your own well-being and honour, what stranger will do it for you?' What care dost thou mean? That of which thou hadst spoken above, for the election of a patriarch? This is not the love of God, but of the world and the devil. 'If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar, and the truth is not in him' (1 John iv. 20, 21). 'Whoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.' But where is any love of God in driving out, dispossessing, and murdering? (1 John iii. 10-20.) The scripture says (Matt. v. 39): 'Resist not evil [lit. malice];' that is, resist not malice with malice; though they have taken away unjustly anything of ours, God commands us not to contend for our own. 'If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thine upper garment, forbid him not to take thine under garment also' (Matt. v. 40, and Luke vi. 29). And as concerns killing: 'Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill: and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment' (Matt. v. 21, 22). 'Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart' (ib. 27, 28). Seest thou that the law forbids only the act, but the gospel cuts off also the causes themselves from which the passions arise. 'Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?' (Rom. ii. 21.)

XXII. Reply or Refutation against the Twenty-second Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner, 'Nicon anathematises and interdicts: but is his curse now of any force? and ought we to fear his curse, or not, when he anathematises us?' *Whom* do I anathematise? Say distinctly. If thou askest respecting the metropolitan Pitirim, hearken, and know that every day he hears the words of the prophet anathematising such: 'Cursed are they,' he says, 'that depart from thy commandments' (Cathisma xvii. of the Psalter; Ps. cxviii. 21). 'Cursed is he that revileth his father: and let all the people say, Amen. Cursed is he that lieth with his father's wife: and let all the people say, Amen' (Deut. xxvii. 16, 23). Seest thou, O thou Questioner, that it is not I only that curse them that do such things, but all [the people of Christ]? as the divine Apostle also writes to the Corinthians of him who had committed fornication with his father's wife: 'I have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him who hath so done this deed. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the mortification of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved' (1 Cor. v. 3-5). Seest thou plainly that it is not for me alone to anathematise such an one, but also for all who have seen and heard of his deeds? So also it was of old. 'Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan' (Gen. ix. 24, 25); because he saw the nakedness of his father, and did not cover it. 'And Jacob called unto him his sons, and said . . . Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my children: thou wast a reproach, and a reproach hard to be borne, and wilful. And thou didst break forth, and boil over as water, because thou wentest up to thy father's bed' (Gen. xlix. 1, 3, 4). Thou sayest, 'Is his curse of any force?' Yes, indeed, it is. Christ himself gave such power to his holy disciples and apostles: 'And I say unto thee, Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). 'The disciples were glad when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus unto them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 20-23). If thou hast not heard before, then hear now, and believe. For the Lord himself says, 'but he that believeth not shall be condemned' (Mark xvi. 16). 'And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city' (Matt. x. 14, 15). 'Then began Jesus to upbraid the cities in which most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not: Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down unto hell: for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee' (Matt. xii. 20-24). 'Whoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God' (2 John v. 9). Seest thou, O Questioner, with what words—words to fill a man with fear and awe and trembling—he who has heard the commandments of God and keepeth them not is condemned? But we bind not by any power of our own, but by the grace of God given to us from the most holy and life-giving Spirit. Hast thou seen the honour and power of the priesthood, that 'what ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven'? Who is it that says these words? It is the King of heaven himself. What can be greater than this testimony? Heaven takes the beginning from earth; because the judge sits upon earth: the Lord follows his servant; for what judgments this latter pronounces below, those he ratifies on high. And between God and human nature the bishop stands as a mediator. But now, O Answerer, we come to thee. Thou writest: 'An anathema is like lightning: a curse is as a two-edged sword. On this account it surpasses the bolt of lightning, that if it be hurled with justice it blasts the guilty, but if it be [pronounced] undeservedly it falls upon him who pronounces it, because he uses the sword of God against him who is guiltless. He who is with justice anathematised is immediately delivered over into the hands of Satan, that he may rule over him. Therefore there is need that he who pronounces, and he who hears pronounced against himself a curse, should both of them have their eyes wide open; because it is not well to mock God. God is a God of vengeance; and to fall into the hands of God is the most fearful of all fearful things.' Knowest thou exactly what thou art speaking about? who had cursed whom? and for what cause? Thou wouldest have done well first to inform thyself from thy questioner; and then thou mightest have written something more to the purpose, and not only out of thine own imagination, and with rhetorical irrelevancies of thine own, but from the divine scripture. But the books which are to be read are enumerated in canon lxxxv. of the Apostles. And it is a duty to teach, as has been written above, and as now we will say briefly, not out of our own invention, but from the divine scripture. Canon xix. of the Sixth Ecum. Council: 'The chief of the clergy in each place every day, but more especially on the Sundays, is to teach the people the divine commandments: and he must not speak of his own head, but as the divine fathers have understood'[1] (K. f. 72). And where is there written anything of all that thou now sayest? Who has appointed thee to be 'chief of the clergy' here? Tell me this, I pray. It is thy duty, no doubt, to teach; but not here, but in thine own diocese; and then not out of thine own head, but out of the divine scripture. For they who without the Spirit write and speak as if willing to edify the Church spiritually, are men, as in one place the divine Apostle says, 'sensual, not having the Spirit' (Jude 20). Such men incur the curse which says, 'Woe unto them that are wise in their own selves, and skilful in their own eyes: for they speak from themselves, and it is not the Spirit of God that speaketh in them, according to the word of the Lord' (Is. v. 21; Ez. xiii.). For others also aforetime, speaking like thee out of their own minds, as if by the Spirit, have deceived themselves. And of this speaks the proverb: 'I have seen a man wise in his own conceit: but there is more hope even for a fool than for him' (Prov. xxvi. 12). And Wisdom bids us 'not to be wise in our own conceit' (Prov. iii. 7). And the Apostle himself, who was filled with the Spirit of God, confesses, saying: 'For we are not able to think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God.' 'As of God, in the sight of God, we speak in Christ' (2 Cor. iii. 5 and ii. 17). But the words of such men are not sweet, nor clear: they do not receive and speak them from the living fountain of the Spirit; but it is from their own heart, as from some muddy pool breeding leeches and snakes and toads, through the lust of vain-glory and intemperance, that they feed themselves, and they have their understanding also fouled and corrupted. For we find by experience that such as surfeit themselves with hot things are brought to loathing and scouring and vomiting. Dost thou wish to learn also about the cursing of the metropolitan of Kroutitz, supposing it to be about him that thou art questioned of thy questioner? Consider our first answer to thy questioner: that if he who cast shame on his father according to the flesh was accursed, how much more is he to be cursed who commits spiritual adultery with the mother that bare him, contrary to the divine commandment? The Lord has said: 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me' (Luke x. 16). 'Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is an antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father' (1 John ii. 22, 23). Seest thou how it was said by our Lord Jesus Christ, 'He that heareth you heareth me, he who rejecteth you rejecteth me'? This is not written here concerning me only, that the metropolitan of Kroutitz should be obedient to me and cease from adultery; but first of all it is declared respecting the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, who preached our Lord Jesus Christ, fulfilling his commandments, and wrote and said, 'We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error' (1 John iv. 6). Or knowest thou not how greatly thou transgressest against the divine commandments and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers by thy acts and writings? How canst thou and the metropolitan of Kroutitz be other than antichrists and rejectors of God, when ye have rejected his divine commandments and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, by disobeying them? According to canon lxii. of the holy Apostles, 'One who has denied Christ is excommunicated: and he that has dishonoured [by denying it of himself] the name of a clerk is to be received, on his repenting, as a layman' (K. fol. 7). Canon lxxiii. of St. Basil: 'He who has denied Christ is to do penance during the whole of his life; but when dying he is to be allowed to receive the holy communion'[1] (K. fol. 96). Canon iii. [x.] of the First holy Ecum. Council prescribes the same.[2] But we have written a good deal about this already above; and one year is not enough to write about you. Thou wert not content in the diocese committed to thee to err from the truth, but hast come hither to play the vagabond both in soul and body, to disturb and pervert to destruction men like thyself, by turning them aside from God and from the divine commandments. As also the metropolitan of Kroutitz was not content in his own diocese only to bring a multitude of sins upon his head, but committed adultery also with his mother. Nor was he content even with doing this, to his destruction; but he proceeded farther to commit an aggression on the church of Constantinople; and he with hypocrisy made a bishop for the metropolitan province of Kieff while the metropolitan was still living; a thing which we ourselves, out of respect for the divine canons, had not dared to do, when we were many times urged by the Tsar to do it both by word of mouth and in writing. The canons forbid the ordination of a bishop or a priest without specifying at the same time the place and church to which he is ordained; else both the ordainer and the clerk ordained are to be degraded. But the metropolitan of Kroutitz ordained the protopope of Niejin to be bishop for the Lithuanian city of Orsha, which had not been subjected to the Tsar's empire; nor is there in it any orthodox church. And that bishop never set his foot in that city for which he was ordained, but was shortly afterwards sent as vicar into the province of the patriarch of Constantinople, which belonged not to the patriarchate of Moscow. Though Kieff was under the sceptre of the Tsar's majesty, no communication whatever from the Tsar and Grand Prince had been made on this subject to the patriarch of C. P., to obtain that the metropolitan province of Kieff should be under the patriarch of Moscow. And the clergy of the metropolitan see of Kieff wrote about what had occurred to the patriarch of C. P.: and the patriarch of C. P., our brother, according to canon xxxv. of the holy Apostles, deposed[1] and anathematised the metropolitan of Kroutitz and those whom he had irregularly ordained. Canon xxxv. of the holy Apostles: 'No bishop shall ordain any from a district, nor within a district, not belonging to him. But if, without the will of the local bishop, any one do so, he himself, as well as those whom he ordains, shall be as unordained [*i. e.* shall be degraded].' The gloss: 'No bishop may ordain out of his own bounds [nor ordain any one who comes to him from the district of another to be priest or deacon[2]]. But if any one do anything of the sort without the will of the bishop of the district, both he himself is to be degraded and they whom he has ordained' (K. fol. 4). And canon xiii. of Antioch, and canon ii. of the Second Ecum. Council.[3] But the metropolitan of Kroutitz, knowing these canons of the Apostles and the holy Fathers, and utterly disregarding them, followed only the command of the Tsar, and unlawfully chose a man to the episcopate. But, as has been written above, a bishop elected by secular powers is no bishop; and both he and the bishop who ordained him are to be degraded. By the sacred canons it is allowed to every metropolitan within his own metropolitan province to ordain bishops, and that only in conjunction with all the other bishops. But he perpetrated an act of fourfold lawlessness, attending only to the Tsar, and trampling all the divine commandments and the canons of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers under foot. First, he transgressed in this: that upon an election made by the secular power alone—that is, by the Tsar—he ordained a bishop to the episcopate, contrary to the canons. See canons [xxx. of the Apostles], xiii. of the synod of Laodicea, iii. of the Seventh Ecum. Council, and ix. of Antioch. (See above, pp. 110, 111, 54.) His second transgression was this: that whereas the bishops, even all together, may do nothing without the will of their primate, he, being himself neither the primate nor the first metropolitan, but the last, nevertheless did so act alone, and that in such a novel matter, in which no one whatever could have rightly acted of his own self-confidence without the counsel of all the bishops; as canon xxxiv. of the holy Apostles clearly shows, and canon ix. of the synod of Antioch (K. fol. 26). On account of such cases, it was enacted that in every year synods should be held, according to canon xxxvii. of the holy Apostles (K. fol. 4), and canon v. of the First Ecum. Council (K. fol. 13), and canon xx. of Antioch, and xxxix. of Laodicea (K. fol. 28 and 32), and many others, which have been cited or copied out above. But he neither assembled any synod about that, nor consulted the bishops synodically about it. His third transgression was, that he was acting in the diocese of another by command of secular authority, but not in his own see, contrary to canon xiv. of the Apostles (K. fol. 2), and to canon xvi. of the First Ecum. Council of Nice (K. fol. 15), and to canons xiii. and xvi. and xxi. of Antioch (K. fol. 27 and 28), and to canon ii. of the Second Ecum. Council (K. fol. 34), and canon v. of the Fourth Ecum. Council (K. fol. 38). His fourth transgression was this: that, as has been written above, he ordained a bishop within the province of the patriarch of Constantinople. On this account, for all these four transgressions, the metropolitan of Kroutitz, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, is degraded. And if he does not submit, he thereby draws on himself a more dreadful condemnation still. Canon xxviii. of the holy Apostles: ‘If any bishop, or priest, or deacon, who has been justly degraded for crimes committed by him and brought to light, presumes nevertheless to continue to officiate as before, he shall be altogether cut off from the

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[1] The abridged canons and the glosses of Aristin, Bever. i. p. 179.

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[1] This is the gloss of Aristin, repeating the abridged canon. Bever. ii. p. 126.

[2] There is nothing plainly to the purpose either in canon iii. or in any other canon of the First Council: but canon x. is meant.

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[1] So the patriarch of C. P. at least ought to have known that there was need of some one at Moscow to stand up for the rights of the Church.

[2] This last clause is added in the Russ; else it is the abridged canon and gloss of Aristin. Bever. i. p. 24.

[3] Both quoted at length before, p. 58 and 98. K. fol. 27, 28, and 13. Bev. i. p. 413 and 89. Canon xxii. of Antioch is to the same effect; and the gloss on canon ii. of the Second Ecum. Council refers also to canon vi. of the First Ecum. Council.

Church'[1] (K. fol. 3). But for him who is anathematised by us, thou thyself sayest that 'he is from that moment delivered over to Satan, to have rule over him; and therefore both he who pronounces an anathema and he against whom an anathema is pronounced should both of them have their eyes wide open; because it is not well to trifle with God. God is a God of vengeance; and to fall into the hands of the living God is of all fearful things the most fearful.' Or art thou the only man to whom the sin of the metropolitan of Kroutitz specified above is still a secret? If so, listen: I will add something farther for thee. It is written in the gospel: 'And when Jesus drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and was come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, he sent two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her. Loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man say aught unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them. All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy king cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass. And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them, and brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes; and they set him thereon. And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way. And the multitudes that went before and that followed cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!' (Matt. xxi. 1-9.) Seest thou the force of the mystery which was prophesied of the prophet concerning Christ our Saviour, as the Lord himself testifies: 'That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy king cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass'? And I know not whence the patriarchs took it into their minds to do the same in Russia: and whether that ceremony is well pleasing to God I know not.

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[1] This is the full canon as given by Balsamon, rather than the abridgment or the gloss of Aristin. Bever. i. p. 18. In the K. as printed in the latest editions, *e.g.* in that of 1834, the canon itself is that of Balsamon, as here quoted by Nicon, but the gloss is, as usual, that of Aristin.

At any rate, even to ourselves, when we had to perform it, it seemed questionable and alarming, because it was spoken by the prophet of Christ himself personally, as the holy scripture explains: 'He who has for his throne heaven, sitting upon an ass's colt, goes up to Jerusalem; and the children of the Hebrews themselves also strewed before him their garments in the way, and branches of palms. Some by their voices, others by the palms also, some cutting and strewing them, and others also carrying them in their hands, cried out to him, as they went before and accompanied him, Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel!' This was done because the Holy Spirit moved their tongues to the glory and praise of Christ. And they signified beforehand the victory of Christ over death by the *baïa;* that is, by the branches; for with the Hebrews small tender branches are called *βαΐα*. For it was the custom for conquerors, and such as had performed exploits in war, to be honoured and escorted about in triumphal processions with the branches of certain evergreen trees. But probably the ass's colt signified us, the peoples of the Gentiles, on which Christ sitting, after subduing them and conquering, has been acknowledged as the king of all the earth. The gospel: 'And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees and strewed them in the way' (Matt. xxi. 1-9). The gloss: 'According to what is said in the scripture, the spreading of garments in the way signifies great honour; and the carrying of palm-branches signifies a day of triumph. But spiritually thou art to understand that, after the placing upon them [the Gentiles, as symbolised by the ass] of the garments, that is, the flesh of the Apostles—for the garment of the soul is the flesh—the Lord mounts and sits upon them. For unless the soul be adorned with apostolical virtues, the Lord does not make his seat on it. But they that go before are they who were before Christ's incarnation, the prophets; and they who follow are they who were after it, the martyrs and holy doctors, who spread their garments before Christ, that is, subdue the flesh to the spirit: for the garment and covering of the soul is the flesh. They strewed them in the way; that is, conformed them to Christ: for he said, I am the way. If any man does not thus strew on the ground his flesh, that is, bring it under in

Christ, who is the way and the life, and abide continually in him, turning away from all transgression and iniquity, the Lord will not mount and sit upon him.' The gospel: 'And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this? And the multitude said, This is Jesus, the prophet, of Nazareth of Galilee.' The gloss: 'And the people, as being guileless and very simple, neither having any envy against Christ, nor either on the other hand having a correct idea of him, called him a prophet; or perhaps, since they so distinctly called him "the prophet," they may have understood him to be the prophet that was expected, of whom Moses spake, saying, A prophet shall God raise up to you. So they said, This is the prophet; that is, the prophet whom we are expecting.' But the metropolitan of Kroutitz, by virtue of what law does he do this? What prophet has written of *him*, that he should so do? Whether it be well or ill, it is for the patriarch alone to do it, or not to do it, because it is signified in the scripture that the patriarch bears the image of Christ; but the bishops of the cities are after the image of the XII. Apostles; and the country bishops (*χωρεπίσκοποι*) after that of the LXX. Apostles. But the metropolitan of Kroutitz holds the place of a country bishop [or *χωρεπίσκοπος*]: and how then can he perform such a function? Even though it were commanded, he could do it only in his own diocese. For our Lord Jesus Christ sat upon the ass, when there was no other need nor object, merely to fulfil the prophecy both in its letter and in the sense of the economy, as also he sat upon the ass's colt—that is, upon the new and untaught and aforetime disobedient peoples of the Gentiles. But that they should do the same after him in like manner, this he by no means commanded. But how did he command? 'Go,' he said, 'and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' Why does not the metropolitan of Kroutitz go into his own diocese to teach and preach; as also the sacred canons order that a bishop shall every year go about his diocese? And he, since he was consecrated, has never gone from Moscow. But the holy canons forbid a bishop to remain long in a diocese not his own, or, without an invitation from the bishop to whom it belongs, either to enter it, or to teach, or to do anything else, without the consent of the local bishop, as has been set forth at length above. But he, the metropolitan of Kroutitz, like another Maximus the Cynic (which name means 'shameless'), 'has divided the Church of God, and filled it with much faction and dispute. He is a wolf instead of a shepherd, and is ready to forgive all sins to them that have sinned on the sole condition that they be irreligious in the commandments, that is, that they break the commandments,' to use the words of the great Divine, Gregory of Nazianzum. 'Therefore Maximus shall be held to be no bishop; and all they whom he has ordained priests or deacons, or clerks of any other order, shall be as unordained.' Again the Lord commanded, saying, 'As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand: heal the sick; cleanse lepers; raise the dead; cast out devils,' &c. Why does not the metropolitan of Kroutitz perform these things enjoined by God, but runs thither where the putrid scent of this world attracts him? Is it not of him also that the Lord prophesied when he said, 'Beware that no man deceive you; for many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. Go not after them'? Is not he one of these? 'And when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand;' &c. The abomination of desolation is the metropolitan of Kroutitz, not only because he has polluted the seat of his father; but he has also, the wretched man, extended his madness even against Christ himself, presuming to do what Christ did, and what it is not competent for him to do, seating himself in the holy place, which none of the Apostles had done, nor had the Lord commanded them to do. The prince of the Apostles, Peter, would not even be nailed on the cross in the same way with Christ, but besought the executioners that he might be nailed to it head downwards. 'After Jesus had washed the feet of the disciples, and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord; and ye say well, for so I am. If I then, your lord and master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord, neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them' (John xiii. 12-17). And what can there be more glorious than this, to preach the kingdom of God, to eat the body of Christ, and to drink his blood? ('Do this,' he said, 'in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth the Lord's death;') to heal the sick, to cleanse lepers, to raise the dead, to cast out devils, to wash feet, to remove mountains, to have power to tread upon snakes and upon scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy? Is there not enough in the power that is given? Why, like the devil, being lifted up by pride, dost thou invade a height not given to thee? For Satan thus, being lifted up by pride, said, I will set my throne in the heaven, and I will be like unto the Most High; of whom the Lord says, 'I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven.' [And St. Jude writes:] 'And the angels which kept not their principality, but left their own habitation, the Lord hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day' (Jude 6). And the prince of the Apostles, Peter, says, 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down into hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment,' &c. (2 Pet. ii. 4). Wherefore, O thou sacrilegious man, dost thou not attend to the scripture, but art lifted up by pride, and usurpest what is not committed to thee? Hearken to the scripture, to what the Lord says: 'I pray not for all; I know whom I have chosen.' *Who* has chosen thee, and set thee on an eminence of which thou art not worthy? If thou shalt say that the Tsar has ordered thee, thou hast already seen what has been written above. And now know that every one who obtains authority in the Church through secular power is degraded. And thou deceivest thyself when thou sayest, 'The Tsar ordered me.' Already above thou hast seen that even over Tsars [*i.e.* over emperors or kings] there is a supreme Tsar, Christ, who punishes for such transgressions. Has the Tsar thought to please himself by crowning thee with flowers as the conqueror of death? Why did he omit the rest of the history, of the judgment of Christ, the spitting, the buffeting and mocking, the piercing of him, the death and the burial? Thy partisans might then have looked also for thy resurrection, when thou shouldest rise again. If thou thinkest that it is I alone who anathematise thee, it is not I alone, but the Lord himself also: 'Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' 'Then,' he says. When? Listen: 'For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat,' &c. (Matt. xxv. 41, 42). And if they were at once accursed from the time when they *gave* no meat to the hungry, how much more is he accursed who robs and takes to himself what belongs to others? As also of old it is said, 'Cursed is he who removeth his neighbour's landmark; and let all the people say Amen' (Deut. xxvii. 17). 'It shall come to pass, if thou hearken not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out' (Deut. xxviii. 15, 16, 19). Whither dost thou *come in?* and from whence *goest thou out?* Manifestly so as to *transgress* the divine commandments. As Christ also says: 'He that *entereth* not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth in some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.' And thieves and robbers 'shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' as says the Apostle. But 'not to inherit' is plainly to be accursed. According to the civil laws robbers are to be hanged; but according to the old law, 'every one that is hanged on a tree is accursed of God' (Deut. xxi. 22, 23). 'As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one who abideth not in all the things that are written in the book of the law, to do them.' And again: 'Cursed is every one who doeth the work of God negligently.' Canon i. of the council held in St. Sophia at C. P. [the Second Ecumenical]: 'They that have been bound, or deposed, or anathematised by the Pope Damasus, and they that have been bound, or deposed, or anathematised by the patriarch of C. P. and by the other patriarchs, shall remain [under the same sentences].'[1] How much guilt has there not now been shown to attach to the metropolitan of Kroutitz in neglect and transgressions of the divine commandments, and the sacred canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers! 'He that is of God heareth the words of God. For this cause ye hear them not, because ye are not of God' (John viii. 47). But who is it that says this? God himself. But what those commandments of God are which ye do not has been shown and written of above. And again: 'Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God' (2 John v. 9). 'He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us' (1 John iv. 6). 'Beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, whether they be of God; for many false prophets have gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God, and the spirit of error: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God. And this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already it is in the world' (1 John iv. 1-3). 'He that loveth not me keepeth not my words' (John xiv. 24). 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema' (1 Cor. xvi. 22). So is not he accursed who 'knoweth not God'? He 'is of Antichrist;' even as thou, O thou Answerer, and the metropolitan of Kroutitz? If ye say that ye know God, then hearken to the beloved Apostle of Christ, who lay on his bosom, St. John the Divine, who in another place says, 'And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him' (1 John ii. 3, 4). 'Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is an antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father' (1 John ii. 22, 23). 'But whosoever shall reject me before men, him will I also reject before my Father which is in heaven' (Matt. x. 33). 'If we reject him, he also will reject us' (2 Tim. ii. 12). 'He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth' (Matt. xii. 30). 'Thou believest that there is one God: thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble. But wilt thou see, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God. Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only' (Jas. ii. 19-24). Do ye see that according to the holy scripture there is nothing at all of Christianity in you? But ye are rejecters of God; and not only rejecters, but also antichrists, that is, opposers of God. Anathema is nothing else than a cutting off from the holy Church. But as for you, by how many sentences of the holy books have ye not cut yourselves off from the Church? And for anathemas, enough has been written already in our first reply to thee. And here in like manner the contempt of the metropolitan of Kroutitz for the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers incurs many anathemas, especially by canon i. of the Seventh Ecum. Council, and by the rest of the act which is annually performed on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, wherein it is thus written: 'To them that wrongly understand the divine expressions of the holy doctors of the Church of God, and strive to misinterpret and wrest what in them has been said clearly and distinctly by the Holy Ghost, be anathema.' But your writing and the lawless act of the metropolitan of Kroutitz are notorious to all. James and John asked, saying, 'Grant unto us that we may sit the one on thy right hand and the other on thy left hand in thy glory. But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with? They say unto him, We can. And Jesus said unto them, Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of, and with the baptism that I am baptised withal shall ye be baptised; but to sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give but to them for whom it is prepared' (Mark x. 35-40). 'For no one taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So even Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.' And a little farther on: 'Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and, being made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation, called of God a high priest after the order of Melchisedec' (Heb. v. 4-6, 8-10). 'There came in to the wedding a man not having on a wedding garment. And when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment; and he said unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment? And he was speechless. Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth' (Matt. xxii. 11-13). 'When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room, lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him, and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place, and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room' (Luke xiv. 8, 9). Judas took his place before Peter at the supper [so that Peter had to beckon across him and Jesus to John that he should ask]; and Satan entered into him: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake. Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved; Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him that he should ask who it should be of whom he spake. He then, lying on Jesus' breast, saith unto him, Lord, who is it? Jesus answered, He it is to whom I shall give a sop when I have dipped it. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the sop Satan entered into him.' And a little before it is said, 'that the scripture might be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me' (John xiii. 20-27 and 18). Judge, thou Answerer, what is our offence against the metropolitan of Kroutitz, that he returns us evil for good. Is not his act like that of Judas? And if ye receive him as an antichrist, it is in accordance with that which is written: 'There shall arise false Christs and false prophets.' And again, the prince of the Apostles, Peter, prophesied of you, 'There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in destructive heresies, and shall reject the Lord that redeemed them, bringing upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their impurities, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And in the multiplying of lying words shall they deceitfully snare you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not' (1 Pet. ii. 1-3). Are not all these things now done by you, as was prophesied? But ye have no cause to rejoice. Again, the same prince of the Apostles, comforting us who suffer evil from you, says, 'The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished. But chiefly them that walk after worldly lusts and uncleanness, and despise government: presumptuous are they, self-willed; they tremble not to speak evil of dignities. Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not against one another a railing accusation. But these, as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things that they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their own corruption; receiving the reward of unrighteousness, thinking it pleasure to riot all the daytime; defilers, and causers of reproach, feeding themselves on their own deceits, having eyes full of adultery and continual sin, beguiling unstable souls; a heart they have exercised with covetous practices; children of the curse; which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the prophet, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity: the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet. These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever. For when they speak great swelling words of vanity they allure to filthy lusts of the flesh those that were clean escaping from them that dwell in error. While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage' (2 Pet. ii. 9-19).

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[1] Not in the K. of 1831 (fol. 34), nor in Bever.

Again, O Answerer, thou writest, saying, 'Thus writes the apostle Paul: If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also fall into the same temptation (Gal. vi. 1). Be not hasty, O ye pastors, to hurl shafts of lightning, seeing that ye are shepherds of souls, taking care of them not by force, but by love, not as lords, but by spiritual order.' Who gave thee this province, to do these things, O thou hypocrite, who thyself transgressest all the commandments of God? At another time thou sayest that 'that patriarchal power does not exist any longer.' Why then dost thou make thyself a teacher and legislator over us? Has not the prince of the Apostles, Peter, written well what has been copied out above? Of what spirit of meekness hast thou shown a pattern? But as regards the curses laid by us on any, consider what has been written above: for ye yourselves have brought them upon yourselves, and not we. We, following the tradition of the divine fathers, say, 'Whom they anathematised, we also, keeping to their commandment, anathematise;' as is written above (in can. i. of the Seventh Ecum. Council). 'But be ye,' thou sayest, 'a pattern to your order; so that when Christ the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye may receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away. So teaches the apostle Peter, the head of all the Apostles (1 Pet. v. 3, 4): Be ye therefore merciful, even as your heavenly Father is merciful. Do ye not remember what the Lord said to the sons of Zebedee, who sought to move him to fury, that he should punish with fire the Samaritans? Ye know not what spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man has not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. Christ, your first Shepherd and supreme Bishop, showed himself thus merciful. How much more then should we, who are people of like passions with them, be merciful and humane to our own brethren? For the Saviour is above the law: and though it was good for men to follow the pattern of the traditions of the law, still, on one occasion, to show a pattern of humility, he reproved this, saying, Ye know not what spirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' Nevertheless, at another time, he said, 'Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness:' and again at another time, 'But as for those mine enemies who would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me:' and again at another time, 'What then shall the lord of the vineyard do to them? He will come and destroy those husbandmen, and will give the vineyard to others:' and elsewhere, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:' elsewhere, 'It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for you:' and again, 'It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon than for you:' and elsewhere he gave command 'to burn up their city:' and elsewhere he says, 'Bind them in bundles to burn them:' and again, 'Cut it down: why cumbereth it the ground?' and elsewhere, 'It were better for that man had he never been born:' and again, 'Get thee behind me, Satan! for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.' Of what do all these passages breathe, but of punishment and vengeance? Thou sayest that 'Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, never cursed but thrice, and then for incest, for heresy, and for implicit blasuncleanness, and despise government: presumptuous are they, self-willed; they tremble not to speak evil of dignities. Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not against one another a railing accusation. But these, as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things that they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their own corruption; receiving the reward of unrighteousness, thinking it pleasure to riot all the daytime; defilers, and causers of reproach, feeding themselves on their own deceits, having eyes full of adultery and continual sin, beguiling unstable souls; a heart they have exercised with covetous practices; children of the curse; which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the prophet, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity: the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet. These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever. For when they speak great swelling words of vanity they allure to filthy lusts of the flesh those that were clean escaping from them that dwell in error. While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage' (2 Pet. ii. 9-19).

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But as regards the curses laid by us on any, consider what has been written above: for ye yourselves have brought them upon yourselves, and not we. We, following the tradition of the divine fathers, Lot, his brother's son, he gathered together all the men born in his house, being in number three hundred and eighteen, and pursued after them to Dan, and fell upon them by night, himself and his young men with him, and smote them even to Chobal, which is to the left of Damascus: and he brought back all the goods and the horses of Sodom, and he brought back also Lot, his brother's son.' Seest thou what the patriarch Abraham did after the offering of sacrifice and the reception of the priesthood? For the sake of a man that was of his own blood, that is, his nephew Lot, what a number of men he smote, himself and his servants! As it is said elsewhere, 'he slew his thousands.' And after this he again acted as a priest, as it is written, when he offered Isaac his son in sacrifice. Even Abraham, for the sake of his nephew, took vengeance. And if any one for the sake of God punishes any one according to the law, what enormity is that? None, certainly; as we shall show hereafter. Now we will reply to thy answer by a blow; though that is not suitable under the present law [of Christianity]; but thou, by thy senselessness, hast driven us to it. Thou sayest again: 'We honour Moses for the patience which he showed in the wilderness and towards the people who were disobedient and ungrateful.' Hast thou read, O thou Answerer, the books of Moses? So thou shouldest know that Moses, in the cause of justice, was not meek, but even very fierce and unpitying. Hast thou not read how he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand? And when Pharaoh heard of it, he sought to slay Moses. But he fled, and dwelt in the land of Midian. Moses, too, was a priest, as it is written in the Psalms, 'Moses and Aaron among his priests,' and not a king or a captain. But what then? he warred nevertheless against Amalek in Rephidim; and after the slaughter, when he had come down from the mountain, Moses 'builded an altar to the Lord God.' If thou wilt say that it was Joshua that fought, it is thus written: 'And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand that Israel prevailed, and when he let down his hand Amalek prevailed' (Exod. xvii. 11). And it came to pass, when Moses was come down from mount Sinai, 'and was come nigh unto the host, that he saw the calf and the dancing; and Moses waxed hot with anger, and he cast the two tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount. And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel to drink of it' (ib. xxxii. 19, 20). And again, he bade the sons of Levi to gird on every man his sword, and to slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour (ib. 27). Is not this an act of wrath, that he even brake the tables which had been given by God? Thou art in admiration at the meekness of Job, and in thy deeds art far from imitating it, but art, like a dog, continually chafing and barking at one who has never at all injured thee. Thou writest of Paul, that he endured many labours and hardships, of which he himself writes. But elsewhere the same Paul himself writes of himself, 'I was a persecutor of the Church,' as also is declared in the Acts: 'And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord,' &c. (Acts ix. 1). Seest thou that Paul also, in the cause of justice, was not meek? 'Shall I come unto you,' he says, 'with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?' (1 Cor. iv. 21). And again he judges 'to deliver such an one unto Satan, for the mortification of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved' (ib. v. 5). Of David thou writest 'who endured ingratitude from his son Absalom, and the malice of Shimei, who followed him, casting stones at him.' But who had killed Uriah? David and all the saints took not vengeance, certainly, *in their own behalf*, as is testified of David in the book of Kings. But David, in answer to Nathan the prophet, condemned himself, by his own judgment, to death for the murder of Uriah and the taking of Bathsheba, saying that the man is worthy of death who takes away the lamb of his neighbour, even as now also they do who hold a church which is not their own, or who, in a diocese not their own, put forth any lying writing, as thou, in contempt of the divine commandments and canons, to deceive the people, writest what is all falsehood. Thou writest, 'Touch not mine anointed, and against my prophets be not malicious. The anointed are all the sacerdotal order, on account of the unction of priesthood, and on account of the Christ-like grace of our Saviour Christ. Thou hast made us kings and priests, according to the holy Apocalypse (ch. v. 10). Kings we become then, when we master the passions of our bodies, priests when we offer to God all our senses. For Epicurus was a fool when he denied that a man can endure to be patient or to resist temporal disturbances. Rather, on the contrary, he is then a philosopher when he endures in patience. And it is not proper for a bishop to inflict such cruel punishments; and the bishop who acts otherwise will hear that rebuke of Christ, Put up thy sword into its sheath; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. To the secular prince it is given to gird on the sword, but not to a man in holy orders.' Who says anything to thee about the sword, or that we wield a sword? Thy questioner asked thee no question whatever about that. Is it of thyself that thou liest, or have others told thee that we wield a sword, and therewith inflict punishments? Name the man whom we have punished with the sword for anything. But as for the punishment of ignorant and obstinate men[1] in church matters, or like punishments for offences which deserved them, we have the example of the lawgiver himself, that is, Christ our God. He has laid down the law for us. 'And they came again to Jerusalem. And Jesus, having entered into the temple, began to drive out all them that were selling and buying in it, and he overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves; and he suffered not that any man should carry any vessel through the temple: and he taught, saying to them: It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves' (Mark xi. 15-17). The gloss: 'That Jesus drove out them that were selling in the temple John also relates: but this was in the beginning of the gospel: "And he made a whip of small cords," &c. He did not merely drive them out, but he beat them also ignominiously with a whip which he had plaited. This [which is related by St. Matthew and St. Mark] must have been the second time of doing it. He calls the temple a den of thieves on account of its unlawful occupation by transgressors. Again, the gloss says: 'So greatly have I hated your frowardness, that I do not even own the temple to be my house, but I call it your house. As long as virtue and love dwelt in it, it was my house; and since ye have defiled it, and made it a market and a den of thieves, the tables of them that sell doves are overthrown; that is, those of the chief priests [bishops] who sell spiritual gifts: for a dove is the symbol of the Spirit: and he who for money ordains is accursed.' What then is to be said of the metropolitan of Kroutitz, who in dioceses of other bishops, and by command of the Hossoudar the Tsar, and at the bidding of the nobles, confers ordination? Of how great a curse is he not worthy? according to that which has been written out herein above, 'He who has been elected by secular powers is both himself degraded, and the bishop also who has ordained him.' But now archbishops and archimandrites, and popes, in numbers, are elected by the Hossoudar the Tsar himself, and the metropolitan of Kroutitz ordains them. But to return to what was occupying us before: 'Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones to offend that believe in me, it were better [for him] that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depths of the sea' (Matt. xviii. 6). Canon xxvii. of the holy Apostles: 'A bishop who strikes another man, whether believer or unbeliever, is to be deposed.' The gloss: 'A bishop, or priest, or deacon, if he strikes a believer or an unbeliever who has offended him, and thereby causes scandal, giving occasion to others to do the like, sins; and therefore such an one, as acting contrary to that law of the gospel which bids, If any one strike thee on one cheek, turn to him the other, is to be deposed, because, of arrogance and intemperate anger, he gave a blow to his neighbour. But if any one corrects with a not intemperate blow him who does anything lawlessly in the holy church or in holy places, such an one is not to be deposed: because our Lord Jesus Christ himself also, when men were selling and buying in the temple, made a whip of small cords, and struck and drove them out. For for this the churchwardens are called *vindicators* (*ἔκδικοι*), as having been appointed from of old by the fathers to punish such offenders'[1] (K. fol. 3). Seest thou with what the gloss on the holy canon ends, that if one strikes in certain cases, even in the holy church, or in holy places, he is *not* to be deposed? &c. But for what I may have done when I was at Moscow, as thy questioner says, asking, if it is 'right for a bishop to beat, and to strike, and to send into exile; for all this Nicon did.' Well; for so doing there are canons of the holy fathers, and imperial laws, which the Church receives and writes in one body with the canons of the Apostles and the Fathers, as is plainly written and declared in the preface to the Kormchay printed at the end, fol. 306; especially in the roll of the divine Novells of the emperor Justinian of blessed memory: 'Since we not only follow the canons of our orthodox fathers, but the empire also contributes something from the imperial power in the way of legitimate and acceptable supplement, providing religiously what is profitable for the edification of all human society: and in these it is enacted that the bishops shall have *prosecutors* (ἐκδίκους).' Canon lxxvi. of the synod of Carthage: 'Let them not trouble the bishop; let there be prosecutors.' The gloss: 'Poor people who suffered violence and injury from the more powerful went to the bishops, and troubled them with their entreaties for help: and the bishops might sometimes help them, and sometimes not: so the fathers of this synod thought it good to ask of the emperor that, in concert with the bishops, he would choose and appoint prosecutors, or vindicators, ἐκδίκους, (Prosecutors are ecclesiastical poursuivants, or avengers), to oppose the violence and oppression of the rich, and to punish these for their acts of violence; and that the bishops may not for this be troubled' (K. fol. 58). Canon xcvii. of the same synod: 'Let the emperor be asked for the appointment of advocates, that is, defenders,[1] for church matters, who shall have skill to defend ecclesiastical interests, and that so the bishops may be able with facility to notify all such matters as may occur.' The gloss: 'Here again the fathers of this synod are pleased, as in canon lxxv., to request of the emperor to give them power to appoint prosecutors or vindicators for the church, officers, that is, who are punishers and judges, having this precise duty, together with the requisite ability, to defend and to prosecute in ecclesiastical matters; that so the bishops may be able to oppose any wrong that may be done, and may have all facility for approaching the tribunals, and for making representations to the emperor, and so obtaining help'[2] (K. fol. 60). Canon ix. of the First and Second Council, held in the church of the Holy Apostles: 'If bishops strike believers who have sinned, or unbelievers who have committed any aggression, whether it be by their own hand or through orders given to any other, they are to be deposed. For it is their duty to correct them that are disorderly by instruction and reproof and by ecclesiastical censures, not by wounds and blows. And if they are still refractory, they are to be denounced to the civil ruler, to be punished by his hand'[1] (K. fol. 86, 87). Seest thou, O Answerer, what are the directions of the holy and divinely-inspired fathers? So precisely it was done by us. By concert with the Tsar we had our prosecutors, who inflicted such punishments as in any case were requisite. And as for anything else, as that we ourselves may at times have corrected any one in the church, and even may have given some little stroke with the hand, that we by no means deny, but are ready even now to do the same to enemies of the Church and shameless men, according to the example of Christ, and according to the canon of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers. The man will not offend against the truth who even now takes a whip and drives out from the catholic church them that commit spiritual adulteries and other wickednesses, which have been sufficiently described by me above, saying, 'God's house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye, by the power of this world, have made it a den of thieves.' And as for the imperial constitutions, let him who pleases observe in them what may be profitable for correction and punishment of ecclesiastical offenders: but let him, in considering their contents, find a place for this head also, how the orthodox emperors in honour preferred the priesthood above the empire, instead of doing as is done now, when men say to our face, reviling us, 'The Tsar alone is great; the patriarch is not the same, but a very different thing:' and, 'The sovereign has monks in plenty.' But monks are *God's servants*, and the Tsar's beadsmen only, not *his* servants [or slaves, to be used] after the fashion in which now bishops and monasteries are compelled by the Tsar's majesty to every evil and burdensome secular work, even to military service, like common lay people. Alas, alas, how have we become rich in abuses! However, what is done by compulsion is not for good, as is witnessed by the Code of the Novells of the emperor Justinian (cap. i.), which has as follows: 'Preëminent above the other gifts of God's loving-kindness to men are those two great gifts of the priesthood and the empire; the former ministering in divine things, the latter ruling in human things; and pro-

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[1] *i.e.* of the leaders of the Raskolniki or Schismatics, who rejected the newly printed and corrected church books.

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[1] Bever. I. 18, Aristin.

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[1] In the full text of the canons and in Zonaras's gloss it is *συνηγόρων ἀντίληψις ὑπὲρ τῶν κεφαλαίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κ.τ.λ. ἐκδίκους σχολαστικοὺς·* Zonaras: *τ.ε. σχολάζειν ὀφείλοντας καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα ἔχειν, ἤγουν ἔργον καὶ λειτούργημα, τὸ ἐκδικεῖν τὰ πράγματα.* [2] Bever. i. p. 635, Aristin.

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[1] This is the abridged canon of Aristin, who gives no separate gloss for the canons of this council, except in one instance. Bever. i. p. 349.

viding [for the temporal well-being of society]. From one and the same source both these two gifts proceed, ordering and beautifying human life. And hence there is nothing so profitable to the empire as the honour of the priesthood. For both of these [powers] we should continually pray to God. For if they abide blameless in all respects, they will both have confidence towards God, and they will adorn the cities and dependencies ruled by them with a beautiful order of justice and decency. There will be a certain good harmony, productive of all manner of blessings to human life. This we believe will be obtained if the observance of the sacred canons is held to, which the Apostles, the eye-witnesses of the divine glory, whom we rightly praise and honour, have delivered, and which the holy Fathers have observed and enacted.' Seest thou here the expression of a right-minded imperial soul, the affectionate acceptance of the pure and holy doctrines, the preference in honour of the priesthood, and those words of undoubting faith, 'all manner of blessings to human life:' 'This we believe will be obtained,' &c.?

Again thou sayest, commenting upon the signification of the ecclesiastical vestments, 'Seest thou not that all the episcopal robes are garments of meekness and righteousness? The sticharion [tunic, or alb] symbolises angelic purity, and the bright life that befits a bishop, since the Lord says thus: I am the light of the world; he that walketh in me shall not walk in darkness' (John viii. 12). Wherefore then, when thou hast heard this about the light, walkest thou away into the darkness of transgression? Christ says: 'Ye are the light of the world.' Show us then, by thine own conduct, light, since thou also puttest on the episcopal robes, though thou art unworthy to wear them for thine unrighteousness shown in thy writing. Listen to the beloved disciple of Christ, to John the Divine, telling thee what is light, and understand: 'And this is the message which we have heard of him and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin' (1 John i. 5-7). 'If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!' (Matt. vi. 23.) What fellowship hast thou [with the virtues signified according to thy writing by the episcopal robes], either in this point on in any other? Show me any, if thou canst.

'The epitrachelion' [that is, the stole, thou continuest] 'is the perfect grace of the all-holy Spirit which comes down from above.' It is written: 'And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you' (Luke xxiv. 49). And elsewhere: 'And the Lord, having breathed upon them, said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 22). And again: 'But ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost, which shall come upon you' (Acts i. 8). And again: 'And there was suddenly a great sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost' (Acts ii. 2). And in another place: 'And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given unto you.' And a little farther on: 'But if ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit unto them that ask him?' (Luke xi. 9, 13.) By the divine commandment we are bidden from the fruits of every one to distinguish whether he is from God: 'From their fruits ye shall know them,' he says (Matt. vii. 16). 'But the fruit of the Spirit is [in all goodness and justice and truth, proving] what is well-pleasing to God' (Ephes. v. 9). And again: 'The fruit of the spirit is [love, joy, peace, long-suffering, goodness] mercifulness, faith, meekness, temperance.' And a little below: 'If we live by the Spirit, we shall walk also by the Spirit. Let us not be vain-glorious, provoking one another, envying one another' (Galat. v. 22-26). But as for thee, what fruits of these dost thou exhibit in thyself? Dost thou not exhibit all that is contrary to these things? But, as it is written, 'Either make the tree good and its fruit good, or make the tree evil and its fruit evil,' so thy nature is manifest from thy deeds and from the words of thy lips. May the holy God repay thee in the day of judgment for thine unrighteous machinations!

However, according to one way of explaining it given by the Fathers, the epitrachelion is the ligature with which sinners bound our Lord Christ when they crucified him; and thence, when used symbolically, it is an imperial girdle and an angelic sign (Gregory Sinait. Of the Sacred Hierarchy).

'The maniples,' thou sayest, 'figure the shackles with which the hands of Christ were bound.' Though thou art not accurate in these interpretations, as we shall show hereafter, still, if the binding of the hands signifies shackles, why hast thou not bidden them to bind thy hands, that they should not work out the unrighteousness of thy mind? Or rather, remembering thy Lord who was bound for thee, why hast thou not been ashamed with those thine hands to bind a heavy burden and grievous to be borne to put upon thy brother, while thou thyself wilt not so much as touch it with one of thy fingers? Hear the instruction of Christ: 'If thy hand cause thee to offend, cut it off and cast it from thee. It is better for thee to enter maimed into life than having both hands to be cast into hell, into unquenchable fire, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched' (Mark ix. 43, 44).

According to the holy scripture (Greg. Sinait.), the maniples were designed only for ornament and for covering of the wrists. But according to another way of explaining them the maniples signify the all-working energy of God, because all the works of creation are wrought by him. This is said also in the prayer: 'Thy right hand, O Lord, has glorified itself in strength, and thy hands have made me.' Again, after another sense, the maniples signify the power of Christ, by which he vanquished his enemies.

'The cincture,' thou sayest, 'is the ligature of Christ [the rope with which he was bound].' As thou wert inaccurate in the foregoing articles, so in this one also thou art not right.

For according to the scripture the girdle signifies that beauty or magnificence with which Christ as a king girds himself, even with the beautiful and becoming power of Deity. In another place thou sayest: 'The girdle, which signifies strength given to his loins for continence and purity, that he may be girt with virginity and purity;' wherefore also thou quotest the psalm appositely, 'Blessed be God who hath girded me with strength, and who maketh my way blameless; that is, maketh my life blameless, or pure and virtuous.'

But what doest thou? Hear, and speak, thou who neither girdest thyself [according to the above explanation] nor abidest bound, as thou sayest, 'bound to do what thou canst,' but doest all only so as to gain liberty. Thou art indeed bound, as it is written, with many bars of iron which cannot be loosed, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. And thou judgest not thyself according to truth, O thou hypocrite! but leapest upon us, who are labouring in the word of God, and who have done thee no hurt, as neither have we done to any of the rest.

But if thou hast written all about the sacred vestments of a bishop inaccurately, this is a small matter. As thy mind is small, thou hast naturally shown no wisdom in describing sacred mysteries.

'Not less,' thou writest, 'is the significancy of the epigonation, which is suspended from the cincture. It is said that this signifies the victory of our Saviour Christ and his resurrection; and it has the shape and appearance of a sword, on which is represented either the crucifixion or the resurrection, in agreement with that prayer, Gird thee with thy weapon upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty! with which the prophet addresses Christ (Ps. xliv. 3); that is, gird thee with thy sword, and fight with the persecutor. But the weapons of Christ are not swords and spears, but his power to punish, which he used against his enemies. He calls him "most mighty" on account of his Deity, which was united with [the human nature in] Christ. "According to thy beauty and thy goodness:" beauty of soul and goodness of virtues. These he names thus in allusion to his sinlessness. And "ride on and prosper, and reign, for the sake of truth, of meekness, and of justice." And shoot abroad thine arrows, pursue on all sides; and let thy works be prosperous; and reign, helping the helpless and the weak. This is meant too in our prayers by the words, Thy kingdom come. All these things do, and conquer. The Lord himself says: I am the way, and the truth, and the life (John xiv. 6). For thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness (Matt. iii. 15); or to do those things which we have said above; that thou mayest sow on earth truth and meekness and justice, instead of falsehood, and cruelty, and wrong.' But where is *thy* justice?

Thou callest the *palitsa*[1] victory. Thou sayest that 'it is the victory over death.' What kind of palitsa dost thou mean? We have what we call a palitsa, which they use in splitting thick logs of wood. With such a palitsa as that a man might split the thickness of thy irreligious mind. And again: 'The palitsa is [used in its spiritual sense] if any one will drive off from any other the lubricity of voluptuousness, cleaving him asunder and smiting him with the divine palitsa, and pressing out [the venom].'

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[1] The word means a *club*, and also a vestment here treated of, the ἐπιγονάτιον, which is so called.

But if thou writest also of the episcopal staff, listen to what is written: 'For the staff which the bishop holds signifies the episcopal power over the people. Even as Moses and Aaron with rods wrought miracles in Egypt, and at the sea, and at the rock of Horeb, so now also the rod of righteousness still works miracles in the hearts of Egyptian malice, of such as hold the truth in unrighteousness. If any one is as a serpent by cruel malice, he shall be swallowed up by the rod of righteousness. If any one is as water, soaking men with draughts of flattery and deceit, it shall be curdled as blood, to the loathing of them that drink. If there be any Pharaoh with hardened heart, he shall be punished with frogs and flies and the other plagues, until he be overwhelmed, like his prototype, in the great waters, in the sea of everlasting darkness, where their worm dieth not and where the fire is not quenched.'

Again, the staff signifies the power of the Holy Ghost to confirm and to feed the people, that the bishop may be able to teach and to correct the disobedient. Hear what is written: 'It signifies that rule which the Holy Ghost gives to the bishop for the guarding of the people, to feed with spiritual meat and drink the rational sheep, and to correct the unruly and hard of heart, and to collect those that are afar off from the good Christian order. For this cause it is double-headed—that is, it has two heads or handles at its top—that he may drive out as wild beasts heretics, that they may not hurt the orthodox people. Besides this, it hints the cross of Christ, by which we overcome and stand, assured and confirmed, and grounded in faith, and wage war, and adhere to Christ, mortifying our passions, and put to flight our enemies, and are preserved from all temptations.' Hast thou enough now about the *palitsa* which thou speakest of? He would not sin who should take a *palka* (club), and drive thee out as a wolf, or as a hog raging as if possessed, and tearing incautious people.

'The sakkos or polystauria,' thou sayest, and thou sayest it rightly, 'figures the passion and crucifixion of Christ.'

However, the Fathers (Gregory Sinait.) call the sakkos or phelonion 'an emblem of that episcopal conduct which is the fruit of a pure and simple and mortified soul. The name *polystauria* means "having on it many crosses," which signify the purple robe in which the Jews clad Christ (for they remembered not), so as to fulfil the words of the prophet: They stripped him of his garments, and put on him a purple robe. And as elsewhere it is written: Who is this that cometh from Edom? Edom is interpreted to mean, *of earth*, *elect*, or *red*. So also it is said: The red of his garments is from the vintage of Besor. Why are thy garments red? Because I am come from treading the wine-press. It signifies then the robe of Christ—that is, his flesh—because it was wetted with his blood upon the cross.' And again: 'Because Christ wore a scarlet robe in his Passion when he was going to be crucified, by this vestment bishops[1] show of what supreme Pontiff they are the servants and soldiers. As Paul, one of the two princes of the Apostles, says: Seeing then that we have a great high priest who has gone before into the heavens, even Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast the confession of our faith, &c.' (Hebr. iv. 14.) And again: 'But the God of peace, who has raised up from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep by the blood of the everlasting covenant, our Lord Jesus Christ, make you perfect in every good work, to do his will, working in you what is well-pleasing before him, that is, Jesus Christ' (Hebr. xiii. 20, 21).

But as for thee, how dost thou hold his confession, that is, the gospel? 'My *peace* I give unto you; my peace I leave to you.' And again: 'Wheresoever ye enter into any city or into any house, say, Peace be to this house.' But thou, what peace hast thou brought with thee? None; as is testified on all sides by all thy writings, which are full of injustice and lawless unrighteousness. 'And by this men shall know you,' says Christ, 'that ye are my disciples, if ye have love among yourselves.' What love hast thou shown since thou hast come here? Thou hast done nothing but to foment contention and hatred, like the devil. For 'every one that hateth his brother is a murderer,' &c. 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye do.' And again: 'Ye are not of my sheep, for my sheep hear my voice.'

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[1] Lit. high-priests, ἀρχιερεῖς.

Again thou sayest: 'The omophorion (the episcopal pallium) signifies the lost sheep which Christ took up upon his shoulders and carried.' 'The bishop puts on lastly the omophorion, which ought to be made of wool, with four crosses on it. This is the mantle of the double portion of grace. It signifies also the word mortified from passions, completing the angelic image, signifying that the wearer is light, and lives in the light, having a disposition favourable to enlightenment, and ability both to attain enlightenment himself and to enlighten others. Or, again, the omophorion, according to another view, symbolises the lost sheep which the good Shepherd came and took upon his shoulders, and cleansed it, and enlightened it, and sanctified it, and offered it as a sacrifice on the cross to the Father, and gave it mortification from all [sins], and glorified it, having become inseparably one with it. But the crosses signify how Christ carried on his shoulder his cross: also, that bishops are to live agreeably to the life of Christ, and to take his cross upon their shoulders; that is, to be ready to suffer all manner of evils, since the cross is the emblem of suffering.' (Greg. Sinait.)

But thou, why hast thou not taken up *thy* cross? but instead thereof revilest them that are bearing the cross of Christ. The Lord testifies: 'Whosoever taketh not up his cross, and goeth not after me, he is not worthy of me.' 'They are enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly' (Philip. iii. 18). And again elsewhere: 'The word of the cross to them that perish is foolishness; but to us who are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the counsel of the prudent I will reject' (1 Cor. i. 18, 19).

'The panagia,' thou sayest, 'is the incarnation of God the Word.' The Lord comes not into nor is incarnate in hearts of malice. 'If any one loves me and keeps my word, my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode in him' (John xiv. 23). And again: 'As my Father hath commanded me, so do I. Arise, let us go hence' (xiv. 31). Whence? From the despisers of his holy commandments. And again: 'I am the vine, ye are the branches: and as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: and he that abides in me and I in him, the same shall bring forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast out as a branch that is withered; and they shall gather them together and shall cast them into the fire, and they shall be burned' (John xv. 5, 6).

'The mitre is,' thou sayest, 'the royal priesthood [*i. e.* it signifies that the high priesthood takes its honour from royalty].' But we have already written above how the priesthood is more than royalty. Wherefore dost thou go ahead with royalty? Learn from what has been written above that even emperors themselves have preferred in honour the priesthood above the empire. Why dost thou seek to bring down the priesthood which sits on high in heaven (Margarit. 3)? Rememberest thou not the history of Dathan and Abiram, who sought to dishonour the priesthood, and what befell them? And again, Saul and Uzziah, arrogating to themselves more than belonged to them, lost even that they previously had. But we now have not only one but three dignities, with superiority. For we have to receive a kingdom. And we are priests, offering in sacrifice our bodies. 'Present your bodies,' says the Apostle, 'a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God' (Rom. xii. 1). And we are appointed to be prophets: The things 'that eye had not seen nor ear heard' (1 Corinth. ii. 9) are revealed to us. And in another way also we become kings, if we seek to master disorderly thoughts, since men who do this really reign, and much more than they who wear a diadem. I will make this clear to thee. Has he [the Tsar] many troops? Well; we also have a still greater multitude of thoughts: for it is not possible to count the innumerable thoughts which are in us. Nor are they only a mere multitude; but in this multitude of thoughts there are also gradations, many generals, and commanders of regiments, and captains of tens, and streltzi, and slingers. What else makes a king? Is it his robes? But we are clad with better and finer robes, which neither moth can eat away nor time damage. And we have a distinguished crown, of glory, and of the blessings of God: 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, who crowneth thee with mercy and loving-kindness' (Ps. cii.). And elsewhere it is of glory: 'Thou hast crowned him with glory and honour' (Ps. viii.). And of favour: 'As with a crown of favour thou hast crowned us.' Elsewhere again it is of grace: 'Thou shalt receive a crown of grace on thine head.' Seest thou now a mitre woven with many wreaths, and most beautiful? However, this is from above. Let us examine more closely about *royalty* (Philipp. Moral Instr. 15): 'You may call a man Tsar (*i.e.* king or emperor); but he is unable even to lead a secure life. His life is full of cares and vexations. For you should not look at the diadem, but at the agitation and the anxiety with which his crown torments him. Nor should you gaze at the purple, but at the soul which is dyed of a deeper hue than that purple. The crown sits not so heavy on his head as anxiety on his soul. Nor should you look to the multitude of his armed men, but to the multitude of his cares and vexations. For there is no private chamber that can be found full of so many and so great cares as those of the Tsar. Men every day expecting death are in his very presence; and before he sits down to dine there has been seen the shedding of blood; and before he drinks, instead of drink he is filled with blood. And it may be truly said that the pavement of the Tsar is saturated with blood.'

But the heavenly kingdom is of no such kind; but when it is obtained, it is righteousness, peace, love, joy, gladness (Rom. xiv. 17). But as for earthly royalty, we may see of what miseries it is full by considering how many fables and stories have been made out of them at different times. Almost all the plots of tragedies and other stories have originated from some actions of kings: and the greater part of such stories as are fabulous have been based upon things which have really happened. If it please thee, we will mention instances also from the scripture. Saul was the first king who reigned over Israel: but thou knowest how he perished, after having fallen into innumerable sins and calamities. Who was more righteous than David? And yet he, not having kept himself from sins, suffered many attacks and afflictions before he died. Who was wiser than Solomon? Yet he died in sin. So Abijah, so Hezekiah, so Uzziah, and so many others of the kings. But we grieve now not for these, from whom [*i.e.* from their examples] we have great advantage, but rather for them that are living, and need to be brought to repentance; as the Apostle writes: 'For godly sorrow worketh repentance not to be repented of, unto salvation.' Nor either did the kings of old obtain any victory but by the help of priestly prayers.

And we, for our part, believe that we might obtain some very good and great fruit, and that we might correct all [that is amiss], if we would all with one accord stretch out our hands to God for all our troubles.

In this way let us fight against our enemies, with prayers and supplications. For if the saints of old so fought with them that were in arms against them, how much more ought we to do the same now? (4 Kings xix.)

So Abraham overthrew Chedorlaomer with the other four kings (Gen. xiv.). So Moses overwhelmed Pharaoh with all his host (Exod. xiv.). So he defeated Amalek at Rephidim with all his host; so he vanquished king Arad the Canaanite; so he subdued Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og the king of Basan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan (Numb. xxi.). So Joshua the son of Nun took Jericho (Josh. vi.). So he took Agag, and subdued thirty-three kings. 'And Joshua took all the land, as the Lord had commanded Moses, and gave it for an inheritance unto Israel' (ib. xi. 23). So Judah subdued the Canaanite and the Perizzite (Judg. i. 4). So Gideon with three hundred overthrew a hundred and twenty thousand, and the princes Oreb and Zeb, and Zeba and Salmunnah, kings of Midian. And so the rest of the judges, as Barak, Samson, Jephtha, and Samuel, all by prayer and faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, and obtained the promises. So also Saul, until he sinned in offering whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices, and took to himself the office of the priesthood. So also David subdued his enemies. So also Solomon, and Hezekiah, and Josiah, as long as they kept within their own bounds, and did not invade the priesthood. So also Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor, overthrew Maxentius, and his other enemies. And so all the orthodox emperors, though they used arms and enlistments and armies, still, laying aside their arms, betook themselves to prayer.

But neither should we leave all to prayer, and remain inactive, neither running after what is evil nor making any effort towards virtue; nor, on the other hand, should we merely do what is good, without valuing that assistance of prayer. For there is great power in the prayer which we may make, provided only that we are at the same time ourselves also doing that which is good.

Again, thou sayest that these episcopal robes and ornaments 'signify patience, meekness, temperance, and the most precious of all virtues, justice.'

Thou extollest patience for others, but seemest not to have any patience thyself. Thou blessest meekness, but thyself ragest like a lion; or, like a dog, foamest from the manifest abundance of thy evil heart. Thou praisest temperance, but thyself workest continually uncleanness. Thou biddest others to love virtue and justice, while thou thyself art unceasingly employed in malicious contention. 'For ye,' as the Lord says, 'justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts.'

XXIV. Reply against the Twenty-fourth Question and Answer.

Thou sayest, O Questioner: 'Our most serene Hossoudar and most prosperous Tsar committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical causes and judgments—that is, he made a grant to him of all the privileges which Constantine the Great, out of his great respect for the Roman Pope Sylvester, had given to that Pope. In like manner to Nicon also our sovereign the Tsar granted in writing many privileges;' &c.

Thy question, O Questioner, is full of satanical fear[1] and pride. However, the broaching of this subject is not from me; but it is thine own fault; since thou by thy question hast forced us to this answer. Thou sayest: 'Our most serene Hossoudar and most prosperous Tsar,' &c. As to the complete prosperity of the Tsar there is no need for us to answer. All the people know how far the Tsar is prosperous, or the contrary: at least, each man knows what advantage he has himself received from the Tsar's prosperity. But for what thou sayest, that he committed to us the supervision of all ecclesiastical judgments, this is simply a foul blasphemy, and one that exceeds the pride of Lucifer. For he said: 'I will set my throne in the heaven, and I will be *like* unto the Most High.' But here he thinks to have power even *over* God. Thou sayest that 'our most serene Hossoudar and most prosperous Tsar committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical judgments.' Hast thou not learned from what has been written above that the highest authority of the priesthood is not received from kings or emperors (lit. Tsars), but, contrariwise, it is by the priesthood that rulers are anointed to the empire? Therefore it is abundantly plain that priesthood is a very much greater thing than royalty. And thou sayest that 'the Tsar committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical judgments—that is, he made a gift to him of all the privileges,' &c. We acknowledge no other lawgiver but Christ, who gave to his holy disciples and apostles power to bind and to loose, saying: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them; and whosesoever sins ye shall retain, they are retained' (John xx. 22; Matt. xviii. 18-25). What power then did the Tsar give me? Was it this? No; but he stole to himself this, as thou thyself testifieth, and as all his unlawful deeds testify. What is it that he does? He lords it over the Church; he enriches himself with sacred property, and feeds upon it; he boasts himself while so doing that all the clerks, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all the inferior clergy, submit themselves, serve him as his slaves, pay capitation-tax, and serve in his wars; he lords it by supreme jurisdiction, and by imposts. Such *privileges* as these we not only do not receive from him, but we loathe them, and flee from them as from the seed of the dragon; we loathe them as transgressions of Antichrist; according to the command given by Christ, when, pointing at these our present times, he said to his disciples: 'Beware that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. Go not after them:' that is, obey not their commands (Matt. xxiv. 4, 5). So also the divine apostle Paul teaches us: 'Beware then that ye walk warily, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil' (Ephes. v. 15). 'For this cause be not void of understanding, but understand what the will of God is.' And again: 'Walk in wisdom towards them that are without, redeeming the time,' &c. (Coloss. iv. 5). And again: 'But I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, well-pleasing to God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world; but be transformed in the renewal of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God' (Rom. xii. 1, 2). And again: 'Let no one deceive you with vain words; for on account of these things the wrath of God shall come on the children of disobedience. Be ye not therefore partakers with them' (Ephes. v. 6). And again: 'But the mystery of iniquity doth already work' (2 Thess. ii. 1-7). As also the Lord has said: 'Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled; for all these things must come to pass; but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. All these things are the beginnings of birth-pangs' (Matt. xxiv. 7, 8).

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[1] Bad fear of power being exercised by the Church of God against evil men.

Seest thou, O Questioner, what is done? Are not all these things applicable to us? But hear what follows; what Christ the unerring prophet says. He says with an oath that these things shall be: 'Verily I say unto you, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. Then shall they deliver you up to tribulations, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake' (then; that is, when any one shall contend for the word of God, as we do now). 'And then many shall be offended, and they shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.' Are not these things now fulfilled in us? 'And many false prophets shall arise.' Who then are false prophets? Certainly the metropolitan of Gaza for one, who says nothing from the divine scriptures, but from himself. And men take such a writing of falsehood for a canonical rule. But he who writes a writing of falsehood is manifestly a false prophet. 'And because of the abounding of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold.' Of what iniquity? His, plainly, who, contrary to the will of God, appropriates anything which does not belong to him, as the Hossoudar the Tsar has now unlawfully taken and brought under his own dominion the Church and all her property. And therefore he has hatred against us; as an adulterer never can love the lawful husband, but is ever devising evil against him. But for that thou sayest, O Questioner, that 'the Tsar's majesty committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical judgments,' what, I ask, did he *commit?* The priesthood? That he has not himself; and what he has not himself how can he give to others? If thou shalt say that the Tsar gives [not the priesthood itself, but] the grace of the priesthood, the Tsar in that case speaks against the grace of the Holy Ghost, and Him by whose grace we all receive grace. But he who speaks against the Holy Ghost has not forgiveness, neither in this world nor in the next. Who is it that asserts this? Christ himself, our God. But is it power to bind and to loose that the Tsar is said to give? But neither is this in his power to give, but in Christ's alone. For he gave it to his disciples, saying: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye do remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.' But dost thou wish to learn the truth? Then know that even he himself who is distinguished by the diadem is subject to the authority of the priesthood: and whomsoever any one by this authority justly binds on earth, he will be bound in heaven. This we believe to be true. But if the Tsar binds him temporarily, or slays him, he will have to give account of this before the Lord God in the day of judgment. For Christ has taught us not to fear them that kill the body, but cannot touch the soul; but we ought to fear Him who can destroy both soul and body in hell fire. But for that thou sayest, that the Tsar committed to me, Nicon, that I should have the supervision over all ecclesiastical judgments, thou hast said a falsehood, O thou speaker of evil words! Neither did the Tsar give us any authority whatever, nor do we need or seek from him any authority whatever, knowing the divine canons which have been written out above: 'Every one who receives a church by secular power is to be degraded.' And though God now endures such his transgression, in that, in contravention of the divine constitutions, he elects whom he pleases, and gives command to ordain them, yet all those men are not elected of God, nor are worthy. And for all these things the Tsar will have to give account before the Lord God. How can any one give that which he has not himself?

Now it is fit that we should repeat again the divine words: 'Watch, that no man deceive you:' and, 'They shall deceive many:' 'Go ye not out after them.' And here we ought with attention to examine that word of Christ commanding us to 'watch,' since he who says it is the all-foreseeing God. He foresaw that many should be deceived. By what? and by whom? They shall not be deceived by Antichrist himself; but, as the divine apostle John says, 'Little children, they are the last times; and as ye have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are many antichrists. By this we know that it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would have abided with us; but they went out that they might be made manifest that they are not all of us' (1 John ii. 18). And again: 'Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as He is righteous. He that doeth sin is of the devil, even as the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this cause the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Every one who is born of God doeth not sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. Hereby the children of God are manifested, and the children of the devil' (ib. iii. 7-10). And again: 'He that knoweth God heareth us, and he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of deception' (ib. iv. 6).

So thou sayest for evil, thou malicious man, that the Tsar empowered us to exercise the supervision of ecclesiastical causes, which he himself does not possess. And thou seest now who are antichrists; and who are the children of God, and the children of the enemy; what is the spirit of truth, and what the spirit of deception. 'Even now there are many antichrists;' that is, the metropolitan of Kroutitz, and the rest who are like him. The children of the enemy are thou, and such as thou. The spirit of deception is the metropolitan of Gaza, and others like him.

But hear yet again the apostle Paul, who says: 'Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come except there come first the Apostasy' (2 Thess. ii. 3); which is nothing else than what the Lord said: 'Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake. And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold' (Matt. xxiv. 9-12). It is plain now: every man who has a mind can understand, that that time is characterised by things like to those which are done now. What is more iniquitous than for the Tsar to judge bishops, taking to himself a power which has not been given him by God? Where is now obedience to the word of the gospel, and the observance of his holy commandments? That is an apostasy from God. 'And then,' he says, 'shall be revealed the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth, and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the Church of God, showing himself that he is God' (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4). Comment on this (Serm. iii.): 'It is of Antichrist that he speaks here, and opens great mysteries; that is, that there is to be an apostasy. He calls Antichrist apostasy, because he shall destroy many, and cause them to apostatise, destroying them not in any bodily manner, but by bringing them to his own will:' Even as he has brought thee, Simeon, and others like thee, to blaspheme the holy gospel, and to attack spitefully the servants of God, and to revile them for the sake of the name of Christ, and to say all manner of evil of them falsely, and to cast them out.

'So, he says, as to deceive, if it were possible, even the elect. And he calls him "the man of sin," because he works innumerable sins, and moves others to do dreadful things:' Even as now in this present time we see the effects of his malice. His servants act like antichrists; that is, as St. John says, Even now there are many antichrists, that is, many adversaries of God, who do all that is contrary to the holy gospel; and not merely so, but they are even proud of such their wickedness.

'And he shall sit, he says, in the Church of God: Not in that which was in the one city of Jerusalem; but everywhere his power shall be in the churches, as St. John the Divine testifies, saying that Antichrist is already in the world. But no man has heard or seen him sensibly. That is, secular powers, in contravention of the divine commandments, shall begin to lord it over the Church of God. For what is meant by the word *chair* or *throne* is the ecclesiastical authority, not a mere seat. Many laymen possess just such *seats* in appearance as those of kings and bishops, but these are not called *thrones*, because they have no authority given with them. And he shall command men to worship him: not outwardly or sensibly, but in the same way in which now the bishops, abdicating their own sacerdotal dignity and honour, worship kings and princes as their lords and masters, and petition them in all matters, and seek from them honour. And they are made like unto those of whom it is written, "They have departed from the light, and have preferred darkness: they have left the straight way, to walk in the bye-ways of destruction: they have become vain in their own imaginations; for their evil mind [their malice] hath blinded them, and they have not understood the mysteries of God." Whom the prince of the apostles Peter curses, saying thus: "Children of the curse; which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor. These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever"' (2 Pet. ii. 14-17).

Again thou sayest, O Questioner: 'That is, he made a grant to him of all the privileges which Constantine the Great, out of his great respect for the Pope of Rome, Sylvester, granted to the same Pope. In like manner to Nicon also, our sovereign the Tsar did by writing grant many privileges.' Speak out, and name distinctly what privileges he granted me; and I will tell thee how many he violated and disregarded. 'The old things,' as it is said, 'have passed away, and, behold, all things are new.' Of the old privileges given by God to the priesthood, and of tithes, we will say nothing—we will pass them by—according to the indication of the Apostle. But of the new we will speak: of those privileges, that is, which Christ our Saviour gave to his holy disciples and apostles, saying, 'And I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it' (Matt. xvi. 18). The Tsar has subverted this privilege, and has enslaved the Church, and made it to be subject to himself in all things. The apostle Paul says, 'The head of the Church is Christ:' and, 'Even as the Church is subject to Christ,' &c. And again, the Lord said: 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 19). The Tsar's majesty has also taken away the key from Peter and the rest of the apostles and their successors; and what they bind, and the supreme bishop, Christ our Lord and God, does not loose in heaven, that the Tsar looses on earth and in heaven. 'And what thou shalt loose,' Christ goes on to say, 'on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' The Tsar, however, binds that on earth. And again: The Lord breathed upon his holy disciples and apostles, and said, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.' The Tsar, who has not received the grace of the Holy Ghost, forgives sins and retains them to whom he will by the power of this world, and not by grace. The Lord says, 'If ye abide in my word, then shall ye be my disciples indeed' (John viii. 31). The Tsar not only does not abide in Christ's word himself, but he even hates them that do abide in it. Again the Lord says, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, If any man keep my word, he shall never see death.' The Tsar not only does not himself keep it, but he even inflicts punishments and death on them that keep the word of God. The Lord says, 'Verily, I say unto you, He that believeth in me, the works that I do, the same shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do.' The Tsar not only does not himself these works, but he even hates and persecutes them that do them. The Lord says, 'If ye love me, keep my commandments.' The Tsar not only does not keep them himself, but suffers not them that do. The Lord says, 'He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me.' The Tsar not only does not, out of love to God, keep his commandments, but he does not even love them that do keep them. The Lord says, 'He that loveth me not, the same keepeth not my commandments.' The Tsar not only himself keeps them not, but he also welcomes those who blaspheme them. The Lord says, 'My peace I leave to you.' The Tsar not only does not himself receive the peace of God, but he even drives out of his city them that bring it to him.[1] The Lord says, 'If ye had loved me, ye would have rejoiced to see my day.' The Tsar not only rejoices not out of love to God, but he even makes them that do so rejoice to weep. The Lord says, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you.' The Tsar himself loves not, and forbids others to love one another. The Lord says, 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you' (John xv. 13, 14). The Tsar not only is not willing to lay down his life for his friends, but even seeks to take away the lives of such as are willing. And not only will he not call any one his brother of his inferior subjects, but even him whom in time past he used to call and write with his own hand his father, he has put on a level with any common man. For his malice he calls him simply 'Nicon,' not even Patriarch, and has made him as it were a serf under capitation-tax to himself. And it is not me only, the unworthy servant of God and of my Lord Jesus Christ, that he has enslaved to himself, but all that has been given to our Lord Jesus Christ to be the perpetual property of his holy Church he has appropriated to himself and to his people; for which they will receive judgment and punishment of the Lord God, according to the works of their hands. If any one think this word harsh, we are ready to justify it from the scripture in another place.

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[1] Alluding to his own coming to Moscow, Dec. 18, o.s. 1664.

'And the Lord seeing the multitudes, went up into a mountain; and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. v. 1, 2, 3). It is manifest that if any one is *not* poor in spirit, but rich, the kingdom of heaven is *not* his: and the Lord witnesseth, 'Woe unto you that are rich; for ye have received [or are separated from] your consolation.'

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' It is manifest that they are *not* blessed through whom others mourn now; and these shall *not* be comforted: but the Lord witnesses, 'Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep.'

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.' It is manifest that they who are *not* meek are *not* blessed; and so neither shall they inherit the earth, which is for the meek.

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall be filled.' It is manifest that he is *not* blessed who does not hunger nor thirst after justice; like that rich man who showed no compassion to Lazarus, and who at last thirsted himself for one drop of water, but could not obtain it. And the Lord testifies, 'Woe unto you that are filled full now, for ye shall hunger and thirst.'

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy' (Matt. v. 7). It is plain that the unmerciful shall *not* obtain mercy. And the Lord testifies, 'Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of my brethren, ye did it not to me. Depart,' he shall say, 'from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels' (Matt. xxv. 45, 41).

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' It is manifest that they who are not pure of heart shall *not* see God; even as it is written, 'The unholy shall not see thy glory, O Christ.' And again: 'Every one whose heart is lifted up is impure before God and loathsome.'

Again the Lord says: 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.' It is manifest that every maker of enmity shall *not* be called a child of God, but a child of the devil: as also the Lord testifies, 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.'

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are they which are persecuted (or driven out) for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' It is plain that they who persecute do *not* deserve the blessing, nor is the kingdom of heaven theirs. The Lord testifies, 'If they drive you out from this city, flee to another.' And again, 'Wheresoever they shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye go out from that city shake off even the dust of your feet. It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city.'

Again the Lord says, 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and drive you out, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.' It is manifest that they are *not* blessed who revile us and drive us out, and say all manner of evil of us falsely.

The Lord says, 'Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' It is manifest that they have no cause to rejoice who are *not* to receive a reward in heaven from the Lord God. As also the Lord testifies, saying, 'For everywhere to him that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he thinketh he hath. And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth' (Matt. xxv. 29, 30). And the Apostle says, 'Know ye not, brethren, that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?' (1 Cor. vi. 9.) 'Neither doth corruption inherit incorruption' (ib. xv. 50).

The Lord says, 'Ye are the light of the world: a city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven' (Matt. v. 14). So that whosoever shall not show good works, he is darkened before men, so that men seeing his evil works blaspheme the Father which is in heaven.

The Lord says, 'For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. v. 19). But now not only do they not exceed in righteousness the scribes and Pharisees, but if anything they exceed them rather in malice.

The Lord says, 'Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill: and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment' (ib. 21, 22). Now men are not only angry without a cause, but they even torture unjustly, and kill, and fear not the judgment of God, by which God will recompense to every man according to his deeds.

The Lord says: 'And whosoever shall say to his brother, *Raca*, shall be in danger of the council; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire' (ib.). But now they not only say to their brother *Raca*, but much more, and fear not the judgment: they even call their brother 'mad fool,' and fear not hell-fire; because they seek that for their inheritance; and for their malice they will know then what it is when it will no longer be possible for them to be delivered from it for ever.

The Lord testifies: 'Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift' (ib. 23, 24). Now the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and the boyars bring nothing as a gift to the holy altar, as the Lord commanded, saying, 'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty;' nor, when they come into the church, if others have aught against them, do they leave before the altar their gift; for they never bring anything there to offer, except themselves, and so there is nothing to leave before the altar. And if so be that they have anything against another, then they judge and condemn in the church, as if they were in a judgment-hall, and take vengeance to themselves according to their own unrighteous judgments, as they please, without fear or scruple. They *remember* not what the Lord has said, 'If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses' (Matt. vi. 14). But they do remember when they come into the church to note what things there may be, and where, of which the church may be plundered.

The Lord says: 'Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery' (Exod. xx. 14): 'but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart' (Matt. v. 27, 28). But now the Tsar and all his court, when they see men committing [spiritual] adultery, declare the offender to be blameless.

The Lord says: 'Again ye have heard that it has been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths,' &c. (Matt. v. 33; Numb. xxx. 2). But now they swear after the manner prescribed in the gospel, saying, 'Yea, yea,' as the Tsar promised in the holy church at our election, and swore that he would observe the commandments of Christ in the gospel, and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. But no whit of them has he observed. On the contrary, he has exceeded others his fellows in hating them, and has taught all the bishops, and all the council and court, to be accomplices in the like sin.

The Lord says: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also' (Matt. v. 38, 39). But now the Hossoudar the Tsar for only one word, if any one speaks a word for truth and justice, cuts out tongues, and cuts off hands and feet, and sends men into exile for life, forgetting the hour of death, as if he were immortal, neither looking for the future judgment of God, nor considering that God will certainly judge and punish for every thing: for a little temporal cutting of human limbs here, he will award the cutting asunder of everlasting torments, and the casting into hell-fire of all the limbs of the body; and for temporal banishment here, the banishment of outer darkness, the forfeiture of everlasting bliss.

Again the Lord says: 'If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat also' (ib. 40). But now the Tsar drags before his tribunals of law even them that do not wish to contend with him at law, though they voluntarily give up the cloak, and abandon to him the coat also. He judges compulsorily those to whose judgment he is even himself by right subject. But he the Hossoudar, outraging with a high hand all that [order of Christ and of the Church], judges bishops. And not only so; but the bishops and priests and all the sacred order of the clergy, which he has no right to judge even himself, are by his orders to be judged even by the boyars, and by all his unjust judges and secretaries, contrary to the divine canons. For the canons enact that a bishop is to be judged by the metropolitan and the bishops of the province; and if all the bishops cannot conveniently meet, there are to be at least not fewer than twelve.

A metropolitan, by canon ix. of the Fourth holy Ecum. Council, may not be judged without the patriarch, even by all the rest of the metropolitans and bishops. But he, the Hossoudar the Tsar, is himself at once aggressor, and prosecutor, and judge, and witness, and orderer and assembler of a pseudo-synod, and determiner of a judgment to be pronounced against a patriarch by his own bishops. In despite of all the sacred canons, he compels men to come thus before himself to be judged. But he thinks not of the warning of Christ, 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged;' nor of the Apostle, who says: 'For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad' (2 Cor. v. 10).

Again, the Lord says: 'And if any one shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain' (ib. 41). The Lord has given to all men alike the same commandments. But now the Tsar not only does not keep these, but he also disregards all the earlier statutes of religious emperors and tsars and grand princes. And of all the grants granted, in imitation of the ancient religious emperors Constantine and Justinian and the rest, by his own father, the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince of all Russia, Michael Theodorovich of blessed memory, he makes no account at all: but he takes men by force from the cathedral in the patriarchal diocese, and from the other churches of the metropolitans and archbishops, and from the holy monasteries, and sends them where he pleases, to war, and to his other unsuitable services.

The Lord commands: 'Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away:' 'and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again' (Matt. v. 42; Luke vi. 30). Now they do just the contrary. They do *not* give. They remember not how the Lord says, 'Even that which he *seemeth* to have shall be *taken away from him*.' How shall it be taken away?' Let us ask the Psalmist, and he will preach for us. As being himself a king, he fears not any one; as a prophet, he accepteth not the person of any man; and as a rich man, he gives the testimony of experience. Speak then, O prophet of God, and king! Speak with boldness what the Holy Ghost enlightens thy heart to speak. Thus he begins to speak:

'Hear ye this, all ye nations; ponder it with your ears, all ye that dwell in the world: high and low, rich and poor, one with another. My mouth shall utter wisdom, the instruction of my heart shall be understanding. I will incline mine ear to a parable, I will open my dark saying upon the harp. Wherefore shall I fear in the day of evil?' (Ps. xlviii. 1-5.) Seest thou, O thou malicious Questioner, with what boldness the prophet begins to speak to every person, without respecting any, to all who live in the world; to all, high and low, rich and poor? Then, looking back to himself also, he says: 'Wherefore shall I fear in the day of evil? The wickedness of my heels shall compass me about.' By this expression, 'of my heels,' the prophet means whatever he has done amiss in past time: and he is not ashamed to accuse himself, and to confess that he will have to be judged for his sins. Therefore also he continues afterwards, saying, 'There be that trust in their power, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches. But a brother shall not deliver his brother. Shall a man deliver? Shall he give to God a ransom for himself, or a price for the deliverance of his soul?' Seest thou how the prophet speaks, that after this life has passed away, neither shall a brother deliver any man, nor shall a man give to God anything in exchange for himself, or a ransom for the deliverance of his soul? 'Wherefore?' says the prophet. 'And he has laboured as if for ever; and he thinks that he shall not see destruction; when he sees wise men also dying; together with the foolish and the reckless they perish, and leave their wealth to strangers: And their sepulchres are their habitations for ever: Their houses are from generation to generation, and they have given their own names to lands. But man being in honour hath not understood: he hath associated himself with the brute beasts that have not reason, and has made himself like to them. This their way is a cause of stumbling to them: and after their death men with their lips call them happy.' Seest thou, O thou Questioner, the force of the prophet's words? that 'this way' is the cause of stumbling to them; that is, *this present life here*, in which they have to do either good or evil? Then the prophet says: 'And after these things men with their lips praise them.' Then it is that men praise *with their lips*, when their will is not to praise. 'Even as sheep they are penned in hell; death shall feed upon them; and the righteous shall have dominion over them in the morning; and their power shall be brought to nothing in hell; from their glory they have been chased away. Nevertheless God shall deliver my soul from the hand of hell, when he shall receive me.' Seest thou how the prophet trembles and quakes, as he prays and calls on God, the only deliverer, for the deliverance of his soul; that soul to which were revealed the hidden mysteries of the wisdom of God? Then he says again: 'I will not fear when a man is made rich, or when the glory of his house is increased: for when he dies he shall carry nothing away with him, neither shall his glory descend after him,' &c. (Ps. xlviii. 1-18.)

Again the Lord says: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy' (Lev. xiv.). 'But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you: that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust' (Matt. v. 43-45). See, O Questioner, the holy and divine commandments of Christ. Any one hearing these injunctions may perhaps feel some little shame and confusion, [as if it would be a disgrace so to do. Then let him hear] what the Lord says elsewhere: 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man also be ashamed when he comes in the glory of his Father' (Mark viii. 38). Who now loves his enemies, or blesses them that curse him, or does good to them that hate him, or prays for them that despitefully use him, and so on? Nay, rather, all hate one another, all do evil to one another, all persecute. How can such men be the sons of the heavenly Father? It is plain by the Lord's word that such men are of their father the devil, and the lusts of their father they do (John viii. 44). 'And as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also to them likewise' (Luke vi. 31). But now, contrariwise, they love for themselves that men should do good to them; but they do ill to others.

The Lord says: 'If ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same' (ib. 32, 33). But who now does good to any one? No one. But they only think every one continually how they can do harm one to another. 'And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners to receive as much again' (ib. 34). But now no man gives, but all take from others unjustly, but give not. If any one gives a little alms, he goes about in all directions, and sounds a trumpet before him that he is giving alms, 'as the hypocrites do in their synagogues and in the streets; in like manner as they pray also, that they may have glory of men.' Of such the Lord says, 'Verily I say unto you, they shall have their reward.' What reward? This, that men shall praise them; but that they shall lose the reward of God. But they who take what belongs to others, what reward shall they receive but the recompense of everlasting torments?

Again the Lord says: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you your trespasses. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses' (Matt. vi. 14, 15). But now no man forgives to another any trespasses at all: but they have taken to themselves arbitrarily power to bind and loose what is not given to them to bind and loose on earth: and those poor men they bind to whom power *has* been given from the grace of the Holy Ghost; as also the Lord has commanded, saying, 'Whomsoever ye shall bind on earth, he shall be bound in heaven,' &c. Whom may the Lord fix, and retain them bound, according to his word, in heaven! Even though they were [otherwise] worthy of the heavenly habitation, still the heavenly Father will not forgive them their trespasses.

The Lord says: 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also' (Matt. vi. 19-21). Seest thou, O rich man, *where* God bids thee to treasure up what is *thine own?* But for him who unrighteously and violently takes what belongs to others, where, thinkest thou, will he be, even though he be a Tsar or a noble? To every man alike the divine Apostle commands in Christ, though he be a Tsar, or a boyar, or a noble, or a bishop, saying: 'Moreover, brethren, know ye not even yet that the unjust and extortioners [plunderers] shall not inherit the kingdom of God?' (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.) But the Lord farther threatens them with torment, saying: 'Fear him who has power, after killing, to cast into the lake of fire.' And that not simply, but with an oath: 'Yea, I say unto you, fear *Him*' (Luke xii. 5). And elsewhere again: 'Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness.' And again: 'He shall miserably destroy those wicked men.' And again: 'But the unprofitable servant cast ye into outer darkness.' And elsewhere: 'Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity.' And again: 'Bring them hither, and hew them in pieces before me, because they would not that I should reign over them.' And elsewhere: 'Gather them together, and bind them in bundles to burn them.' And again: 'Whosoever abideth not in me, he shall be cast forth as a branch, and shall dry up, and men gather them together, and cast them on to the fire; and they shall be burned.' And elsewhere: 'But whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.' And again: 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee,' &c. 'For it is better for thee that one of thy members perish than that thy whole body be cast into hell-fire' (Matt. xviii. 9). And elsewhere again:

'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat,' &c. (Matt. xxv. 41.)

All these words are spoken by God himself, and by his holy Apostles. Who now observes them? Who fears them as he ought? Therefore to such men the Lord says: 'And these shall go away into everlasting torment.'

Thou sayest, O Questioner, that 'our most serene Hossoudar and most entirely prosperous Tsar committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical causes and judgments.' It was not the Tsar that committed to Nicon this authority: it was the grace of the Holy Ghost which committed it to him. But the Tsar has regarded that grace as nothing, and has done dishonour to the Holy Ghost, and made it to be powerless; so that now, without the Tsar's command, the grace of the Holy Ghost cannot operate; as the bishops, such is the weakness of their understandings, even write now, 'I have ordained, or instituted, this man, or that, to be archimandrite or hegoumen or presbyter, and the like, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, *and* by ukaz of the Great Hossoudar,' &c. So likewise they are ready to bury [with the prayers of the Church impenitent felons] who have been hanged or slain [for their crimes], and to say the prayers [at the Churching of Women] for children born in sin, all by the Tsar's command. And what can be more horrible than this?

The Lord testifies: 'Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come' (Matt. xii. 31, 32). 'He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation' (Mark iii. 29). Whom can such a man give grace to, who has dared to insult the Holy Spirit, and to make his grace and power nugatory by adding to it the words, 'and by ukaz of the Great Hossoudar,' &c.? Has it not been written above that he who has been elected by secular powers is degraded, together with him that has ordained him? But they heed nothing. What can be greater than this testimony? God himself testifies that neither in this world nor in the world to come shall such sin as this be pardoned. But he, the Hossoudar, fears not even this; though there is nothing which can be more dreadful than this, to be incapable of forgiveness either in this world or in the world to come. But he acts as if he were himself the great Pontiff: and whom he wills he commands the bishops to ordain. Alas, alas, alas! woe, woe! for such contempt, and for so terrible a condemnation! And who shall deliver him from it?

Again thou writest: 'That is, he has made a grant to him of all those privileges which Constantine the Great, out of his extreme respect for the Pope of Rome, Silvester, bestowed upon that Pope. So also to Nicon our Hossoudar the Tsar has given by writing many privileges.' *What* privileges? Tell me. For instance, tithes? such as were by the old law. Or anything else, of such things as have been by the law, or by tradition of religious emperors? No! But what has he given us? First, the abstraction from the Church of her property; and then, the expulsion of ourselves too, privileges and all. Listen, O Questioner, since thou speakest of Constantine the Great, and hear what his privileges are:

'On the first day[1] after that I had received the sacrament of holy baptism, and had been healed of my leprosy, I acknowledged that there is no other God but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, whom the blessed Pope Silvester preaches, a trinity in unity, and unity in trinity. For all the gods of the heathen, whom I previously worshipped, are proved to be devils, and the work of men's hands.'[2] Seest thou, O Questioner, that he was cleansed not only in body, but doubly, in soul and in body? But if any one think that he has his body clean, while his soul is leprous, what shall that his outward purity profit him, so long as his soul is leprous? Therefore also the Lord says to such, 'Thou hypocrite! cleanse first the inside of the cup and the platter, and then the outside of them shall be clean also' (Matt. xxiii. 23). Again the constitution of Constantine the Great [proceeds thus]:

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[1] Concilia &c. Labbe et Cossart. tom. i. Col. 1533, Paris 1671. The Letter of Constantine to Silvester.

[2] This extract from the Donation of Constantine, and the others which follow, differ not much from the Latin text printed by Binius and by Mansi. See Mansi *Collectio Conciliorum*, Flor. 1759, tom. ii. col. 606-611; where a Greek version of large portions of the same, but not of the whole, is given side by side with the Latin. These fragments are from the Scholia of Balsamon on cap. i. tit. 8 of the Nomocanon of Photius, at p. 929 of the *Bibl. Juris Canonici*. A different Greek text of part of the same, but somewhat compressed, is printed by Beveridge in his *Synodicon &c.* Oxon. 1672, tom. ii. p. 117 in the *Syntagma* of Matt. Blastar.

'Moreover, the same our venerable father Silvester clearly explained to us what great authority our Lord and Saviour conferred on his apostle St. Peter in heaven and on earth, when upon his question finding him faithful, he said: *Thou art Peter* (the rock of faith); *and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* Understand, ye potentates, and take in with the ears of your heart what our good teacher and Lord added also to his disciple, saying, *And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven* (Matt. xvi. 18). Very wonderful and glorious is this, that he should bind and loose on earth, and that the same should be bound and loosed also in heaven.' Seest thou, O Questioner, how he who is the foundation of piety ordains, saying that what he shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and not, as is done now, that they whose office it is to bind are themselves both to be bound and to be loosed by others? But let us return to what we had before in hand.

'These things, through the instruction of our blessed father Silvester, I understood: and at the same time, by the benefit of the blessed Peter himself, feeling myself restored to perfect health, we[1] have judged it right with all[2] our captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, and all the synclete, and the nobles, and with all the people subject to the power of the Roman greatness, that, as St. Peter has been appointed the vicar of the Son of God on earth, so also they[3] who succeed to the place of the prince of the Apostles should have a ruling power on earth greater and higher than what is held by the conspicuous empire of our benignity. And we have chosen the same prince of the Apostles and his successors to be for ever our fathers and intercessors with God.'

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[1] Here the first of the extracts given in Greek by Balsamon begins, and goes on to the words *ὅπου ἐδουλεύσαμεν τῷ ὑπερηφάνῳ ἐκείνῳ βασιλεῖ.*

[2] *σατραπῶν*, and *συγκλήτου*, and *ἀρχόντων* in the Greek of Balsamon.

[3] *οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ διάδοχοι τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων* in the Greek.

See, O Questioner, the bequest of that holy soul: how he honoured not only the single Pope Silvester, but also his successors after him 'to be for ever' (thus he speaks) 'our fathers and intercessors before God:' and how far he is from doing as the Tsar does now, who, after having driven us out by his displeasure, both himself treats us with whatever disrespect he pleases, and when others revile us forbids them not; but welcomes them that calumniate us, men such as thee and those other wretched men who are like thee. Then, again, that holy soul says:

'And as our imperial authority on earth is venerated and honoured, so also we ordain that the holy church of the Romans shall be venerated and honoured; and that the chair of the most blessed apostle Peter shall be glorified and exalted even above our empire and earthly throne, giving to it authority and glorious dignity, and summary dispatch, and dominion, and imperial force and honour.'

Seest thou, O Questioner, what are the enactments and the bequests of that blessed and holy imperial soul? Nothing like those words of thine, 'He did even by writing also grant to Nicon,' &c. What writings meanest thou? Meanest thou those letters which, by his imperial command, are now sent all over the empire, to inquire what I have taken from any man, as is written above? But he has forgotten to think justly about himself, according to those words of the Lord, 'Cast out first the beam from thine own eye,' &c. How much I have taken from the holy churches and monasteries and holy places the holy angels, their guardians, see; as it is written: 'Their angels ever behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.' Again he says:

'And, farther, we appoint and decree that it shall have authority over[1] the four most eminent thrones of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and generally over all the churches of God in the world. And that the bishop of the said most holy Roman church for the time being shall be supreme,[2] and ruler over all the bishops and priests of the whole world. And all things needing to be provided for, for the worship of

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[1] ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν ἀρχικὴν, καὶ εἶναι ταύτην κεφαλὴν τῶν τεσσάρων θρόνων, ἤτοι τοῦ θρόνου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, κ.τ.λ.

[2] ἔνδοξος, καὶ ὑψηλότερος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ κόσμου.

God, and for the settlement and confirmation of the Christian faith, shall be ruled by his judgment. For it is fit that the holy law should have its head and its source of government there, where the holy lawgiver of the holy laws, our Saviour, appointed the blessed Peter to have his chair for obedience, according to the apostolic rules, and where the same blessed Peter suffered crucifixion, and drank the cup of martyrdom, and became a follower of the Lord; [and that there to the end of the world they should seek the teacher, where the body of the holy teacher rests[1]]. It is fit, too, that there the Gentiles should bend their necks to confess the name of Christ where their doctor the blessed apostle Paul, for Christ's sake stretching forth his neck, received the crown of martyrdom. It is fit, too, that there men should bend in humble adoration and do dutiful service to the heavenly King and to our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, where we used to serve the majesty and pride of the earthly tyrant:[2] and that there they should serve also the deputies of the heavenly King, the chiefs, that is, of the choir of the apostles, Peter and Paul.

'Wherefore we wish all the people of the nations throughout all the world to know that we, within our Lateran palace, after our baptism, have built to the same our Saviour and God and Lord Jesus Christ a church from its foundations. And from the same foundations I carried out myself on my own shoulders twelve baskets of earth, answering to the number of the twelve Apostles. And of this holy church we decree that it is to be the head and apex of all the churches throughout the world, and is to be named and held and proclaimed and honoured as such; as also by our other imperial decrees we have ordained. We have built also a church[3] to the most blessed Peter and Paul, the princes of the Apostles, which we have suitably and richly adorned with silver and gold; where also we have placed their most sacred bodies with great honour. Their shrines [or sarcophagi] we have made of bronze, which resists all the force of the elements. And we have set a cross, made of the purest gold and studded with rich pearls, on either side of both the shrines,[1] fastened on with gold nails.'

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[1] In the Latin of Mansi the clause here bracketed follows after the mention of St. Paul's martyrdom, and has in the plural 'where the relics of the saints rest.'

[2] Here the first Greek extract of Balsamon ends. The clause following is not in the Latin of Mansi, which continues 'Interea nosse volumus,' &c. tom. ii. col. 607.

[3] 'Ecclesi*as* . . . qu*as*' in the Latin. Mansi, tom. ii. col. 608.

See, thou malicious Questioner! What of these things has the Tsar done, to use thine own words, 'out of his *very great respect*' for us? What respect? Of such respect as these things testify, he has shown no sign whatever. But hear again: 'And to these churches, for their lights, &c., we have given, in all parts of the world, lands and fields, vineyards and lakes, with their revenues: and we have enriched them with divers possessions and gifts. And by our sacred imperial constitution in all the eastern, western, northern, and southern provinces, in Judea and in Asia, in Thrace and in Greece, and in Africa equally and in Spain, and in Italy, and in the different islands, we have, of our liberality, granted to them enfranchisement.[2] [And in all the world wherever orthodox kings and princes and rulers bear rule under us, we confirm to them our deed of enfranchisement and our will, and grant that the bishops are to have lordship, and that no secular officer is to presume to meddle with any of the ecclesiastical revenues. We call God to witness, and by our command confirm this to be irreversible, and to be observed for ever, even to the end of the world.]'

See, O Questioner! Where is there any grant by the Tsar of privileges like to this, to justify thy words, 'As Constantine the Great, out of his extreme respect for Silvester Pope of Rome, had done to that Pope, so also to Nicon our Hossoudar the Tsar gave by writing many privileges'? What? Consider; and see thyself how all—that is, all that the emperor Constantine did—is the very contrary. Seest thou how the emperor Constantine the Great granted, and confirmed what he so granted, even to the end of the world? But the Tsar, even if he has ever given anything, has he not taken even that again to be his own, and all property that had been acquired before? And his own father, and his 'privileges,' has he not everywhere regarded as absolutely nothing? But let us return to the constitutions of the emperor Constantine:

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[1] In the Latin 'crucem per singulas eorum thecas posuimus.'

[2] What follows in brackets is not in the Latin, which stands thus: 'libertatem concessimus, eà prorsus ratione ut per manus beatissimi patris nostri Silvestri successorumque ejus omnia disponantur.'

'And let it be understood that by the hands of our most blessed father the bishop Silvester, and his successors after him, all these properties and privileges are to be held and ordered. Let all the people, therefore, now rejoice with us, and all the tongues and races that are in all the world. Let them all with us render infinite thanks to God: for he is God in heaven above and in the earth below: who has visited us by his holy Apostles, and has vouchsafed to us to receive the holy sacrament of baptism and bodily health.'

'In gratitude, therefore,[1] we grant to the same holy Apostles our blessed lords Peter and Paul, and after them to the blessed Silvester our father [and father of all fathers under heaven, supreme pontiff[2]] and catholic pope of the city of Rome, and to all the bishops his successors who shall sit after him in the chair of the blessed Peter from this day even to the end of the world, first, our imperial palace the Lateran, which surpasses and excels all other palaces that are in all the world; also the diadem, or the crown of our head; and at the same time the phrygium,[3] which is called the mitre; and the epomion (superhumerale), or lorum, which encircles the neck of the emperor (that is, the omophorion); also the purple chlamys and the scarlet tunic, and all the imperial robes; also[4] the distinction of being seated like the emperor, and the same horse-furniture as is used for the horses of the emperor; and the imperial sceptre, and all the other insignia; also the chariots, and different articles of imperial furniture, and all the accompaniments used in public processions of the imperial supremacy of glory and power.

'So also for the most pious men who are clerks of different orders serving the same holy Roman church, we ordain that they shall have the same peculiar eminence, and the same prerogative of power, with the glory of which our great synclete is adorned; that is, that they should be as patricians and consuls, and as the other imperial dignitaries: and as the commanders and officers of the imperial army are honourably distinguished, so also we ordain that the clergy of the holy Roman church shall be honourably distinguished: and as the imperial power is honoured by many offices of cubicularii, ostiarii, excubitæ, and the like, so also we will have the holy Roman church to be honoured. And in order that the episcopal light may shine preeminently abroad, we order farther that the clerks of the holy Roman church shall ride on horses with white housings, and wear white shoes, or sandals, and leggings, such as are worn by the members of our synclete; and that so heavenly dignities may be adorned in the same way with earthly, to the glory of God. But above all we give liberty, and grant to our most holy father Silvester himself, bishop and pope of our[1] city of Rome, and to all the most blessed bishops his successors, for the honour and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, to receive whom he will into the clergy of the same great and apostolical church; so that if any one of the synclete, of his own will and pleasure, wish to become a clerk, and to be numbered among the holy clergy, no man whatever shall dare to attempt to prevent him. Farther, we have decreed this also: that the same our venerable[2] father Silvester, the supreme pontiff, and all the pontiffs his successors, shall wear the diadem or crown which we have given him from our own head, made of the purest gold and studded with precious stones and rich pearls. He shall wear it on his head to the glory of God and to the honour of blessed Peter. But since he himself, the blessed Pope, would not over the crown of the clerical tonsure which he had to the honour of blessed Peter wear a crown of gold and pearls, we placed instead on his holy head with our own hands the most resplendent white [phrygium or mitre][3], which signifies the bright resurrection of the Lord: and holding the rein of his horse, out of reverence for blessed Peter, we did for him the office of a groom. And we ordain that all his successors shall use in their processions the same phrygium, in imitation of our empire.' Therefore as regards that sign of the tonsure which is on the crown of the head of the chief pontiff, let no one imagine that this tonsure is anything vile or dishonourable; but rather it is meet to distinguish this head with dignity and glory and honour and power even above earthly royalty or empire.[1] 'Moreover, behold, we not only give our palace, as aforesaid, to the above-named our most blessed father Silvester, the catholic Pope, but we also make over and cede to him all the city of Rome itself, and all Italy and the western regions, with their provinces, places, and cities. And to the pontiffs his successors we decree that there be continued, in virtue of this our divine command and pragmatical constitution, a solid imperial power and force of government: and we have granted the same to the vicar[2] of the holy Roman church for ever. On this account we have judged it suitable to transfer our empire and the power of the government to the regions of the east, and that in the district of Byzantium, on a most admirable site, a city named from ourselves should be founded, and that our empire should there be fixed. Because it is not right that in the place where the pontifical power and the head of the Christian religion has been instituted by the King of heaven the earthly king or emperor should bear rule.[3]

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[1] Here Balsamon's second extract from the Greek version begins in Mansi, and continues to the words *ἵνα ἐκεῖ ὁ γήϊνος βασιλεὺς ἔχῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν.*

[2] Instead of the words in brackets the Greek of Balsamon has only *τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐπισκόπῳ.*

[3] The Latin has 'simulque phrygium, id est mitram, necnon et superhumeralem, videlicet lorum quod imperiale circumdare assolet collum :' with a marginal note, 'Nota phrygium ex pennis pavonum factum.' The Greek is *ἅμα καὶ τὸν λῶρον, καὶ τὸ ὠμοφόριον, ὅπερ κυκλοῖ τὸν βασιλικὸν τράχηλον.*

[4] 'Sed et dignitatem imperialium præsidentium equitum . . . et sceptra . . . et cuncta signa, atque banta etiam, et diversa signa imperialia,' &c. ; *καὶ τὰ ἀξιώματα τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀλόγων, σκῆπτρα, καὶ πάντα τὰ σίγνα, καὶ τὰ βάντα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήματα τῆς βασιλικῆς μεγαλειότητος.*

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[1] The word 'our' is not in the Latin or the Greek text of Mansi.

[2] θεοσεβὴς in the Greek of Mansi, '*venerabilis*' in the Latin, with which here and elsewhere the Slavonic agrees rather than with the Greek. So ὁ μέγας ἐπίσκοπος in the Greek, but *summus pontifex* in the Latin, and in the Slavonic krainomou sviatiteliou, 'supreme pontiff.'

[3] 'Phrygium candidi nitoris' in the Latin, ὑπέρλαμπρον λῶρον in the Greek of Mansi.

'And of all these privileges which we by this our sacred writing and by other sacred decrees have ordained and confirmed, we decree that they are to remain uninfringed and unquestioned even to the end of the world. And as to all the ecclesiastical revenues given to the bishops throughout the world, we command that they remain undisturbed in our own time and after us, and for all times and generations to come, enjoining the same on all orthodox kings and emperors and princes, and on all people, who may be living in all the universe even to the end of the world.[1] Wherefore, as in the presence of the living God, who has called us to reign, and before his terrible judgment-seat, we testify, by the sacred and divine commandments and by this our imperial constitution, to all emperors our successors, and to all great officers and commanders, civil and military, to all the Roman nobles, and to all the most ample synclete, and to all the people throughout all the world, whether now living or to live hereafter, and belonging to our empire, that it is not lawful for any of them in any way whatever to disobey or alter or infringe aught of all that we have granted by this our imperial enactment to the most sacred and holy Roman church, and to all the bishops under it throughout all the world.[2] But if any one of violence, or of unbelief, or of pride, infringe any of these provisions, may he incur eternal condemnation, and find the saints of God, the princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, to be his adversaries both in this world and in the world to come; and may he be tormented in the lowest hell, and vanish away together with the devil and with all the ungodly.

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[1] This reflection, which is not in the Latin, nor in the Greek of Balsamon, may be interposed by Nicon, who omits at the same time (after the 'Moreover' which follows) these words, 'that the dignity of the episcopate may not be despised, but may be honoured more than our earthly empire, and adorned with the glory of power, behold,' &c.

[2] *τοῖς ἀνδράσι* in the Greek of Balsamon ap. Mansi: but in the Latin 'concedimus atque relinquimus, et successorum ipsius pontificum potestati et ditioni, firmâ imperiali censurâ, per hanc divalem nostram et pragmaticum constitutum decernimus disponendum, atque in jure sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ concedimus permansurum.'

[3] Here the second fragment of the Greek text given by Balsamon ends.

'This text[3] of our imperial sovereignty we, having subscribed it with our own hand, have spread out and laid on the venerable relics of the holy prince of the apostles Peter; and we have promised to the same Apostle of God to keep all these provisions uninfringed, and to leave it in charge to future emperors our successors to do the like. And to our blessed father Silvester the catholic Pope, and through him to all the pontiffs his successors, our Lord Jesus Christ favourably witnessing it, we deliver the same to be for ever happily possessed.

'In like manner[4] also to the other four patriarchal thrones, in each region, for the sake of the honourable apostles and disciples of Christ; that is, to the patriarch of Byzantium, which we have renamed after ourselves, for the sake of the apostle St. Andrew, because he laboured there for the conversion of the people and the founding of churches; and in like manner to the pope of Alexandria as the successor of Mark; and to the patriarch of Antioch as the successor in the chair of Luke; and to the patriarch of Jerusalem as successor of James the brother of the Lord; to each in his own borders we give due honour, and decree the same to be given by our successors after us for ever. Likewise also to all the churches of Christ, to their metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and to their successors in their chairs after them, we both ourselves give honour, and decree that our successors after us and all great governors shall give honour likewise, as to the servants of God and successors of Christ's apostles. Thus do ye all, and observe, that ye fall not under the weight of the curse above mentioned, nor be deprived of the glory of God. But hold fast the tradition which ye have received. Fear God, and honour his holy Church and her rulers, that ye may obtain the mercy of God both in this world and in the world to come, and may be sons of light.'

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[1] This passage is not found in the Latin of Mansi, col. 611.

[2] 'Quæ sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ vel ejus omnibus pontificibus concessa sunt.' Mansi, ii. col. 611.

[3] Here begins a third fragment of the Greek text added from Balsamon by Mansi, and ending with Χριστοῦ προσνεύοντος, παραδιδόαμεν ὅλα τὰ προγεγραμμένα καλῶς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διαφυλάττεσθαι. In the Latin 'tradimus perenniter atque feliciter possidenda.'

[4] What follows here is not in Mansi.

The imperial subscription, thus: 'May the Deity preserve you for many years, most holy fathers!' 'This is given at Myra[1] on the third day before the kalends of April, in the year when our lord Flavius Constantinus Augustus [for the fourth time] and the most illustrious Gallicanus (*vir clarissimus*) were the most glorious Consuls.'

Seest thou now, O thou Questioner, the faith and act and ratification of the great Constantine? how he confirmed it for his own time, and after his own time, and for ever, even to the end of time; and adjured his successors, under penalty of a most awful curse to him who should not observe his ordinance, saying, 'And if any one' (these are his words) 'of violence, or of unbelief, or of pride, shall infringe any of these provisions, may he incur eternal condemnation, and find the saints of God, the princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, to be his adversaries both in this world and in the world to come; and may he be tormented in the lowest hell, and vanish away together with the devil and with all the ungodly'?

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[1] The Latin instead of 'Myra' &c. has 'Datum Romæ sub tertio die kalendarum Aprilium, domino nostro Flavio Constantino Augusto quater et Gallicano viris clarissimis consulibus.' Concil. Mansi, tom. ii. col. 611. There is a note that 'Licinius not Gallicanus was the colleague of Constantine in his fourth consulship; and that this consulship was in A.D. 316, while Constantine certainly was not baptised till A.D. 324.' Nor was he in truth baptised even then; nor in the baptistery of St. John Lateran at Rome; but in Asia, many years afterwards, only a short time before his death.

In the same way the laws of the great emperor Justinian, given to the Church in confirmation [of her rights], follow in all things the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. See canon lxxxvii.[1] [lxxxiii.], which for want of time we cannot conveniently write out. Thou mayest read them for thyself in the collection of the sacred canons. And in the same way did the other orthodox Greek emperors also.

So also the apostle-like Grand Prince Vladimir of Russia, after he had been baptised, both built the cathedral church of the Tithes, in honour of our Lady, and granted to it the tenth part from all his principality, from every judgment the tenth of the fees or fines, and from the market the tenth part of the dues, in all the cities, and every year the tenth from the increase of all flocks and herds and from all live stock, to be given yearly to the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to his all-pure Mother the M. H. Mother of God, and to his father the metropolitan. And in like manner for the bishops throughout all the land of Russia, in all the principalities, he built and endowed for each of them a cathedral church, according to the Greek Nomocanon. And again, having examined the Greek Nomocanons, he found it written in them, that it is not proper that ecclesiastical causes should be judged by secular princes, nor by their boyars or judges; and he enacted accordingly.

'He sat with his father Leontius, metropolitan of all Russia, and with all his sons, and with all his princes, and with the boyars: and he gave all those powers of jurisdiction according to the Greek laws to the holy Church of God, to the cathedral of the M. H. Virgin, and to his fathers the metropolitans of all Russia, and to all the bishops throughout all the Russian land, from generation to generation, and for ever, saying: I promise and vow by God, and by the most pure Mother of God, to observe all this as immutable, and in no way to meddle with the causes that belong to the episcopal jurisdiction, nor with the powers of the bishops or their people: nor shall my children, nor grandchildren, nor great-grandchildren, nor any of my race, from generation to generation, for ever. Nor shall our boyars or our tiunes, or any of our judges, nor those who shall be after us, from generation to generation, for ever, in any wise judge those causes which belong to the bishops and to the Church. And our secular tribunals shall not, without the concurrence of the metropolitan's judges, judge in causes relating to the tithe of revenues. We swear by God, and by the most holy Mother of God, to observe this unchangeably, even to the end of the world. And if any one infringe this constitution, we pray that their sin may never be forgiven of the Lord God, but may they inherit wrath and woe to themselves, unless they repent. And to my own judges and tiunes I enjoin, yea and testify before Christ our God and all his saints, and before all the people, that they meddle not with the ecclesiastical revenues, and dues, and fines, and causes, to wrong them, or to encroach upon them. And from the fines and payments accruing from civil judgments they shall render nine parts to the prince, but the tenth part, that of the holy Church, to our father the metropolitan; and in the same way to all the bishops throughout all the land of Russia, wherever the holy episcopal chairs may be. And all the people who belong to the church are given up to the patriarch or metropolitan or bishop [*i.e.* to be judged by him], in whatever diocese or province it may be.

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[1] In the K., part ii. fol. 3.

'Bishops, archimandrites, and priors (hegoumens) and prioresses, popes, deacons, the wives of popes and deacons, and their children, and all inferior clerks, monks, nuns, sacristans, the women that make the oblations, ecclesiastical wardens or watchers, and poursuivants, women left by their husbands, midwives, widows, persons left as wards, prikladnitsi, strangers and paupers, monasteries, with their baths and their hospitals and their physicians, hermitages and hospices (*xenodochia*), and whoever has cast off the holy monastic habit: all these, according to the ancient rule of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and the pious orthodox emperors, are given to the holy churches, to the patriarch or metropolitan or bishop, according to the ecclesiastical diocese or jurisdiction in which they may be; and he is to have jurisdiction over them, and to administer justice, and determine, if there be any matter among them, as any quarrel, or disorder, or discord, or litigation, or wrong, or violence, or if anything improper is committed against the churches and the law of Christianity, or any covetous attempt to get possession of the property of a person deceased (A soul is higher and greater than anything else), or unjust measures and weights and bushels, or balances. If they have any cause or matter of trial with another man [not belonging to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction], then there shall be a mixed court for hearing and for revision of such causes, with an equal number of judges on both sides [*i.e.* from either jurisdiction]. This also fear: If any one shall transgress the rules which I have laid down in accordance with the legislation of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and the first orthodox and religious emperors, if any one shall revile and transgress these rules, either of my children, or my grandchildren, or my great-grandchildren, or if any princes and boyars hereafter, or the lieutenants in any cities, or judges or tiunes, shall revile and invade the said ecclesiastical jurisdiction and tribunals, and revenues and dues of the Church and the bishops, or take any of them away, let them be accursed in this world and in the world to come, both by the holy Apostles and by the Seven Councils of the holy Ecumenical Fathers. For the Lord says in his gospel to such, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels.

'Of measures and of weights, and of bushels and of balances: This from of old has been committed by the Lord God to the bishops in their sees, to verify in the cities and markets all the measures, and bushels, and weights, and balances. So it has been appointed of the Lord God from the beginning; and so it is to remain without ever being changed, even to the end of the world. And it is the bishop's duty conscientiously to watch over all that: for for all that he will have to give account in the day of the great judgment of Christ, in like manner as for the souls of men.

'But this of tithes: From every prince's court the tenth squirrel-skin (*vieksha*), and from the market the tenth part of the dues, and from the tolls, and from payments of wær-money, and from every revenue and profit; and from [the increase of] the prince's stud, and from all the flocks and herds, and from all live stock, the tenth part is for the catholicon [*i. e.* the cathedral], and is to go to the bishop. The Tsar or prince comes in for nine parts, and the cathedral for the tenth part. For the Apostle says: "But other foundation can no man lay except that which is laid from the beginning of the world;" which has been laid by the Lord God and his Holy One. And let all build on this foundation. If any one wastes the Church of God, him shall Christ our God destroy; for the Church of God is holy; and established by the Lord God for ever and ever. If any one dishonours and violates this ordinance of the apostles and fathers, he will draw down upon himself the wrath of God, and a wrath without forgiveness, and a curse in this world and in the world to come; as it is written in the holy gospel, that such are sent away with a curse by the Lord God into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels. If any one contemn or wrong the sacred revenues and dues, and the tribunals and jurisdiction of the Church and the bishops, he shall restore fourfold, and shall have to give a fearful account at the terrible judgment-seat of Christ, where nothing will profit any one except true orthodox faith and good works. If any one infringe this my testament and my Ordinance, whether it be any of my sons or of my grandsons, or of the boyars, or any one of the governors or of the tiunes, or any one of the rest, whosoever it be that breaks my order, or invades the jurisdiction of the sacred courts of the bishops, or their revenues and dues, which I have given to my father the metropolitan, and to the bishops in all the principalities, in accordance with the teaching of the holy apostles and holy fathers, and with the first legislation of the orthodox and pious emperors, he shall receive punishment from Christ our God, and from him who more worthily wields the Russian sceptre. But if any one transgress all these rules, and shall invade, and take away, and judge, in disobedience to the salutary commandments of God, and of the apostles and fathers, and of the first orthodox and pious Christian emperors, and to this ordinance given by us, the sacred tribunals and jurisdiction and revenues and dues of the Church, he shall stand with me before Christ our God in that terrible judgment in which there is no acceptance of persons: and may there be no mercy from God for him, neither in this world nor in the next, but let him be accursed!'[1]

And such Ordinances, together with a prayer, he with diligence took from the holy scriptures, and wrote them in a double testament sufficiently full, and confirmed them with fearful imprecations. And such a writing he gave to the holy Great Church [*i. e.* the cathedral] of the Mother of God, for the establishment of piety: Which manifold gifts given to God are even to this day attested by the blessed fruit of this holy Vladimir; that is, by his descendants, and the heirs of his divinely-guarded empire, who emulated according to God his zeal for true piety, as they had received the ancestral statutes and ordinances of the orthodox faith. And all these things not only did they maintain in their government without variation, but what is more, they added to them, and multiplied [the like grants], building many churches, and providing endowments for bishops, and founding honourable monasteries, and giving unsparingly for a perpetual inheritance towns, and pogosts, and villages, and arable lands, and forests, lakes and streams, and great lordships, with all their revenues; and in addition to these things the tenths from all the empire and from every principality.

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[1] See Blackmore's translation of Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russian Church*, p. 357, where one form of the Ordinance of Vladimir is given according to the text of a MS. of the thirteenth century, from a MS. work of the late Baron Rosenkampf. Nearly the same is inserted farther on by Nicon.

In like manner also did their Christ-loving Tsaritsas and orthodox Princesses zealously give their own beautiful furniture, and all manner of vessels of the finest workmanship in gold and silver, and splendid vestments, and gold and precious stones, and great pearls, and holy icons, and gospels. And adorning the holy altars with royal vessels, they enriched them beyond those from whom they received these traditions; so giving heed to the writings of the Apostolic Canons:

For the wealth of the Church is the wealth of the poor, for the due support of all the sacred order, and all the inferior clerks of the Church, and for the rearing of orphans, and the relief and nourishment of aged and helpless persons, and of poor who have fallen into weakness and sickness, and for the feeding of many poor children and strangers, and providing for poor orphans, for helping widows, for portioning maidens, for defending them that are wronged or oppressed, for redeeming captives, for relieving the hungry in time of famine, for providing for such as die destitute coverings, and coffins, and burial, for assisting ill-provided churches and monasteries, for providing refuge and comfort for the living, and commemorations for the dead.

And for the sake of these ecclesiastical offices and services people gave their goods and possessions. Of giving for such purposes St. Vladimir set a precedent to be emulated by others, and obtained everlasting beatitude.

Now what, I ask, O Questioner, has our Hossoudar the Tsar done that is like to these things? Nothing. But he has done all that is contrary to Christ's holy gospel, and to the traditions and ordinances of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and the religious emperors and grand princes, as has been written with great abundance of detail above. Has he honoured the pontificate, as the Lord commanded, 'He that heareth you heareth me'? So far has the Tsar been from honouring it, that he has dishonoured it more than is possible to describe: he has dishonoured it with more dishonour than even heathen emperors. For the Tsar says, so that his public words are echoed in all the world, that he, forsooth, elected us to the episcopate. The Holy Trinity alone knows, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that I neither sought nor desired it: and when the Lord shall come to judge, then this will be known. But as for me, if I had had knowledge of any such unfavourable design of the Tsar for me, I should not have welcomed it in thought. And the Lord knows, and all the multitude of the people know, after what manner the Tsar himself besought me [to accept it]. But now from all the multitude of the people this general voice is heard: 'Who was he, if only I had not elected him?' They spoke so also against my lord Christ: 'Who is this?' some said; 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' And others said, 'From whence has this man these things? and what wisdom is this which is given unto him? and whence are such mighty works wrought by his hands? Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses, and of Juda and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us? And they were offended at him. But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honour but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house' (Mark vi. 2-4). That is; he is without honour from his own country, because he who knows the prophet's country and extraction is offended, and believes not that he is really a prophet, as it is said, 'Neither did his brethren believe on him.' And again, 'Do something here also in thine own country.'

And it is nothing either to marvel at in the Hossoudar the Tsar that he now says, 'I elected him,' to the dishonour of the Holy Ghost, even though at the first he appeared to be good and worthy, by the unction and imposition of the bishop's hand, of the access of the Holy Ghost; even as Saul also, after he had been anointed to be king over Israel by Samuel, had the gift of the Holy Ghost, and prophesied.

'And it came to pass,' it is written, 'that when Saul had turned his back' (after his conference) 'to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart, and all those signs came to pass that day. And he went forth from thence to the hill; and behold, a company of prophets met him, and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied in the midst of them. And all the people said every man to his fellow, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 Kings x. 9-11.) But when afterwards, having become proud, and without waiting for Samuel, as he had directed him, he touched that which it was not his to touch, and offered a burnt-offering, then his kingdom was destroyed (1 Kings xvi.), and taken from him; and instead of king, he was called a 'leader;' 'and the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord was given to him.' And when a second time he offered sacrifices from the spoils of Amalek, after his return, and slew the high-priest and the other fourscore priests, then he was also himself condemned of God to be slain, with all his family, as was in the event fulfilled. In like manner also Solomon was in the beginning devout, but made the end of his life unlike his youth.

So then there is nothing strange in the case of the Hossoudar the Tsar; since we have many examples of kings who at the first, after being anointed with oil, were religious, and afterwards became bad, apostates, and tyrants and persecutors; of whom the book of the Chronicles [of Russia] contains records. Like these, the Hossoudar the Tsar, though at the first he was gracious, gentle, and dutiful—we know it, and praise him for it—nevertheless now has shown himself an adversary in all things to the sacred gospel; he has done dishonour to the Holy Ghost; he has rejected the canons of the holy apostles and holy fathers, and all the laws and constitutions given by the religious emperors and grand princes to the Church; and all the ordinances and reënactments and confirmations [in favour of the rights and privileges of the Church] made by his own father the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich in concert with his father the Great Hossoudar and M. H. Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Philaret, he has regarded and treated as absolutely nothing. And whatever he himself, when he was at first good and gentle and gracious, directed and ordained [in the same spirit], he has since utterly disregarded and set aside, having forgotten the fear of God and his holy commandments.

The Lord says, 'If ye abide in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free' (John viii. 31, 32). So every one who abideth not in the word of God is not a disciple of Christ, nor understands the truth, nor is made free by the truth. And again, the Lord says, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever. If the Son therefore shall make you free, then ye shall be free indeed' (ib. 34, 35). It is plain then that they whom he does not make free will not be free. Again the Lord says, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him' (John iii. 36). Again the Lord says, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life' (ib. v. 24). It is manifest then that he that heareth not the Lord's words, and who believeth not in him that sent him, has not everlasting life, nor can pass from death unto life. The Lord says, 'And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one who seeth the Son and believeth in him may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day' (ib. vi. 40). Whosoever then believeth not on the Son, the Lord will not raise him up at the last day; as it is written, 'The ungodly shall not rise up in the judgment, nor the sinners in the congregation of the righteous' (Psalm i. 5). The Lord says, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, If any one keep my word, he shall never see death for ever' (John viii. 51). It is plain then, that if any man keep not the words of God, he shall not be delivered from everlasting death. Seest thou how good it is to hear the words of God, and to keep his commandments; since to such the Lord has promised everlasting life, and resurrection in the last day, and they are not to see death for ever? and how great an evil it is to disobey God's commandments; because the wrath of God abideth upon them, and they are not to pass from death to life, nor to be raised up with the just in the last day, nor to inherit everlasting life?

All these blessings the Tsar has despised, and their contrary penalties he has not feared. If any one will object and assert that the Tsar observes all these precepts, I will say to him, The Lord says, 'If any man love me, he will keep my word' (John xiv. 23). And again, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me' (ib. 21). 'If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love' (John xv. 10). What commandment? 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another' (ib. 12). And again, 'Hereby they shall know you that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another' (John xiii. 35). And, behold, it is known to all on all sides that the Tsar does not love the Lord, because he does not keep his commandments; nor is a disciple of Christ, because he loves not us. The Lord testifies, 'He that loveth not me keepeth not my words.' And again, 'He that hateth me hateth my Father also:' and, 'He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. Every one that hateth his brother is a murderer; and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him' (1 John iii. 14). 'If any one say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also' (ib. iv. 20, 21). 'He that doeth good is from God, but he that doeth evil hath not known God' (3 John 11).

But what is the good that the Tsar does? Is it this, to take feloniously to himself the order of priesthood? For the order of priesthood is one thing, and that of empire is another; as we have written above at length. However, here also we will add somewhat, to show that priesthood is a greater thing than empire. Priesthood is from God; and it is from the priesthood that kings receive the unction of royalty. If thou wishest to understand, listen:

'The Lord came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount. And the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up' (Exod. xix. 20, 21). 'And God spake to him, saying, Let the priests also, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break forth upon them.' And a little farther on, 'Come up thou, and Aaron with thee' (ib. 24). And there Moses received ordinances and judgments. And he went again down to the people. And again the Lord said to

Moses, 'Come up thou alone into the mountain, and stand there. And Moses went up, and was there upon the mountain forty days and forty nights. . . . And when Moses came down from mount Sinai, and the two tables were in Moses' hand, Moses knew not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him. And Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, and behold the skin of his face shone' (Exod. xxxiv. 29, 30). And this is the sanctification of Moses' priesthood. So then Moses, by the command of the Lord, consecrated Aaron and his sons. 'And take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons. And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty' (Exod. xxviii. 1, 2). 'And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of testimony, and shalt wash them with water. And thou shalt take the holy garments, and shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, the ποδήρης (vestis talaris, *i.e.* robe or tunic going down to the feet), and the robe of the ephod; and the ephod (or oracle) thou shalt put upon it (upon the robe of the ephod); and thou shalt put upon his head the mitre, and shalt put the holy crown upon the mitre. And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him. And thou shalt bring his sons and put tunics upon them; and thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his sons, and put the bonnets on them; and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute' (ib. xxix. 4-9). 'And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him' (ib. 21). This is the beginning of the priesthood of the Old Testament; not from men nor by man, but by God himself: and afterwards the priesthood was perpetuated through all the times of Israel.

But when the time was come for the old law to be fulfilled, as the Lord testifies, saying, 'I am come not to destroy the law but to fulfil,' and as the Apostle writes, 'When the end of years was come, God sent forth his Son, his only-begotten, born of a woman,' &c.: of whom it was written, 'Behold my servant, my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased: I will put my spirit upon him, and he shall make known judgment to the Gentiles.' 'That word ye know which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, for God was with him' (Acts x. 37, 38). This is the unction of the priesthood of Christ. And again, 'He came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered to him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, &c. And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened upon him. And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth' (Luke iv. 16-22). This, of which the Lord spoke when he said, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me,' is plainly the fulfilling of the priesthood. So also was his sitting and conversing with the chief priests. If Christ had not been a priest, he would not have had a place as one of the chief priests to sit before others, and to speak of doctrine, though he was not of the tribe of Levi. But neither then was satanical envy silent respecting the mean extraction of Christ. For they said, 'Is not this Joseph's son, whose father and mother we know?' Even as now they say of our humble self, 'Who, forsooth, is he? we know what he was, and we promoted him.'

It is written in the history of a certain Jew, that the Jews' custom was to have in the temple the number of twenty-two priests; and so a roll with their names entered in it was kept in the temple; and whenever one of them died they chose another in his room; and after he had been consecrated, they wrote his name in the book, and the names of his father and mother. And when Christ came, as his custom was, on the sabbath-day, as has been written above, it was so that at that same time one of the twenty-two priests had just died; and some spake of choosing this man, and others spake of choosing that man, in his stead.

And one of the chief priests said that no other was to be chosen than Jesus the son of Joseph, though he were not of the tribe of Levi, but of Judah: and so they ordained him, and gave him the book of Esaias the prophet, as has been written above, and made him sit in the place of the chief priests, of which the Apostle writes: 'If therefore perfection were by the Levitical priesthood (for under it the people received the law), what farther need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law. For he of whom these things are spoken pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar. For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood. And it is yet far more evident; for that after the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest, who is made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life. For he testifieth, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec' (Heb. vii. 11-17). And a little farther on: 'For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore' (ib. 28). And if our Lord Christ had not been a high-priest, he would not have taken a whip and driven out of the temple them that bought and sold in it, saying, 'My house is a house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.' And if any one, conceiving a zeal for Christ, drives out such, as it were with the lawful whip of the commandment, even now, it is no sin. And thus much of the priesthood of Christ.

So also Christ ordained his holy disciples and apostles, saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins ye do remit they are remitted unto them, and whose sins ye do retain they are retained.' Here the Lord plainly ordained the holy apostles. The reception of the Holy Ghost imports nothing else than the communication of divine grace and power. Wherefore he said also, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you' (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20): 'He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned' (Mark xvi. 16). This is the effect of the sacerdotal power. Then he adds: 'And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues,' &c. (ib. 17, 18). And again: 'Ye shall receive,' he said, 'power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you' (Acts i. 8). And again: 'And suddenly,' it is written, 'there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them: and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost' (Acts ii. 2-4). And after that the Holy Ghost had come upon the apostles, the chief apostles divided the countries among them, and cast lots, as it is written:[1] 'And they went each to his own region.' 'And they went forth and taught and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them' (Mark xvi. 20). And after due selection, each of them in his own lot ordained other seventy apostles; as the writing of Nicephorus Callistus testifies (lib. ii. cap. 35) that the apostle Peter ordained the evangelist St. Mark in Alexandria; and the apostle St. Andrew appointed the apostle Stachys, whom St. Paul mentions in his Epistle to the Romans, to be the first bishop of Byzantium, while the prince-apostle [*i.e.* the first-called, St. Andrew] himself laboured in preaching the gospel, as it is written in books that he at one time went as far as Kieff, and in passing planted there the divine cross of Christ, and afterwards blessed also Great Novgorod. And so by the holy apostles, in all the different places and cities, there were ordained the bishops. And after the death of the holy apostles, the preaching of the gospel and the faith of Christ were extended on all sides into all the world, as it is written: 'Their sound went out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world.' And so by the grace of the Holy Ghost were established the primacies or primatial chairs of the five heads of the hierarchy, namely, those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as members of a body, to have concord, and to maintain one faith under one captain of our salvation and head, Jesus Christ. And originally the highest was the Pope of Rome. And when the Pope died, then, by the counsel and election of the four ecumenical patriarchs,[1] another instead of the one deceased was appointed to the Apostolic Chair. In like manner, when any one of the four patriarchs died, thereupon, by counsel of the Pope of Rome and by election of the three patriarchs, a fourth patriarch was appointed. But when the Pope of Rome fell into heresy, from that time the Pope is excluded from the fellowship of the four ecumenical patriarchs, and from the usual commemoration. And after him the primate is the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople.

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[1] At John vii. 53 there are the words: 'And every man went to his own house:' but the quotation is from the legend of the dispersion of the apostles.

After it had pleased God, according to the prediction and the blessing of the prince of the apostles Andrew, to cause to shine upon Russia the first light of the preaching of the gospel in the year from the incarnation of God the Word 886, in the time of the most blessed Photius patriarch of Constantinople and of the Greek Emperor Basil the Macedonian, the Patr. of C. P. [Nicholas Chrysoberges, in A.D. 988], at the request[2] of the Grand Prince Vladimir of Kieff and all Russia, sent as metropolitan Michael, a holy man, to the city of Kieff; and he illuminated the Russians with holy baptism, and taught them the faith of Christ. And after the death of the metropolitan Michael there were appointed others in succession to the metropolitan chair of Russia at Constantinople by the ecumenical patriarch of that city.

And then later, when for its sins—for its pride—the Greek empire had fallen, according to that which is written, 'Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased,' and by the divine permission the Turks obtained dominion, and it became impossible, owing to the dangers of the journey, to go freely to the ecumenical patriarch to Constantinople for investiture to the metropolitan chair of Russia, on the request of the holder of the metropolitan chair of Russia and of all the bishops, the four ecumenical patriarchs, having consented together, gave by a letter their blessing and authority, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers, that the metropolitan of Russia should be elected and ordained by his own bishops, even as the said ecumenical patriarchs themselves also had received the order and rule in their own spheres (*eparchies*), that they should be elected and ordained by their own bishops. And so accordingly they confirmed that it should be by their letters. And so it was till the year of the world 7097.

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[1] That is, with a notification and mutual recognition after the election, but not with any intervention in the election itself.

[2] In Codinus' Catalogue of Sees subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople there is named the metropolitan see of Russia, which therefore existed as early as A.D. 891. The Grand Princess Olga was baptised in A.D. 965, at Constantinople, in the time of the Patr. Polyeuctes and the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus. Her grandson Vladimir was baptised in A.D. 988. All this account is abridged by Nicon from the Kormchay of A.D. 1653, to which there is prefixed an 'Account why the Ecum. Patr. of C. P. and the rest omitted the Pope of Rome from the diptychs, and ceased to seek to be confirmed by him.'

And by the disposition of divine providence, in the year[1] 7097 there came to the capital city of Moscow Jeremiah, archbishop of C. P. and ecumenical patriarch, accompanied by Hierotheus metropolitan of Monembasia, and Arsenius archbishop of Elasson, in the reign of the religious Tsar and Grand Prince Theodore Ivanovich, autocrat of Moscow and all Russia; and they were received by the religious Tsar and by the primate with gladness and with due honour. And the ecumenical patriarch, having observed and considered that the Christian empire was not anywhere else at that time more widely extended or more powerful than in Muscovy, proposed to the Tsar and to the metropolitan that there should be erected in the capital city of Moscow a patriarchal chair in the holy Great Church [*i.e.* the cathedral of the primate], for the greater glory of Christianity. And the proposal was heartily welcomed by the Tsar, and by the metropolitan, and by all the sacred synod of the clergy. And after a short while this was carried into execution: and by the election of the ecumenical patriarch of C. P., Jeremiah, and the Greek bishops who were with him, and of all the Russian bishops of the jurisdiction [of Moscow], and by the counsel of the religious Tsar, the metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia Job was nominated and consecrated by the grace of the all-holy Spirit to be the M. H. Patriarch of the capital city of Moscow and all Russia in the year 7097, Indiction ii., as the Act has it.[2] Of this there is the record and attestation at full length in the book of the canons of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers intitled the Kormchay [*i.e.* Πηδάλιον], printed at Moscow [in the year 1653].

And after the departure of the M. H. Patriarch Jeremiah, when he had reached his own chair at Constantinople, he convoked a council, at the request of the religious Tsar and Grand Prince Theodore Ivanovich of Moscow and all Russia, with all the ecumenical patriarchs, and the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops: and they sent a letter of institution—that is, a patriarchal chrysobulla—by which he ordained and declared that the same archbishop of Moscow, Kyr Job, was to be thenceforth a fifth patriarch, and was to have the patriarchal dignity and honour, and was to be numbered and ranked with the other patriarchs for ever. And they ordained, that after his death he that should be appointed from time to time primate at the cathedral of Moscow was to be styled Patriarch, according to the precedent and form which had been 'set and begun in the case of this first patriarch of Moscow Kyr Job, the brother beloved in the Holy Ghost of our humility. To this end this present synodal roll has been written for a continual confirmation, in the year 7098 (A.D. 1590), May 8.' This document was subscribed by three ecumenical patriarchs, viz. those of C. P., of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, and with them by other bishops, seventy-nine in number.

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[1] It was in June A.M. 7096 (A.D. 1588), that the Patr. Jeremiah of C. P. *came* to Moscow. The Patr. of Antioch, Joachim, had been at Moscow a little earlier, in A.M. 7095 (A.D. 1586-7).

[2] That is, in A.M. 7097 (A.D. 1589), 23 and 26 of Jan. O.S. See Hist. of Russ. Ch. p. 289, &c.

So also in the year 7127 (A.D. 1619), in the time of the religious Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich of Moscow and all Russia of blessed memory, the M. H. Theophanes, patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and all Palestine, together with the most reverend the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, in the Holy Ghost, elected the patriarch Philaret of blessed memory; and that not without an attestation [justifying what they did]. For they found in the treasury [and acted upon] that same letter above mentioned of the patriarch Jeremiah, with the rest of the ecumenical patriarchs. And so they ordained the M. H. Patriarch Philaret, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, not by [mere] choice of the Tsar, as those holy writings testify. If they had been elected by the election only of the Tsar, that would not have been unmentioned in the letters of the M. H. Jeremiah patriarch of Constantinople, written by him in conjunction with the other ecumenical patriarchs, nor in those of Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem; whereas not only is that the case, but he left his injunctions to the religious Tsar the Hossoudar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich, Autocrat of all Russia in these words: 'And by the grace given us of the Holy Ghost, we charge him that he preserve and exercise towards the said newly ordained patriarch the M. H. Philaret Nikitich, by the mercy of God Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, love, grace, good liberality, and above all, for the sake of his episcopate, in spiritual things obedience, and in bodily things attention and submission;[1] and always to regard him as his head, and as a loving shepherd and father, who cares and labours for his salvation, as is fitting, according to his preëminence in the hierarchy, and who so may render him more prosperous in many ways by interceding for him; that is, by praying for his sacred empire to God may make God gracious; since thy imperial nobility also is a man, and clothed with the same flesh as all the rest of us.' Then, continuing after the same manner, he enjoined all the grandees also to be obedient, even as Christ and the holy apostle Paul enjoin, saying: 'But you, O noble magnates, and honourable members of the synclete, who watch over the Tsar's health, and hold commands in his army, and superintend the Tsar's offices, and with you all the multitude of the devout and Christian people, we remind and charge to give your souls with all obedience to this sacred man, who now by the grace of God is your father and teacher, and the leader of your salvation, with all humility and dutifulness, and to admit no unseemly thought or intention towards such a person, but minister to him as to the Lord Christ himself, according to his divine words: He that heareth you, he says, heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me (Luke x. 16). And again: He that honoureth a priest honoureth the most high God; because the honour of the priest passes up to God. And if men ought to observe and show obedience even to common priests, how much more to him who exceeds all the rest in honour? and most of all to this most highly exalted patriarch, who has now been anointed with the sacred unction, and is father of fathers, and supreme pontiff; whose hierarchical rank is of power not only here, but even in heaven itself, according to the divine word of our Saviour, Whomsoever ye shall bind on earth they shall be bound in heaven, and whomsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven? And let no one say that it is to the Apostles alone that these words are addressed; for they are addressed also to all who were to be their successors, by that succession which is preserved without flaw to this day among the orthodox. To the same be thou, O Christ, gracious: that it be kept on still and preserved even to thy second and terrible coming; that is, even to the end of the world. But to the most highly exalted patriarch himself it appertains to ordain his suffragans, the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops of the Russian jurisdiction (eparchy), and the rest of the clerical order, as the Church has received by apostolical tradition and by the canons of the holy fathers. And for the greater confirmation of the patriarch Philaret Nikitich, whom we have just now appointed, and of the rest who shall be after him, his successors, I the humble Theophanes, by the mercy of God patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and of all Palestine, and the metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and honourable archimandrites, and hegoumens, have determined to make out this our writing on paper, and to subscribe it with our hands and confirm it by our seals, that it may be a precedent and warrant for future ordinations of patriarchs for ever, and may be followed without change. Amen.' ('Written in the capital city of Moscow, in the year of the world 7127, in the month of June.')

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[1] Such submission as is due from a son to his father, the Tsar Michael being the *son* of the Patriarch Philaret.

Seest thou, O thou unrighteous Questioner, how priesthood had its beginning not from men nor by man, but from God himself, both the old priesthood and the present, and by no means from kings, as thou wouldst make out? But rather from the priesthood the kingly estate had its origin, and has still; as the Order for Making [or instituting] a Tsar attests. Priesthood is in all respects more honourable than royalty, as I have above shown from the divine scripture, and as now we will say yet again:

Royalty, it is true, was given from God to the world; but it was given in his wrath: and men are anointed to it by the priesthood with material oil. But priesthood is a direct unction by the Holy Ghost; even as our Lord Jesus Christ was anointed to the high-priesthood, as has been written above. In like manner also the holy Apostles. For this cause, at the anointing[1] to the episcopate, the bishop consecrating takes the holy gospel and holds it open upon the head of him who is being ordained a bishop, and prays thus:

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[1] That is, at the *spiritual* anointing (meaning the consecration) of a bishop, who in the Eastern Church is not anointed with any material unction.

'O Lord our God, who hast ordained to us, through thy glorious apostle Paul, a system of degrees and orders to work and serve about thy venerable and most pure mysteries within the holy altar, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, do thou thyself, O Lord of all, empower this man also, who has been elected and found worthy to take upon him the evangelical yoke and the episcopal dignity, by the hand of me who am a sinner, and by the hands of those other metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops who are here ministering with me, by the overshadowing and the power and grace of thy Holy Spirit;'[1] &c.

And again, a second prayer. 'O Lord our God, who, seeing that man's nature cannot support the essence of Deity, hast of thy condescension appointed teachers of like passions with ourselves to hold thy throne, and as images of thyself to sit on thy throne of majesty,[2] to offer up to thee sacrifice and oblation for all thy people, do thou, O Lord, make this man, who has now been constituted a steward of the episcopal grace, to be a likeness of thee, the Good Shepherd, laying down his life for the sheep, a leader of the blind, a light to them that are in darkness, a corrector of the unwise, a teacher of babes, a shining light in the world: that, having edified the souls intrusted to him in this present life, he may appear before thy judgment-seat without shame, and may receive the great reward which thou hast prepared for them that have laboured for the preaching of thy gospel;' &c.

Hearest thou, O thou senseless man, what great gifts bishops have from the grace of the Holy Ghost, as the holy word has shown that bishops are 'images of God'? Why dost thou revile the 'images of God,' and dishonour with contumely them that 'sit on the throne of the majesty of God,' and fleest with contumacy from the shepherd of the rational sheep, rejectest the guide of the blind, hast no pleasure in being made to see by the light which is for them that are in darkness, kickest against him that is to discipline the unwise, to obey whom the Lord has given thee a commandment, saying, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me'? Of the candle set in the world thou deprivest thyself. The pastor who might direct for good the souls intrusted to him in this present life, and present them before the judgment-seat of Christ without shame, and exhibit them worthy of the great reward, thou despisest as worthless and powerless; though the divine Apostle testifies, saying, 'Brethren, obey them that are your teachers, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account' (Heb. xiii. 17). This power is as much more excellent than the secular[1] as the heaven is higher than the earth; yea, and much more than this. 'For our conversation,' the Apostle says, 'is in heaven, and our life is there hid with Christ in God' (Philipp. iii. 20); and there our honour is; and thither our race is for the crowns that are there. For neither is this our life destroyed by death, but shines then more brilliantly. For this cause they who have this power of priesthood have received greater honour not only than local princes, but even than them that wear the diadem itself, as reforming men in greater things and for greater things. And that these things are thus, and not otherwise, we testify, O Questioner, by the truth, and by the divine scripture, and not as your Answerer, who, being a deceiver himself, speaks deceitfully: to whom now we come again. And of such men the divine Apostle, foreseeing them long before, has written, saying, 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron' (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2). And again, 'For there are many unruly, vain talkers, and deceivers . . . (whose mouths must be stopped), who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not for filthy lucre's sake' (Tit. i. 10, 11). Of whom does the Apostle say that 'the Spirit speaketh so expressly,' &c.? Of *you*. And to whom do ye give heed, as to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared as with a hot iron? To the metropolitan of Gaza; who is deceived in his mind; who teaches what he ought not for his own filthy lucre's sake, for abundant tables, and for handsome apparel; for which he will find himself naked in the day of the wedding, and destitute of the wedding garment, as his own deceitful and diabolical answers will themselves prove to his confusion.

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[1] The remainder of this prayer is as follows: 'As thou didst empower the holy apostles and prophets, as thou didst anoint the kings, as thou didst sanctify the high priests; and vouchsafe that his episcopate may be blameless; and, adorning him with all that is venerable, make him holy; that he may be worthy to ask what may be needful for the salvation and welfare of the people, and that thou mayest hearken to him.'

[2] These words, 'and as images,' &c. are not to be found in the present printed editions of the Russian church books, nor in the present Greek editions.

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[1] There is here in the margin a reference to 2 Cor. Moral Instruct. 15.

Thou sayest, O Answerer: 'The Tsar of his own good will and pleasure may honour whom he pleases; especially when he does this for their desert, and for the honour of the Church.' Where, O Answerer, is it written of this, that the Tsar may honour whom he pleases? It is suitable for the Tsar to honour of his own subjects and servants whom he pleases. But of bishops this is nowhere said. Of bishops the Saviour speaks very differently: 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' And again, the Apostle testifies, saying, 'Brethren, obey them that are your teachers, and submit yourselves.' And again, 'Without all contradiction the less is blessed of the greater.' How then can the Tsar honour whom he pleases of them that are by God himself crowned with glory and honour, and whose honour and glory are above that of royalty, as much as heaven is more honourable than earth, as the divines testify? Consider, thou utterer of thine own opinions, the difference of honour between heaven and earth. Who is the witness? God himself says, 'Heaven is my throne, but earth is the footstool under my feet.' And in like manner as respecting the extent of the heaven it is to be understood, that as one drop of rain is to a mighty mass of clouds such or less is the earth in its dimensions if compared with the sky, even so empire, when compared with priesthood, becomes as nothing. Though the Tsar may have received power from God in this short reign which he may have on earth to honour or disgrace any one, yet he abides not for ever; and God can acquit him whom the Tsar has condemned. And over the Tsar himself the judgment of God is impending. And if he shall have honoured them whom he has honoured rightly and lawfully, and not of his own partiality, and if he shall have disgraced them whom he has disgraced according to the law of God's commandments, and not of his own malice, then it will be well. But if the priest bind any one on earth, not even God himself will absolve that man, as he testifies, saying, 'He shall be bound in heaven.' Seest thou that when the priest binds on earth him who is worthy of the heavenly citizenship, God looses not [is not *said* to loose] that man in heaven? Of *sinners* who are bound, the Lord has shown what he will do after another manner, and not simply by leaving it to be understood. 'Bind him,' he says, 'hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'

But thou, O thou hypocrite! how sayest thou, contrary to the divine commandment, that to honour or not to honour is optional for the Tsar, as it may please him? Where is that written? This is an innovation of devils that thou bringest in, not anything from the law of God. The Lord has honoured the bishop equally with himself, saying, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.' And again thou sayest, 'However, even for them who receive honour from the Tsar, it is needful that they receive it with circumspection and fear, and keep upon their guard [lest they lose it].' It is indeed necessary for them who receive honour from the Tsar to receive it with circumspection and fear; that is, for all secular persons, his subjects; but not for us. But to us even he himself who wears the diadem is under the duty of offering gifts, and obedience in all things [that is, in all things spiritual], as the Lord has commanded: 'He that heareth you heareth me,' &c. But thou, O senseless man, blasphemest the grace of God given to us by the Holy Ghost, and wouldest bring us down to submit ourselves to kings, even as to Nebuchadnezzar and his golden image; as it is written:

'Then certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews' (even as thou dost now), 'and spake and said to the king, O king, live for ever. Thou, O king, hast made a decree that every man that shall hear the sound of the trumpet, and all the other kinds of music, shall fall down and worship the golden image: but if not, that he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego: these men, O king, have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up. Then Nebuchadnezzar in his rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Then they brought these men before the king. Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up? Now, if ye be ready, that at what time ye hear the sound of the trumpet and of all the other kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made, well: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace: and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands? Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered, and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God, who is in heaven, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and to deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (Dan. iii. 8-18). So also we will not bow ourselves down for the Tsar's bounties, but will pray only to God. And what honour do we receive from the Tsar? Is it this, that he makes some slight offering for the forgiveness of his sins? In that the Tsar gives not, but rather he receives. Hast thou not heard the witness of God, that 'he shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life'? But if a man gives *not*, what will he have to receive? or how shall he inherit everlasting life, even though he be a king? 'For whatever ye do,' he says, 'unto the least of these my brethren, ye do it unto me' (Matt. xxv. 49). And if the Tsar did anything as for God, then why do ye now, O hypocrites, make the Tsar require of *us* honour for this? Have ye not heard the word of God which saith, 'Whatsoever ye have not done to any of the least of these my brethren, ye have not done it unto me'? And what follows after these words thou mayest consider for thyself. But for him who, after having done a little for God, repents of having done it, of what torments is not he worthy?

Again thou sayest, O Answerer: 'Artaxerxes the king said to Haman, his lord of the presence-chamber, What shall I do to the man whom I delight to honour? And Haman, thinking thereupon that he should be himself the man to be honoured, replied, that for the man who was to be honoured, he should be arrayed in splendid robes, and put upon the king's own horse, and led through the street, with a herald proclaiming before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour.'

It were well if the Lord were to take away the sleep of forgetfulness from our Tsar also, as he did from the king Artaxerxes, as it is written: 'On that night the Lord took away his sleep from the king, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the Chronicles, and they were read before the king. And it was found written that Mordecai had told of Bigthana and Teresh, two of the king's chamberlains, the keepers of the door, who sought to kill the king Artaxerxes' (Esther vi. 1, 2). Our sovereign might then remember also our labour for him, and our prayers and tears, as is known by him the sovereign, during the two pestilences; and changing his displeasure against us to his former affection, he might do to them who suggest to him evil against me even as was done to Haman, who having prepared for Mordecai a gallows fifty cubits in height because Mordecai did not do obeisance to him, and for envy that Mordecai sat in the king's house, was hanged on his own gallows. Our sovereign might do the like to them that now disturb his soul. And then also the Lord God might calm our sovereign the Tsar, in like manner as he calmed the king Artaxerxes, from his wrath.

Again thou sayest, O thou Answerer: 'So, exactly, did Constantine the Great to St. Silvester, and Justinian to Agapetus, who consecrated Menas patriarch of C. P. For Justinian held the horse on which Agapetus sat by the bridle; as thou also, O most pious Tsar, Alexis Michaelovich, doest on Palm Sunday. However, it is not all who can understand; for understanding is the mother of all righteousness.'

Thou hast lied as regards our sovereign the Tsar, in saying that he did exactly in like manner as Constantine the Great did to St. Silvester. Look at what is written out above, in our Answer to your questioner, from the Constitution of the Emperor Constantine the Great, given to Silvester and the other Roman Popes his successors. Is there the least resemblance? There is none whatever. About Justinian and Agapetus[1] I know not. In our books he is not found mentioned. But for this, that the Hossoudar the Tsar leads by the bridle a horse on which the metropolitan of Kroutitz is set, since it so pleases him, he can do it. Or, if he likes, he can set any other thing or person upon

[1] Agapetus I. was Pope of Rome in the time of Justinian I. for one year only, A.D. 535-536.

a beast, and lead it about. That depends quite upon his own will. But the Lord God gave no indication of his pleasure or commandment to his disciples about this, as if he had said, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' as he did of the bread and wine; and as when he said, in a sense ineffable, 'As I have done, so do ye also;' and commanded them to 'heal the sick, to cleanse the lepers, to expel devils,' &c. But the prince of the Apostles Peter not only did not wish to imitate Christ in riding upon the ass, but he did not wish even to die in the same posture as Christ had died in, but prayed his executioners that he might be nailed to the cross with his head downwards.

Again thou sayest, 'Satan boasts himself in the gifts with which God has endowed him, without being able to use them humbly.' The Lord says, 'I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven' (Luke x. 18). 'He trusteth not his servants; against his angels he is severe' (Job iv. 18). And again, the prince of the Apostles Peter says, 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment,' &c. (2 Pet. ii. 4). And again, the apostle Jude says, 'And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day' (Jude, 6). And for what cause he fell from heaven Christ says. 'And he trusteth not his angels; even against his angels he is severe.' And 'He hath given them over to be kept unto judgment, to be tormented.' Hear Isaiah: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!' (Is. xiv. 12.) For he was created light by the Creator, and for his brightness we call him the morning star. But since he rose up against his Creator and God, aspiring to be a rival to him ("I will go up to heaven,' he said, 'and I will set my throne above the stars of heaven; I will go up to the clouds, and will be like unto the Most High);' for that presumption of such his pride he is both become and is named *darkness*. Seest thou, O thou Answerer, that God spared not the angels when they rose up against God who had created them? And whither did they fall? So now also he, who rises up madly against God, and acts not by any grace given to him, as the Hossoudar the Tsar does in making himself lord over the episcopal dignity, and issuing commands, as has been written above. For the authority of the

Tsar is one thing, and that of the bishop is another. But the one is vastly greater than the other; as much greater as the heaven is greater and more excellent than the earth, as has been shown above in the prayers used at an Ordination. For the bishop is 'an image of God,' and 'sits on the throne of God.' The Tsar is not appointed to rank even with the readers, nor with the subdeacons, nor with the deacons, nor with the priests, nor still less with the bishops; but he is anointed to a kingdom of this world. And the power which God gives him he gives through the blessing of the bishop. Listen:

'When the Tsar is being consecrated, he bends his head, and the patriarch, putting his hand upon his head, says a prayer in the hearing of all.' See, O thou who seekest to please men, who it is here that gives privileges, and to whom. Take notice, it is not the Tsar who puts his hand on the patriarch's head, but the patriarch who puts his on the Tsar's head. For this cause always, as in fulfilment of a duty to his benefactor, the Tsar bows his head under the hand of the bishop. 'Then the bishop says, in the hearing of all, the following prayer:

"O Lord our God, King of kings and Lord of lords, who by Samuel the prophet didst elect thy servant David, and didst anoint him to be king over thy people Israel, do thou now also hear the prayer of us thine unworthy servants, and look down from thy holy habitation on this thy faithful servant the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich of all Russia, whom thou hast vouchsafed to raise up to be Tsar over thy holy people, whom thou hast redeemed with the precious blood of thine only-begotten Son. Grant that he may be anointed with the oil of gladness; clothe him from on high with strength; set on his head a crown of precious stones; give him length of days; give also into his right hand the sceptre of empire; seat him on the throne of justice; gird him round with the panoply of the Holy Ghost; strengthen his arm; subdue under his feet all the barbarous nations; sow in his heart thy fear; make him gracious to good and obedient subjects; keep him in the pure faith; exhibit him a scrupulous observer of the commandments of the holy Catholic Church, that he may judge thy people with righteousness and thy poor with judgment, and preserve the children of the poor, and be made by thee an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Again the patriarch says this other prayer:

"To thee alone, O King of all worlds, does he, thy servant, to whom this earthly empire is committed by thee, bend his neck together with us, and prays to thee the Lord of all. Keep him under thy protection; establish his empire; grant him ever to do such things as are well-pleasing in thy sight; make justice to shine forth in his days, and abundance of peace, that in his peace we may live a quiet and untroubled life in all piety and purity." [Exclamation]: "For thou art the King of the world, and the Saviour of our souls; and to thee we send up glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen."'

See, thou Answerer! Where in these prayers is there anything such as there is in those for the ordination of bishops: 'working and serving about the venerable and most pure mysteries within the holy altar'? or, 'holding thy throne, and sitting as images of thee on thy throne of majesty, to offer up to thee sacrifice and oblation for all thy people: do thou, O Lord, make this man, who has now been constituted a steward of the episcopal grace, to be a likeness of thee, the true Shepherd, laying down his life for the sheep'? But in the prayers appointed for the institution of an emperor or king (Tsar) there are no such expressions. Look above in these prayers (p. 242): 'Do thou now also hear the prayer of us thine unworthy servants,' &c. to 'seat him on the throne of justice.' Seest thou? Not 'sitting on thy throne of majesty.' 'Gird him round with the panoply of the Holy Ghost; strengthen his arm; subdue under his feet all the barbarous nations; sow in his heart thy fear:' but not anything about sacrifice and oblation and the episcopate and grace, nor of his being 'a likeness of God,' but of his being 'gracious to good subjects' (which he is not). And again it is said: 'Preserve him in the pure faith' (but by his sins his faith is rendered unavailing); 'exhibit him a scrupulous observer of the commandments of thy holy Catholic Church' (but he has not been, nor is an observer of them, but a breaker of them, and an aggressor against them); 'that he may judge thy people with justice' (which he has by no means done, but has multiplied injustice on all sides), 'and thy poor with judgment' (such judgment there neither is, nor is it so much as spoken of); 'and may save the children of the poor' (which has by no means been done, but rather he has made all to be children of the poor, even if any one were rich before). Let us continue again with the order of the same Office for the Institution of an Emperor or Tsar: 'And after the prayers the patriarch sends two archimandrites, and the first of the hegoumens for the holy barmi, and bids them take them from the lectern reverently on a golden dish. And when the archimandrites and the hegoumen are bringing the holy barmi, the patriarch bids three metropolitans or archbishops to take from them the holy barmi on the golden dish, and bring it to himself. And the patriarch does reverence to the holy barmi, and then kisses them, and takes them with his own hand, and signs with them the Tsar and Grand Prince who is being instituted, and bids him cross himself and kiss them. And then the patriarch puts the holy barmi on the Tsar and Grand Prince; and then he blesses him with the cross; and the patriarch says, "Peace be with all;" and the archdeacon says, "Let us bend our heads to the Lord;" and the patriarch says the second of the two prayers which have been written out above (p. 243): "To thee alone, O King of all worlds," &c. And after ending the prayer, the patriarch sends all the archimandrites and hegoumens for the imperial crown, and bids them take it from the lectern reverently in a golden dish: and the archimandrites and hegoumens bring the imperial crown in a golden dish to the spot. And the patriarch bids three bishops to take from them the imperial crown on the golden dish, and to bring it to the archbishops; and the archbishops, together with all the bishops, having received the imperial crown, bring it to the patriarch on the golden dish; and the patriarch, after making the sign of the cross with his hand, kisses the crown, and blesses the Tsar and Grand Prince with the cross, saying, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and places upon his head the same imperial crown. And then, taking him by the right hand, he puts him into the Tsar's place, and blesses him with his hand;. and, as he withdraws, he does him a slight obeisance. And then the patriarch stands in his own place: and the Tsar and Grand Prince, standing opposite to the patriarch, makes an obeisance, lifting up from off his head as he does it the imperial crown. Then the patriarch sends for the imperial sceptre an archimandrite and two hegoumens: and as the archimandrites and the hegoumens are bringing the sceptre to the spot, the metropolitans, with the archbishops and bishops, take it from them to bring it to the patriarch: and the patriarch receives from them the same sceptre; and having made the sign of the cross over it with his hand, he delivers it to the Tsar and Grand Prince, addressing him thus: "O divinely-crowned Tsar and Grand Prince, Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia, receive from God the sceptre that is given thee to direct the standards of the great Russian empire, and guard and keep it to the best of thy power." And the Tsar and Grand Prince makes an obeisance. Then the patriarch blesses the divinely-crowned Tsar, and taking him by the right hand, puts him in the Tsar's place.'

See, thou man mentally blind, who it is that crowns, and whom; and who it is that gives, to use thine own expression, divine *privileges*, and to whom. And how can any one give anything to him who gives to himself? though it was not I Nicon personally that anointed the Hossoudar the Tsar to the empire, but our predecessor, our father and brother the M. H. Joseph, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, of holy memory, whose successor according to the grace of God we are. Then, after the usual prayers, and after the salutation of all the people, hear the instruction and the injunctions addressed by the episcopate to the Tsar:

(*Instruction and Injunctions to the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia:*[1]) "Sire, and beloved son in the Holy Ghost of the holy Church and of our humility, Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia, behold from this day forth thou art set by God as divinely-crowned Tsar and Grand Prince to direct the standards and to wield the sceptre of the great empire of Russia; and thou art crowned with a royal [or imperial] crown, according to the grace of the Holy Ghost, and by the favour of the M. H. Mother of God, and by the blessing of the great thaumaturge Peter metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia, and by the prayers of all the saints, and by the blessing of thine ever-memorable and sacred father the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich, Autocrat of Moscow and all Russia, and by the grace given to us of the Holy Ghost by the ordination of our humility, together with the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops of the metropolitan province[2] of Russia, and with all the sacred synod of the clergy, in the cathedral of the Assumption of the M. H. Mother of God, at the wonder-working tombs of Peter and Alexis and Jonah, metropolitans of the Russian metropolitan province in thy capital city of Moscow. And thou, O Sire and son, crowned by God, orthodox Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia, have the fear of God in thine heart; and keep the Christian faith of the Greek law pure and unshaken; and preserve thy reign pure and blameless, as thou hast now received it from God; and love justice, and mercy, and just judgment; and be gracious to all good subjects. And towards the holy Catholic[1] Church, and to all the holy churches, have fidelity and the fear of God; and give both to it and to them honour, for that in it, O Tsar, thou wert born again of the holy font by spiritual regeneration. And towards the holy and venerable monasteries keep much faith, according to the imperial power given thee of God. And to our humility, and to all thy beadsmen in the Holy Ghost, show thy imperial obedience, according to that word of Christ in the gospel which he spake to his holy disciples and apostles, saying: He that heareth you heareth me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me. For this word therefore so do; and as knowing also that whatever honour any one gives to a bishop the same honour passes to Christ himself, from whom also they shall receive their reward an hundredfold. But as regards thy brethren in the flesh, O god-fearing and god-loving Tsar, love and honour them, according to the bond of their imperial relationship, as the divine Apostle teaches: *For he that loveth his brother*, he says, *abideth in God, and God in him.* To thy boyars and nobles be good and gracious; and be careful of them for the sake of their country. To all the princes, and sons of princes, and sons of boyars, and to all the Christian army, be condescending and gracious and affable, according to thine imperial rank and order. And all the orthodox Christian people protect, and be bountiful to them, and labour providently for their welfare with all thy heart: and in their defence, when they are wronged, stand up firmly, as becomes a king and a brave man: but never abandon any, nor suffer any to be harmed contrary to law and equity. For, behold, to this end, O Tsar, thou hast received from God the sceptre to direct the standards of the great empire of Russia, and to judge and rule thy people in justice. Keep and preserve it watchfully from the fierce wolves which seek to destroy it, that they may not tear and scatter the flock of Christ's rational sheep which is given thee of God, and intrusted to thee, to wield the sceptre according to his holy will, and according to your hereditary imperial lot, by which you were born to the same great empire of Russia. And again I say to thee, O god-loving Tsar, keep with God, and preserve all that thine imperial authority and power possesses, continuing thyself under the protection of the right hand of the Most High, and being preserved by the grace of the Holy Ghost from all thine enemies visible and invisible. For the Lord says by the prophet: I have raised thee up to be a king in justice, and have taken thee by the hand, and have strengthened thee. For this cause hearken, ye kings and princes, and understand that it is from God that empire is given to you, and power from the Most High. And for this cause it is proper that orthodox kings and emperors, having received by the command of the Most High the rule over the human race, should take thought not only for their own interests or wills, and direct not only their own life, but should also preserve from disturbance all that they have under them, and keep His flock unhurt by wolves, and fear the heavenly sickle,[1] and not yield to the will of men who are evil-doers, who destroy both soul and body. For as when the sun shines not upon the earth all things are dark and undistinguishable, so also when the soul is without discipline all runs into confusion. For only virtues are everlasting acquisitions. And again I say, do thou, O Tsar, keep thy mind humbly and reverently attached to the orthodox doctrines. Honour exceedingly thy mother the Church, which has suckled thee in the Holy Ghost, that thou mayest thyself be honoured by her; and reverence the priest as thy father and spiritual intercessor to God: for the honour paid to the priest passes to God. So also any dishonour done to them, and much more, offends God. But the tongue that speaketh flattery and deceit, and the ear that heareth vain words, receive not, O Tsar; nor listen to the slanderer; nor give credence to bad men. Consider within thyself, O divinely-crowned Tsar, that wisdom is the most honourable possession for all men, and the most worthy object of exertion and diligence, by the consent of all. For all praise it as a good. And thou oughtest to be a lover of wisdom, or to be a follower of the wise, on whom, of a truth, as upon a throne, God rests. There is no beauty in all the world so beautiful as virtue adorning a king. But consider spiritual virtue, and distribute honours and offices gratuitously; but sell not places of authority for gifts [or interested services], since he who has purchased a post for a consideration purchases with it the liberty to commit many wrongs, as in repayment of his corrupt purchase-money, expecting that he who has received from him a bribe will look on afterwards, and that he will have nothing to fear. And though thou be inaccessible, O Tsar, for the state of thy kingdom here below, yet make thyself easy of access, out of respect to the power that is above. For thou also hast thyself a King over thee, who is in heaven. And if he cares for all as God, it is proper that in like manner thou also, O Tsar, shouldest despise nothing. Strive, O divinely-crowned Tsar, not only to govern this empire with good manners, but also to inherit the kingdom of heaven by virtuous beneficence. And if thou wouldest obtain for thyself the mercy of the King of heaven, be thou also thyself merciful, O Tsar, to all; that thou mayest both here live on long, well, and happily, and mayest reign for all generations by thy good name left on earth, and also reign in glory with the angels of God before the resurrection and the awful judgment, by the power of thy Creator, and the wisdom of thy Redeemer and of the Holy Ghost. Be strong, O religious Tsar, in Christ; and again I say, be strong; that thou mayest also be an heir of the heavenly kingdom with all holy orthodox kings and emperors, and mayest be able to say with confidence at the second coming of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, Behold I, O Lord, and thy people whom thou hast given me, the people of thy great empire of Russia! And then, O religious and divinely-crowned Tsar, thou shalt in return hear for thyself also that delightful word of the heavenly

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[1] 'Hospodin,' answering to the Greek Κύριε.

[2] So the form would stand before the 'metropolitan' became a 'patriarchal province;' and above 'by the ordination of our humility to be metropolitan, together with the archbishops,' &c.

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[1] 'Soborney.' In Russia 'the Catholic Church' (Sobornaia tserkoff) may mean either the Catholic Ecumenical Church, or the chief local church, such as in Greek is called a *Catholicon*. Any church having a number of priests is a 'Sobor' or Catholicon; so that something more is needed to distinguish the bishop's own church or cathedral. The chief church of a patriarch or primate, as at C. P. or Moscow, is called 'the Great Church' (ἡ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία), and sometimes in Russ 'the Catholic *and Apostolic* Church.'

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[1] '*Sickle*' in the Slavonic, alluding to the vision of the prophet Zechariah, ch. v. 1-4. Where the Greek has δρέπανον, but the Latin 'volumen.'

King and God: Well done, thou good and faithful servant, Tsar and Grand Prince of Russia, Alexis Michaelovich: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. And then, O Tsar, thou shalt enter into the kingdom of heaven, with all the saints, and shalt receive a crown of unfading glory, according to the divine Apostle, those things which eye hath not seen nor ear heard nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, which God hath prepared for them that love him. And then, O divinely-crowned Tsar, for thy royal exertions and labours thou shalt receive from God thy reward an hundredfold, and shalt begin to reign with Christ in the kingdom of heaven, and with the angels and all the saints to glorify God who is hymned in Trinity, and to rejoice with them for ever and ever. God grant that with thee, O divinely-crowned and orthodox Tsar, we too may receive the heavenly kingdom, by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father and to the Holy Ghost, together, be honour and worship now and ever and world without end. Amen."

'Then the patriarch blesses the Tsar with the cross, and says again to him thus:

"O divinely-crowned Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia, may the mercy of God be upon thee, and that of the most holy Mother of God, and the power of the honourable and life-giving cross, and the prayers and blessing of the great wonder-workers [the three sainted metropolitans, Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, of Moscow], and of all the saints, and the prayer and blessing also of our humility, and of all the sacred synod of the metropolitan province [or patriarchate] of Russia, now and from henceforth and for ever, and for many generations and years, and on thy divinely-gifted mother the Grand Princess and Tsaritsa N.N., and on all her divinely-gifted imperial children. And may the Lord God multiply the years of the life of thy empire, and mayest thou see thy sons' sons. And may the Lord establish thy kingdom, and exalt thine imperial right hand above all thy neighbours and enemies. And may the Lord God settle thy empire in peace and perpetuity from generation to generation, and for ever." And all the people shall say, "So be it! so be it! For many years!"

'Then is to be celebrated the Liturgy.' And in the Liturgy, after the carrying round of the holy gifts, the patriarch puts upon the Tsar a chain of gold of Arabia, and a holy cross with the life-giving wood [of the true cross]. And before finishing the holy Liturgy, after the communion of the body and blood of Christ, the patriarch anoints the Tsar with holy oil, as the Order directs.

Hast thou seen now, O thou Answerer, and men-pleaser, what it is that takes its origin, and from whence? namely, that it is not priesthood which takes its origin from royalty, but royalty from priesthood, so far as the holy prayers used by the Church, and so far as the sacred act, and the instruction uttered by the bishop, shows? What, according to these, is our fault before the Hossoudar the Tsar? or what is the Tsar's justification? In the prayers it is said, 'a conscientious guardian of thy holy Church.' What guardianship is there? He has only plundered it.

As likewise the old Greek constitutions declare thus, that there are two swords of authority, that is, the spiritual and the secular, which for the defence of his people the Lord Christ has established in the Church, of which the bishop is [or has] the spiritual, and the emperor the secular. Has any one considered for the explanation of this what is indicated as previously ordained in these two swords? If any men will not be obedient to the bishop, they are to be compelled to obedience by the Tsar: and in like manner those who may refuse to obey the Tsar are to be compelled to obedience by the bishop, where there may be occasion. But these swords are of two different kinds of authority and jurisdiction, spiritual and secular. For as by the temporal sword malefactors are punished, so in like manner by the spiritual sword sinful souls are bound. Here any one may question, if the spiritual and temporal government is maintained by these two swords, which of them is the superior, and the more worthy of regard? Some think that the Tsar should be higher than the bishop: and these argue in support of their opinion thus: First, they say that empire is not derived from any other source, but only from the Lord God. Secondly, if the bishop were to be higher than the Tsar, it would follow that the bishop would have the initiative, and the Tsar would have to take his orders, which is not the case. Then again, the Tsar at times receives the gift of victory from the Church, but not the bishop. To this they add that to the Tsar is given a sword for the defence of law, of justice, of widows and orphans, whereby he can judge all sorts of matters, which is not granted to the bishop; as we hear of St. Peter, to whom the Redeemer said, 'Put up thy sword into his sheath,' wishing to show that he was not to participate with the power of this world. And with this they clench the argument in favour of their opinion. Against this there are some who contend that the bishop is higher than the Tsar; and who explain the matter thus: The Lord God, they say, gave to the supreme bishop[1] both the dominions, both that of this world and the spiritual; as appears herein, that the Lord Jesus Christ said to his holy apostles, 'Whomsoever ye shall bind on earth he shall be bound in heaven;' and this he intended to extend to all their vicars or successors. They say also that to the bishop there is given power *in heaven*, which is something more excellent than the power of this world. So then, clearly enough, the bishop must be the highest. They add to these considerations that the bishop at times needs to use both the secular sword and the secular jurisdiction; and that he can do that which the Tsar is used to do, for he makes laws for the orthodox. Farther, again, they say thus: that the bishop institutes the Tsar; and has power also to bind him, according to the commandment of God. For if the priests, to whom kings confess their sins, and whom they call their spiritual fathers, can also bind them, how much more must the great high-priest, that is, the primate or supreme pontiff, who has authority over those priests who are the king's spiritual fathers (his confessors), have power to bind and loose him? For the Tsar, when he is anointed to the kingdom, has to promise to promote justice, and to put down injustice. But, setting aside the opposition which appears on either side, thou mayest know how to settle that conflict of arguments thus: In spiritual things which belong to the glory of God, the bishop is higher than the Tsar: for so only can he hold or maintain the spiritual jurisdiction. But in those things which belong to the province of this world the Tsar is higher. And so they will be in no opposition the one against another. However, the bishop has a certain interest (right, or pretence to interest) in the secular jurisdiction, for its better direction, and in suitable matters: but the Tsar has none whatever in ecclesiastical and spiritual administrations, as has been written above. For if the Tsar does not what is proper for him to do in obedience to the laws of God, then it will be in the power of the bishop to issue a censure or excommunication against him; not against him as Tsar, but as against one who has apostatised from the law. But the power and authority of the Christian Church was most completely developed in the time of the emperor Constantine the Great, who was baptised by the Pope St. Silvester, and healed at the same time from his disease. He, when by the sign of the life-giving cross, which he saw, he had overthrown Maxentius, and had expelled the other persecutors, and had given peace to the Greek and Roman empire, in fulfilment of the vow which he had made in his prayer to God, made a grant to Silvester of his own palace which at Rome they call the Lateran, and called him Vicar of the princes of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and afterwards put on him the crown from his own head, and the purple, and all the rest of the imperial robes: and in addition to these he gave him the imperial sceptre, and all the insignia and gradations of the imperial throne, even as his own army was arranged in goodly order with different dignities. In like manner he gave command to honour and to distinguish also the priests of the holy Christian Church. In like manner he honoured also the other bishops, according to their dignity. And, over and above these things, he appointed that the same most worthy pastor and his successors should be crowned with that crown of purest gold set with jewels, which he gave to Silvester from his own head. And all this he did for the greater honour of St. Peter. After all this, the same Christian emperor, in token of his great submission, took and led by the bridle on foot the horse on which Silvester was riding. And then he made a grant to him of Rome, and bestowed on him as his province all the western region, and transferred his own imperial throne to the east, and there built a glorious capital which he afterwards named from his own name Constantinople. If any one say that hence a doubt arises, if those two swords of Christendom are divided between two distinct persons—the spiritual being with the episcopate, but the sword of this world with the Tsar—which of these two is the higher, with regard to this, as men's opinions are divided, we will take first the opinion of those who are learned in the spiritual law, who assert that the Tsar's authority must be subject to the episcopal authority. And this they establish and explain thus: To the episcopal power, they say, the Lord God gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and he gave to it power on earth to bind and to loose. Farther, the episcopal authority is spiritual, but the imperial or royal is of this world: and the things of the heavenly authority, that is, of the spiritual, are more excellent than those of this world, that is, of the temporal. For this cause, manifestly, the Tsar must be less than the bishop, and must owe him obedience. For I say this also, that the spiritualty is a chosen people; chosen and anointed by the Holy Spirit. If all Christians are bound to be obedient to the bishop, how much more must not he who with the sword forces others that are disobedient into obedience to the bishop be bound himself to show obedience? A second argument is, that the bishop has power and authority to do what belongs to the Tsar's jurisdiction; that is, by right laws he is able to judge and govern in both ways, both by the law of this world[1] and by the spiritual. Moreover, the Tsar is required to make an expression of his faith before the bishop; and he, after hearing the same, has to judge whether the Tsar believes aright, and is not worthy of any anathema. However, this question might be argued at greater length on the two sides. But, that we may not launch into too long a discussion, let us come to the point, and see how one may reconcile those two contrary opinions, and give to each, the bishop, that is, and the Tsar, his true authority: and so the contradictory dispute will be closed. The Lord God Almighty, when he made heaven and earth, commanded two great lights—viz. the sun and the moon—in their courses to shine upon the earth, by the one of which—viz. by the sun—he typified to us the episcopal, and by the other—the moon—the imperial or royal authority. For the sun, the greater luminary, shines in the day, as the bishop who enlightens souls; but the lesser luminary shines in the night, by which is meant in the body. As the moon receives light from the sun, and in proportion as it removes to a greater distance from it has its light more full, so also the Tsar derives his consecration, unction, and coronation from the bishop, which as soon as he has received, he has his perfect light, that is, his *sanctified* power and authority. There is just such a parity between those two persons in all Christian society as there is between the sun and the moon in the material world. For the episcopal power is in the day, that is, over souls; but the imperial or royal is in the things of this world. And this power, which is the Tsar's sword, is required to be ready to act against the enemies of the orthodox faith. For of this the episcopate and all the spiritualty have need, to defend them from all injustice and from violence. This the secular power is bound to do. For the seculars need the spiritualty for the deliverance of their souls, and the spiritualty need the seculars for the defence of their bodies. And so in this neither of them is above the other, but each has his power from God. It has been declared above that the spiritualty is a chosen people. Hence thou mayest understand this also, that in the law of spiritual [persons and things] such as baptism, penitence, and the other sacraments of the Church, they lay hands on the head, that is, they anoint the head with the grace of the Holy Ghost, for ecclesiastical persons; but for secular persons it is not so. For when they institute a Tsar, then they anoint him in the form of a cross on the shoulders. And this indicates the difference between what is proper to this world and what is spiritual. But when the bishop crowns the Tsar and consecrates him, he then acts and does this by virtue of his order; and in the same act the Tsar shows a voluntary submission to the bishop. For even though he were not instituted or crowned by him, he would still all the same be Tsar. He obtains and holds in point of *fact* the imperial or regal quality by the sword; but the *name* of Tsar [that is, of a sanctified and Christian or orthodox Tsar] he gets by the episcopal consecration, of which the bishop is the author and source. It is to be understood that the law for empire or royalty prejudices in no way whatever the spiritual law, because in spiritual things the Tsar's will is not to be set above the spiritual law: nor in respect of any matter which belongs properly to the Church can the Tsar make constitutions, or act with controlling authority. In like manner also it is to be understood of the bishops and of the spiritual canons, which command men to keep and enforce the Tsar's laws. For the two laws support one another. No man can oppose the canons of the Church and the laws of the empire and the teaching of the holy fathers, or have anything to object against them [when they both together enforce the same thing]. Hence thou mayest understand what is to be thought of them both; and especially this, that in spiritual things, which have to do with the deliverance of souls, the supreme bishop is higher than the Tsar, and every orthodox Christian is bound to be obedient to the bishop, because he is our father in the orthodox faith, to whom is committed the care of the orthodox Church. It ought to be understood that their power is one, and equal: and each has his own order and grant established by God: and each of them has to maintain and defend his own order for himself, on his own responsibility, as it has been delivered to him from his mother the holy orthodox Church. Nor, if one of them transgress, is he accountable to any regular law or tribunal. When they elect a Tsar, he must first pledge himself that he will do justice, and use his power to root out injustice; and his pledge is to be given thus, in these words: 'I pledge myself to the Lord God Almighty, and to his only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, and to the most pure Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, on the four gospels, on which I now hold my hand, before the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel, that I will keep a pure conscience and do faithful service towards my Lord Jesus Christ, in the order and dignity which is now committed to me by him; and that together with his benefits I will accept all manner of labours and service, and if there be any burden, will not shrink from it. Likewise I will seek to make all those who shall be appointed by me to any office to keep themselves from all abuses and injustice. Farther, I profess that I am a Christian man of orthodox faith; yea, verily; and that I will never by any manner or means oppose the same, nor suffer others to do so, so far as God has given me power to prevent it. Farther, I receive this dignity through no gifts nor promises. And I will ever act handsomely and considerately by the subjects of my Lord, and will be content with the revenues which are assigned me. The constitutions and orders of this empire I will respect and uphold: and I will not depart from the same out of favour or partiality. I will strive to preserve in its integrity the good name of the realm committed and intrusted to me; to defend my subjects against evil men and injustice; in judgments and over judges to be myself a just judge, and to hold fast by justice. All this I promise to observe and to do. And if I swerve in aught from this promise, may I be judged without mercy by our Lord Jesus Christ; may I be made a partaker with Judas; and may the leprosy of Uzziah cleave to me, and such a trembling as was sent to Cain, and the torment of them that swear to a lie: may all these things come upon me!'

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[1] Lit. 'to the great high-priest;' in Greek τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιερεῖ or ἐπισκόπῳ.

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[1] Alluding to the civil jurisdiction given by the civil law to the hierarchy.

The ancient Form for the Institution of Tsars contains the following notice: 'There are five insignia properly belonging to the Tsar, which the patriarch in consecrating him, at his coronation, gives. The *first* is the *crown*, which he places on his head; and its conformation is as it were a crown with a certain cloud over the head, which has four lilies, for a sign that the Tsar is to be gentle, of handsome bearing, and god-fearing; also that he is to lead in good order the rest of the people who are from the four elements; also that he is to be obedient, merciful, gracious towards the good, and not wrathful, as a lily is among the flowers. On the crown there is a cross, in token that he is to remember that he is crowned to reign over all the people whom the Son of God redeemed upon the cross. The *second* of the insignia is the *banner* with the eagle, which has a cross on its breast, in token of this, that he is to bear the cross before all the Christians, for the defence of all, and is to be ever ready to die for the orthodox Church, of which he is the shield. For this cause also the patriarch, when he anoints him with oil on the shoulders in the form of a cross, says in prayer to God thus: "O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, sanctify this thy servant, that he may be to us an invincible shield against all enemies visible and invisible, even as thou thyself, by thy most precious blood shed on the wood of the cross, didst sanctify us and deliver us from all the power of the enemy." The *third* of the insignia is the *oriflamme*,[1] yellow in the middle, with a purple or scarlet border. The purple signifies sincere affection, which the Tsar ought to have towards the Lord God, and towards good men; the yellow indicates that beneficence which in the mortal body he ought to show to the rest of his fellow men; it indicates also death, with which it is his duty to punish evil men according to the law; because the yellow hue, as professors of medicine consider, betokens death. The *fourth* of the insignia is the *golden apple*, or ball, which opens and shuts; and it is filled full with earth, which signifies the death of the Tsar in his excellence and dignity. The *fifth* of the insignia is the *gold sceptre*—that is, golden grace [or graciousness]—which has at its end a double lily; that is, two flowers. That sign of favour was devised by the King Ahasuerus: it indicates the royal favour. It is customary also that the bishop should give this to the Tsar in the same sense in which the bishop himself receives the pastoral staff from the Tsar, viz. for the sake of amity, that he may hereby signify the constant dutiful submission of the Tsar to the bishop, delivering to him, as a father to a son, a hint of obedience.'

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[1] 'Praporetz;' φλάμπουρον.

Then again thou writest: 'It would have been better and more profitable for him to have had fewer privileges, because they have puffed him up, and have brought him into troubles. Nicon has admired himself in them as in a glass.' Nicon rejoices not in the Tsar's privileges, nor glories in them. Nicon loves the holy gospel of Christ, and not only is willing to suffer, but he is ready also to die for it. Nicon has heard the sacred scripture, which says, 'O, put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man; for there is no help in them' (Ps. cxlvi. 2, 3): 'All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man is as the flower of the field: The grass withereth, and the flower thereof fadeth; but the word of the Lord shall stand for ever' (Is. xl. 6, 8).

Again thou sayest: 'That has befallen him which the poets write of Narcissus, who in the waters of the crystal stream contemplating his own image, and thinking that it was not himself, bent down to kiss it; and as he bent down more eagerly than was safe, fell in, and was drowned.' As for us, and as for that lying and vain literature which thou quotest and jestest about, the divine laws not only do not bid us answer to any such ribaldry, but they even subject to excommunication all who keep or read such books. The Lord speaks plainly about thy folly: 'An evil tree bringeth not forth good fruit.' And again: 'By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles?' And again: 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' And again: 'Who has digged a pit, and fallen into it himself.' So also thou hast framed a fitting parable for thine own folly, since thou hast made thyself foolish beyond measure, and, 'not knowing who thou art thyself,' hast plunged into such an abyss of sins and miseries, so as to be drowned for ever, so that no one can ever draw thee out. Nay, rather, if any one were even to hang a millstone to thy neck, that thou shouldest not come out again for ever, he would not err from the truth. Because thou hast lifted thyself up against all the holy commandments of God, and of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers, writing I know not what which is new and strange to the orthodox Church, with ribald jests and buffooneries; and like another Satan, not having been content thyself to continue under the divine ordinances and commandments, thou thereby also, when thou hast found others like to thyself, drawest them down with thee to hell; as it is written: 'When the blind lead the blind they shall fall both of them into the ditch.'

REPLY OR REFUTATION AGAINST THE TWENTY-FIFTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Question: 'Is it in the power of the Tsar to take away those privileges from the man to whom he may have granted them?' Listen, both of you together; both thou, O Questioner, and thou, O Answerer. *What* privileges? Perhaps ye are thinking of those which out of love for God the Hossoudar the Tsar may have given to the Lord God, and to the most holy Mother of God, for a perpetual inheritance, in such sort as is exhibited in the following copy of the form, showing for what cause anything was given, and to whom:

Form of Letter of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Al. Mich., Autocrat of all Great and Little (and White) Russia:

'By the mercy of God we, the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., &c. &c., have granted to our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon Patriarch of Moscow and all Great and Little Russia as follows: In the past year 7162 (A.D. 1654), during our absence from our capital city of Moscow with our army, warring against our enemy the King of Poland, who had persecuted the Orthodox Christian faith, and had done us great wrongs and intolerable affronts, by the will of God there broke out in our capital city of Moscow a pestilence. And we, the Great Hossoudar the Tsar, &c. &c., wrote to him our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Patriarch Nicon, &c., that for the love of

God be our father, &c., should both himself, in such way as Almighty God should inspire him, take care for our Tsaritsa the Grand Princess Maria Ilichna, and for our son the religious Tsarevich the Grand Prince Alexis Alex., and for our sisters the religious Tsarevnas Irene, Anna, and Tatiana Mich., and for our daughters Eudocia and Martha Alex., and also by his prayers seek the mercy of the Almighty Lord God, to protect them from the infection. And by the mercy of God and of our most blessed Lady the most pure Mother of God, and by the intercession of the great wonder-workers Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, and Philip, and by the prayers of our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, Patriarch, &c., and by his watchful and attentive solicitude, our Tsaritsa and Grand Princess Maria Ilichna, and our son, &c., and our sisters, &c., and our daughters, &c., were kept safe from the infection of the plague, and got away from Moscow unharmed, and came to us safely and in good health. And we, the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Al. Mich. &c., together with our Tsaritsa, &c., and our son, &c., and our sisters, &c., and our daughters, &c., for this mercy of God and of the most holy Mother of God, returning thanks to the Lord God and to the most holy Mother of God, have been pleased to give to our oratory in that one of the five shires of the riding of Novgorod which is called Derevskaia, to the church of the most holy Mother of God, and of the holy wonder-worker St. Philip metropolitan of Moscow, and of the Blessed James, to the Iverskoy Monastery, which is on the Holy Lake (the Valdai Lake), of the foundation of our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, &c., from the riding of Cholm below down to the Lake Ilmen in the riding of Starorouss the following pogosts:[1] the pogost of Kolomna; the pogost of Cherenchitsa, with the selo (village) of Shotovi; the pogost of Ramishoff; the selo of Partheni, with its peasants and its derevnias (hamlets) and its wastes (poustoshi) along the river Volota, with all the rights or advantages recognised from of old time as belonging to those pogosts according to the registers, whether of peasants with or without land, or of arable lands, or of mowing lands, or rights of fishery in rivers and in lakes, or forest rights, and rights of taking wild creatures, hunting beavers, and all other rights and advantages, to be held as property inalienable for ever: and according to the registers in the pogost of the living of Kolomna, the selo, and 17 derevnias, and 52 wastes; and in the same selo and derevnias 120 houses of peasants, and the people likewise living in them, there being in the same houses, of brethren and their sons, and of grandsons, and nephews, and sons-in-law, and lodgers, and under-lodgers, 459 persons; also 3 houses of peasants without lands (bobiley), as also the people in them, there being in the same houses of brethren and their sons 6; also in the same hamlets of plough-peasants, with their sons and brethren, 16 persons; of arable land, cropped or fallow or overgrown with brushwood, of middling or bad quality, 1409 chetverts, all but a third (grass-land for hay there is none); of woodland which has never been under the plough, around the open field, in length about 8 versts and a half, but in depth 13 versts and a quarter: In the pogost of Cherepinsk, the pogost of the living, the selo, and 4 derevnias, in which are 69 houses of peasants, as also the people in them, there being in the same houses, of brothers, and sons, and lodgers, and under-lodgers, 231 persons; also 15 houses of peasants without land (bobiley), as also the people in them, there being in the same houses, of brothers and sons, 19 persons; of arable land, cropped and fallow or overgrown with copse, of middling quality, 367 chetverts and one eighth; of woodland not arable, about the open land, in length an extent of 5 versts, and in breadth 2 versts and a half: In the pogost of Ravitensk, the pogost of the living, and a seltso (small village), and 19 derevnias, with the half of one other derevnia, and 22 wastes, in the which pogost and seltso and derevnias there are 116 houses of peasants; likewise the people in them, there being in the same houses, of brothers, and sons, and grandsons, and nephews, and sons-in-law, and lodgers, and under-lodgers, 259 persons; of arable land, cropped or fallow, and copse land of bad or middling quality, 665 chetverts, all but a quarter; of hay [land enough for] 40 stacks; of forest about the cleared land in length 19 versts and a half, and in breadth 10 versts and a quarter. And the names of the aforesaid pogosts and derevnias and wastes, with all their rights and appurtenances, and with their peasants, and their sons, and brothers, and nephews, and lodgers, and under-lodgers, are registered in the books [of transfers or cessions of property] of the Under-Secretary John Temiroff, with the attestation in writing of the Secretary Basil Shpolkin, in the present year 7163 (A.D. 1654-5). And those pogosts with the derevnias, and with all their rights and appurtenances, are given to the Iverskoy Monastery of the Holy Lake, to the archimandrite and the fraternity, or to whoever else in time to come shall be in that monastery archimandrite and community in their room, to be their property and estates inalienable for ever. But if so be that any one, forgetting the expectation of the judgment of God, and of that recompense which shall be made to every man according to his works, shall go about sacrilegiously to take away from that holy place our grant, or any part of that immovable property, that is, of the estates [now given by this our deed], may the Lord God take from him his mercy, and shut against him the doors of his bounties, as also [may he or does he] against all robbers and encroachers upon the lands and properties of holy places; and may there come upon him not a blessing, but death, as upon Ananias and Sapphira. This our imperial deed of grant is given in our capital city of Moscow, in the year of the world 7163, April 25 (A.D. 1655).' And on the back is written: 'By the grace of God the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Great and Little and White Russia.'

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[1] A 'pogost' is the land or district connected with a central church which has a cemetery. This cemetery may be used in common by more than one selo (village or manor); and a selo again may have attached to it one or more derevnias (hamlets).

Form of a Second Letter of the Hossoudar:

'A faithful worshipper of the unoriginated and life-giving Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the one God of all things visible and invisible, and his true servant in his holy grace, I, the Hossoudar, Tsar, and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia, with my religious Tsáritsa and Grand Princess Maria Iliehna, and with our son, the religious Tsarevich, the Prince Alexis Alexievich, in gratitude for the great mercy of God, who is pleased to recompense for small things great, and for corruptible incorruptible; and for the prayers of the M. H. Mother of God, through whom we all hope to be saved; and for those of our holy father the new confessor and pontiff-martyr Philip, sometime metropolitan of Moscow, the wonder-worker; and for those of the Blessed James,—from the empire given us by God, and from our domains, we have made grants to our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, Patriarch of Moscow and all Great and Little Russia: and according to his request and vow we have bidden him to build the monastery of the M. H. Mother of God, of her Icon called the Hodigitria of the Iverskoy, and of our holy father the new confessor and pontiff-martyr Philip, metr. of Moscow and all Russia, the wonder-worker, and of the Blessed James, in the riding of Novgorod, in the piatina of Dereff, on an island in the Valdai Lake, now named anew by our imperial bidding and consent the Holy Lake. And to the same monastery of the M. H. Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and of the wonder-workers St. Philip and St. James, we have granted out of our palace domains as a freehold property the selo of Valdai, situate on the same Holy Lake, and the same Holy Lake [itself]; and, in addition to that selo, the pogost Eginusky, and the pogosts Konodsky and Nereladofsky, with their derevnias and pochinki (beginnings of new building and cultivation), and wastes, and our riadki (rows of shops or houses, of artisans, &c.), paying obrok; viz. the Ejeblitzky riadok, on the great Moscow road, on the river Polushta, and in the same riadok some waste land belonging to the yama (the post), with wastes and pochinki; and in the pogost of Michaeloff the riadok Edroff, on the Edroffsky lake, and at the same riadok some waste post-land, with wastes and pochinki; the pogost Velikoporojsk, on the river Msta; the riadok Berezofsk, also on the river Msta, and on the river Berezla; in the Demonsky pogost the riadok Selijene, on the Ouyana; in the Polonefsky pogost the riadok Polonefsky along the Selichey lake; and in the piatina of Bejsk the riadok at Vishni-Volochok, and the pogost of Petrovsk and Borisoglebsk, on the river Msta; in Borovichi the pogosts Spaski and Borovitsky on the same stream, the Msta; in the same pogosts the riadok Poterpeletz on the Msta; and the waste Vidrupusk, formerly a yama on the Tvertsa, with its wastes; and all belonging to the same selo Valdai, and to the said pogosts and riadoks and selos, with their derevnias and wastes and pochinki, and their lessees, and all their trading and hunting or fishing people, and people of all orders, and peasants with and without land, with all their cattle and stock, and with the arable land, and the forests, and hay-cuttings, and fisheries, and mills, and rivers, and lakes, and mosses, and marshes, and beaverhuntings, and hunting land for wild animals, with all rights and advantages which they had under us the Great Hossoudar when they belonged to our palace estates, for ever, inalienably, so long as the universe shall last. Also to the same monastery of the all-pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia, we have conceded to be held in like manner as freehold property, in the pogost of Korotsk, the monastery of the M. H. Mother of God, of her honourable and glorious Protection,[1] with its peasants and all its rights and appurtenances: also, in the Oboniejskaia piatina[2] (fifth), in that half of it which is on the farther side of the Onega lake, in the pogost Dereviannitsa, the Sisei monastery of the Nativity of the M. H. Mother of God, with all the estates of the same monastery, its derevnias and pochinki and wastes: also, in the pogosts of Petrosk and Borisoglebsk, in Borovichi, down below the suburb, on the river Msta, the monastery of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and of the Protection of the M. H. Mother of God, and of the Blessed James, the wonder-worker, with all the estates of the same monastery, its selos and derevnias, with its wastes, and with the streams and lakes, and all its rights and advantages, as has been written above in this our imperial letter of grant. Also, to the same monastery of the M. H. Mother of God, the Iverskaia, we have granted in the capital city of Moscow, in the Kitai-Gorod, behind the Vetoshni Riad (Rag-row), as a town lodge[3] for the superiors and brethren of the same monastery, a house in which in time past Greeks used to live: the same house is bounded by that of the metropolitan of Novgorod on the one side, and by the monastery of the Theophany on the other. Also, in Great Novgorod, we have granted to the same monastery of the Holy Lake the house of Michael Miloslavsky, with its garden and with all its buildings, to be the lodge of the same monastery, for its superiors and its brethren, according to its old limits, and according to the written registers. Likewise we, the Great Hossoudar the Tsar, &c., with our Tsaritsa, &c., on the request of our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, Patriarch, &c., have been graciously pleased to bid him [*i.e.* to authorise him] to give to the same monastery of the M. H. Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and the wonder-workers St. Philip and St. James, certain purchased properties of his own; viz. that which was sold to him by our stolnik the prince Ivan Demetrieff Pojarsky, being an estate purchased by his father the boyar prince Demetri Mich. Pojarsky, of the prince Euphemius Mishetsky, in the riding of Novgorod, and in the piatina of Derevsk above mentioned; and in the same piatina, in the pogost of Listova, the seltso (small selo), which was formerly the derevnia of Rachin-Most (Rachin Bridge), on the Moscow road, along both sides of the river Cholova; and in the pogost of Volota, the ousadbishche[1] and selo of Plosk, with its derevnias and pochinki and wastes: also, in the riding of Novgorod, in the Zashegrinsky Stan, a purchased estate; viz. the selo which was aforetime the slobodka (suburb) Shoumskova, on the river Tvertsa, which was sold to him by Ivan Ivanoff Ourousoff, having been purchased by his father, Ivan Stepanoff Ourousoff: also, in the riding of Klinsk, certain purchased estates; one, which was sold to him by Daria, widow of the secretary Gabriel Leontieff, with her sons, Ivan and Boris, consisting of the seltso Stchapova, with its derevnias and wastes; and another, which was sold to him by Nazar, son of Gerasimus Martinianoff; viz. the derevnia Maximova, and the derevnia Yasneva, and the derevnia Dmitrova: also an estate sold to him by the archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery Therapont, and the bursar, the father Theodosius, with the brethren, in fulfilment of the instruction and last will of Theodosia, widow of the late Paul Volnisky, in the riding of Moscow, in Manatina and Bikova; and in Korovina-Stan a derevnia, which was aforetime the wastes Cholzoneva, Leskona, and Phounikova, also in the valley of Korova: also a pogost on the streamlet Stoudenka, with its wastes in like manner, with all its rights and appurtenances. Likewise we have been graciously pleased to confirm and secure to the monastery of the M. H. Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and of the wonder-workers St. Philip and St. James, to be its freehold property, in Starorouss, at the Salt Lake, on the shore, on the river Pourosa, near the fortress of Starorouss, six boiling-places, fitted with salt-boilers, with salt-warehouses, and with all the necessary appurtenances for salt-works: also a house built for warehousing the produce of the same salt-works in Starorouss, near the church of the great martyr Parasceue, called Piatnitsa, with its precinct. And those six boilers and that house and its premises, with all their works and appurtenances, have been by our imperial ukaz given and made over to the monastery of the all-pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and to the wonder-workers, by Parthenius Lucianoff Venevitoff, of the Gostinoi Sotni (*i.e.* of the Century of the Merchants): and those boilers and house and premises shall be held and possessed, all of them, by the same monastery inalienably: and we have exempted those boilers and the salt made by them from all payment whatever of tax or excise. Likewise we have been pleased to grant to our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, Patr. of Moscow, &c., certain estates which he has obtained by exchange; viz. that which, in the present year 7162, upon his own order, was obtained in exchange by the archimandrite and bursar and treasurer, with the brethren, of the monastery of the most-pure Mother of God, and the wonder-workers St. Philip and St. James, on the Holy Lake from the archimandrite and bursar and treasurer, with the brethren, of the monastery of St. Sergius of the life-giving Trinity, from the estates of that monastery in the riding of Novgorod; viz. in the volost of Dmitreff, the selo Medna; and in the volost of Perevitz the selo Kounganovo, with its derevnias and wastes; and in the town of Torjok a house surrounded with plantations; and in the riding of Tver, in the stan Shestkinsk, the selo Stroujna with its derevnias and wastes; and in the riding of Staritz, in the volost of Vigorofsk, the selo Stanishina, and the selo Basilievo, with their derevnias and wastes: and in Great Novgorod a strong house, with a garden, and with all its premises and outbuildings: also in the riding of Novgorod, in the piatina of Derevsk, in the pogost of Sitinsk, the selo Kouniugora; and in the pogost of Listova the selo Sopki; and in the stan of Ledopinsk the derevnia Dobrova: these, with their derevnias and wastes, with their streams and lakes, and all manner of rights and appurtenances, we grant to be the freehold property of their monastery in such manner as he, our aforenamed father and beadsman, has given them to it. Also, in the riding of Kashinsk, the selo Goritsi, and the selo Stoudenetz, and the dependent lesser selo of Rousilovo, with their derevnias and wastes, and all their rights and advantages, which our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Patriarch Nicon, transferred from the properties of the cathedral church of the M. H. Mother of God, of her honourable and glorious Assumption, and of the great pontiffs Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, metropolitans of Moscow and all Russia, and wonder-workers, in exchange for his own estate in Kourmish, viz. the selo Antonovo and the derevnia Yourievka (both which properties of Antonovo and Yourievka we had given to him, our father and beadsman, to be held by him as private property, as they had been of old): These properties also, thus exchanged, and the salt-boilers, in like manner, with all their rights and advantages, as has been written above in this our imperial deed of grant, are granted by our imperial grace to the house of the most pure Mother of God, entitled the Iverskaia, and of the wonder-workers, St. Philip and St. James, to be held as freehold property, inalienably for ever, as long as the world and the same holy convent of the most pure Mother of God shall last. The fourth land [of all crops on arable land], on all those estates above enumerated in this our present grant, whether acquired by purchase or exchange, in the selos and derévnias, and in the pogosts, and in the wastes, and in the pochinki, and in riadki; all people subject to the duty of service (tiaglie), and artisans, and people of all ranks or orders (tchinov), and peasants with land and without land, and lands ploughed and separated for ploughing, and grass, and forest, and outlying arable land, and rivers and lakes, and fisheries and mills, and all rights and advantages, according to our imperial letters of grant, and according to the old and the new registers, and supplementary registers, and books of payment; and according to deeds of gift, and authenticated copies or extracts, and deeds of purchases, and of mortgages, and of exchanges, and title-deeds. But if hereafter any one come forward with a claim, by virtue of relationship, to be proprietor of any of those purchased and granted properties and salt-works, and shall desire to redeem them from the monastery of the most pure Mother of God, or to get them in exchange for other exchangeable properties, it shall not be lawful for the monastery to sell or exchange any of them to any man whatever; but it is to hold them firmly, according to our imperial grant, and this our imperial deed in writing, for the house of the most pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and of the wonder-workers St. Philip and St. James, inalienably for ever. Likewise we the Great Hossoudar the Tsar &c. have granted to our father and beadsman &c. Nicon &c. that in the selo heretofore called Valdai, but now named afresh Bogorodetsk, and in the other selos and derevnias, and in the riadki, and in the pogosts, which by our imperial grant have been given to be estates of the Iverskoy monastery of the most pure Mother of God, wherever or whenever there is a market, they shall take in future a toll at the rate of a ruble, according to our imperial ukaz, from all the wares; and at the bridges and ferries, as in time past, they shall exact bridge-toll and ferry-toll and duty, by our imperial ukaz, for the treasury of the monastery and house of the most pure Mother of God, according to this our imperial deed of grant given to it. And by this our imperial grant we command that those peasants whom we have now granted, on the request of our father and beadsman the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, Patriarch &c., to the monastery of the most pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia—that is, the peasants of the selo Bogorodetsk, with those of the other selos, and derevnias, and riadki, and pogosts, and pochinki—be exempted from all our dues and imposts; and that from those peasants there are to be paid to us no dues whatever, whether of fisheries, or produce of hunting, or on warehouses, or on exchanges, or of tribute, or of capitation, or tolls, or the excise money of the eighth part, nor for apparitors' money, nor the fifths, nor on occasion of marriages, nor taxes on linen, nor any manner of dues. We order that none whatever are to be taken for us. Nor are they to plough and sow for us our tenth of the lands, nor to cut for us our measure or tribute of hay, nor to be compelled to do for us any sort of work: and the starosts and sworn-men and centeniers of our crown villages are to summon none of them to any kind of outlays or secular assessments, together with the people of their districts; nor are they to take for any service of ours, for the service of the customs, or of the tocsin, or for heads, or sworn-men, nor for tithing-men, nor for any personal service, any of those monastery peasants, nor send them to any service on the crown properties. And when the peasants of the property of the Iverskoy monastery of the most pure Mother of God, of that selo of Bogorodetsk, and the other selos, and riadki, and pogosts, and derevnias, go to buy in any towns or volosts, for the provisioning of the monastery, breadstuffs, or fish, or any manner of monastic provisions, which they may need to buy for the provision-stores of the monastery, our government officers, and all the excise people, and the heads of the customs and sworn-men, and publicans or farmers, shall let them have their weight and measure without deduction for excise or custom, without diminution or evasion; and they shall take from them no dues, excise, or custom on any such purchases or sales, nor on any of the wares or goods bought on behalf of the monastery. Likewise our messengers are not to put up or halt in any of the houses, warehouses, or shops of the peasants of that selo Valdai, now named Bogorodetsk, or of the other selos, and derevnias, and riadki (rows of houses), and pogosts, and pochinki, which have now by our imperial grant been made over to be the estate and property of the most pure Mother of God, that is, of the Iverskoy monastery. Nor are they to take from them carriages or drivers, or boats and barges, or rowers or steersmen, nor make them go with them from district to district; nor take from them vessels to carry or transport our treasure, or our tithe of fish, or our provisions and stores. And our boyars and voivodes and officials shall not have jurisdiction over those peasants of the monastery, to judge them or govern them in anything; nor shall they in any kind of affairs take dues or apparitors' money from them; but they shall be judged and governed in all things by the archimandrite and the brethren of that same monastery of the most pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and of the wonder-workers the pontiff-martyr and new confessor St. Philip metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, and the Blessed James, by the archimandrite and the brethren of the same monastery of the Holy Lake. But if any man shall have aught against those monastery peasants, such shall make their petition and complaint against the same peasants to us the Great Hossoudar; and in that case our boyars shall judge the peasants of those monastery estates at Moscow at one fixed date, viz. the day of the Theophany: and without a special ukaz from us, at any other date, our sin-boyars and weekly summoners and messengers (huissiers), and their riders, and all our custom-house people, shall not go to them for any cause whatever; nor shall bail them, nor assign them dates for appearing, in pursuance of official memorials; nor shall they send to them for any cause whatever. But if it so be that in any town any of those monastery peasants shall suffer any destruction of property, or theft, or robbery, or murder, and they begin to seek for inquiry and justice against those people to our boyars and voivodes and government officials, these latter shall appoint commissaries to investigate, and shall take up the offenders, and do justice according to our edict without delay: and whenever the monastery peasants shall begin to sue or accuse, or to answer, before our boyars and voivodes and government officials in any sort of matter, they shall give or pay no justiciary or court fees, or taxes for revisions, or justification-money, or horse-expenses, or foot-expenses, nor anything on the score of dues whatever. But we have permitted and granted to our father and beadsman, the Great Hossoudar the most holy Patriarch Nicon, to have lordship and jurisdiction over those estates of the new monastery of the most pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia, and the wonder-workers, our holy father Philip, metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, and the Blessed James; viz. the selo of Bogorodetsk, with the other selos, and derevnias, and riadki, and pogosts, and pochinki, and wastes, and lakes, and fisheries, and all other rights and appurtenances, to be ruled by the archimandrite and the brethren, by themselves,[1] as their estates, according to this our imperial letter confirming the grant of the same estates for ever inalienably. And therefore we, the Great Hossoudar, grant all manner of freedom to the house of the most pure Mother of God, and the wonder-workers the great pontiff, new confessor, and pontiff-martyr, Philip, metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, and the Blessed James, in lieu of great gifts or endowments. But if any man shall hereafter, after our time, disregard in any respect this our imperial and perpetual ordinance, or infringe in any wise, or on any pretext whatever, this our letter confirming the grant of the estates, or shall take away from the house of the most pure Mother of God, the Iverskaia, those estates of selos, and derevnie, and riadki, and pogosts, and pochinki, and wastes, and lakes, and fisheries, or any other rights or appurtenances whatever, or shall fail to act and to do for ever in all respects in such manner as is written in this our imperial letter of grant and title to the estates, may God judge him as he judged those sinners in time past whom for their great transgressions his mercy, even in this life, endured not, but he destroyed them without mercy; and in the day of judgment may God recompense him as he will Judas and other sinners; and may he find God his enemy, when he shall shut against such the doors of his abundant mercy. But for every wrong and every uncharitableness committed in our own time, while we live here, there shall be punishment inflicted. This our imperial letter, granting and confirming the title to the estates herein above specified, is given in our capital city of Moscow, under our imperial hand and chrysobulla, in the year 7192,[1] the 6th day of March.' [And below is added] 'The signature in the handwriting of the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia:'

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[1] 'Pokrov,' in Greek *Σκέπας*.

[2] The divisions or districts of the territory of Great Novgorod were called 'Piatinas,' that is, literally, 'Fifths.'

[3] A 'Podvorie,' in Greek *μετόχιον*.

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[1] An enclosure, as of a manor-house, with its gardens and dependencies.

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[1] That is, according to the Church law.

'By the grace of God, we, Alexis Michaelovich, Great Hossoudar, Tsar, and Grand Prince of all Great and Little Russia, have given all that is in this our letter to the Iverskoy monastery, to the house of the M. H. Mother of God and the great wonder-worker, the metropolitan St. Philip. I have signed it with my own hand. Let it be observed for ever and ever.'

In like form were there also written and given to the Monastery of the holy Life-giving Cross of the Lord, and again to that of the Life-giving Resurrection of Christ, letters of the Sovereign the Hossoudar for a perpetual imperial confirmation and security, as a transaction with the Lord God, not with me, the humble and sinful patriarch Nicon.

Also thou sayest, O Answerer, [in answer to the question, 'Can he take away what he has granted,] if he to whom anything has been given uses it ill?' 'Yes; he can: for the spiritual law says, Gifts given to the unthankful shall be taken back from them. Rare however should be thy special gifts of privileges and thy rights [of resumption] towards such as are markedly ungrateful.' But how sayest thou, O thou Answerer, 'Gifts given to the ungrateful shall be taken back from them'? From whom then, O Tsar, dost thou command to take back gifts given to God in gratitude for his great mercy? Or even if they had been given to *me*, for my labour and exertions, wherefore is the Tsar to take them away because he is unjustly angry? Or how is he to take back on that account what has been given and dedicated to God? Listen, thou deceiver: I will show thee: and do thou tell it to those who are for taking away. It is written:

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[1] Correct, and read 7162, *i.e.* A.D. 1654.

'Abel was a shepherd of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought from the fruits of the earth a sacrifice to God; from the second, not from the first. And Abel, he also offered a sacrifice of the firstlings of his sheep, and of their fat. And God had respect unto Abel and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was grieved exceedingly, and his countenance fell. And the Lord God said unto Cain, Why art thou affronted, and why has thy countenance fallen? If thou bringest a righteous oblation, but offerest it not rightly, hast thou not sinned? Thou hast sinned: be silent. To thee will he turn, and thou shalt rule over him' (Gen. iv. 2-7). Seest thou, O Answerer, how offensive to God it is to offer unrighteously? since God himself testifies: 'If thou bringest a righteous oblation, but offerest it not rightly, hast thou not sinned? Thou hast sinned: be silent.' How greatly then do they sin who first offer some *small* thing to God, and then afterwards, because they are angry against some man, wish to take it back? Or they who take dishonestly what belongs to another, of how great punishments are not they worthy? But what after this? 'Cain,' it is written, 'rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.' He was not content, wretched man, to have sinned only against God, but fighting against God he also slew his brother. He neither feared God, nor shrunk from making his parents childless, nor spared out of brotherly affection. And so diabolical envy came into the world, and has perpetuated itself even until now. And not only are men not taught by the divine reprimand, 'Thou hast sinned; be silent:' but they learn even to commit the fratricide of Cain, and speak against God himself in their sins. 'And the Lord God said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?' So now also the Hossoudar the Tsar and the rest say, 'He *himself* abandoned his chair: *nobody* drove him out.' Therefore again the Lord said, 'What is this that thou hast done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now thou art cursed on the earth which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength. In groaning and trembling shalt thou be upon the earth' (ib. 10-12). Seest thou, thou unjust Answerer, what great misery men bring upon themselves by answering again against God; to be cursed; to have the earth rendered unfruitful to them, and in all their works to have no good success; groaning—that is, a multitude of pains and sorrows; trembling—that is, confusion of mind, vacillation, and inconsistency; and what follows after all these, separation from God? 'And Cain said unto the Lord God, My offence is greater than that it should be forgiven me.' Seest thou, O Answerer, how fierce is malice? how it will not repent? Even in the presence of God it wishes not to be forgiven. 'And if,' he says, 'thou drivest me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face I shall be hid, and I shall be groaning and trembling upon the earth, it will also come to pass that every one that findeth me will kill me.' So great an evil is sin, that it makes a man not to decline even to be separated from God, to be in groaning and trembling and in danger of being killed. 'And the Lord God said, Not so. Whosoever slayeth Cain shall be punished sevenfold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him. And Cain went out from the presence of God, and dwelt in the land of Nod, opposite to Eden.' Whither hast thou gone out, O Cain, and ye all who do the deeds of Cain? Better would it have been for thee to say, 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? and from thy face whither shall I fly? If I go up to heaven, thou art there; if I go down to hell, thou art there also; if I take wing in the morning and abide in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me' (Ps. cxxxix. 7-10). And if thou hadst not offered to God amiss, such a passion would not have come to thee: and if thou hadst not envied thy brother, and driven him unrighteously out of this life, it would not have befallen thee to be thyself separated from God. In like manner as now also they that learn from thee the pattern of malice drive out unrighteously their brethren; who will have to be driven out themselves, according to what is written in the Gospel: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into outer darkness,' &c. 'Now the sins of Cain are seven:[1] first, *envy*

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[1] There is a reference in the MS. to Basil, *Hexaëmeron* Disc. i., where mention is made briefly of the sin of Cain. But the text quoted by Nicon refers rather to Epist. cclx., which is on the sevenfold punishment of him who should kill Cain; and it is thence that the enumeration of the seven sins and their

[at the preference shown to his brother Abel], for that he envied his brother Abel for his virtues, because he offered to God gifts of the firstlings of his sheep. But Cain offered from other things: what was good he gave to himself, not to God; as now also unrighteous men hold his law in unrighteousness. What is worse they offer to God, but what is better they use for themselves. So the priest prays, saying: 'Thine own of thine own we offer to thee:' what is not mine own I offer to thee: and for this I am sorry. 'His second sin was *treachery*, with which he spake to his brother, saying, Let us go out into the field.' So now also they deceive them that do good to them, and get rid of them. 'Thirdly, *murder*, an addition to the evil of malice;' and so now also the custom of murder is held to, having begun from thence. 'His fourth sin was *fratricide* (still greater intensity),' as the Lord witnesses: 'Brother shall deliver his brother to death,' &c. 'His fifth sin was this, that he was the *first* murderer, leaving a bad *example*' of murder and malice to all them that dwell on the earth; so that even to this day the human race ceases not from the like malice. 'His sixth sin was this, that he caused *mourning to his parents*;' and thence many parents even now also lament, being deprived of their children by wicked murderers. 'His seventh sin was this, that he *lied* to God; for when he was asked, Where is thy brother Abel? he said, I know not.' So now also, when men sin in the things of God, they say that they know not [that they are sinning]. God indeed will punish less severely those who do not know; but for those that pretend not to know, they will not be so senseless when they are put to the rack with torments. These seven sins originating from Cain still continue among men in this malicious and sinful generation. And the seven punishments of Cain are these: first, 'The ground is cursed for thy sake;' the second, that he is to till the ground; the third, 'And it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength;' the fourth, groaning; the fifth, trembling: 'And thou shalt be,' he said, 'trembling upon the earth;' the sixth, what Cain himself revealed when he said, 'If thou drivest me out now, also from thy face I shall be hid.' The heaviest punishment is separation from

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seven punishments is taken, and made the subject of a commentary. *Opera Basil.* tom. iii. p. 397, ed. Paris, 1730.

God. The seventh punishment is not itself disclosed; but it has a manifest sign[1] announcing it to all through groaning and trembling. And for these two causes of faulty sacrifice and envy all manner of evils entered in among men even to this day. For what unrighteousness was it that the first world perished by the flood? and for what virtues was it that Noah the eighth person was saved? Was it not by offerings of the best, and not needing to be repented of? And he first received a covenant from God, when the bow was set in the cloud as a sign that there should be no more a flood; and after our first ancestor Adam, and like him, he became the progenitor of the whole human race. In like manner also our father Abraham: was it not by his sacrifice that he pleased God, and received the promise, when he had offered up his beloved and only-begotten son Isaac to the Lord as a holocaust, and doubted not? And instead of one son God multiplied his seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore. The scripture of the Old Testament says: 'Every vow that a man voweth to the Lord of all that he hath, from man even to beast, he shall give that to which he has bound himself. Nor shalt thou fail to pay every vow that thou vowest to the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not delay to pay it: for the Lord God will certainly require it of thee, and it shall be to thee for sin. But perform that which goeth out of thy lips, and give the gift that thou hast promised to the Lord thy God. If thou admit not the word spoken by thy lips, thou hast taken the name of the Lord thy God in vain; and the Lord will not leave them unpunished who take his name in vain.' And again: 'If thou vowest a vow to God, be not slack to pay it; for thy wish is not unreasonable. What therefore thou hast vowed pay. It is better not to have vowed than after vowing not to pay. Suffer not thy lips to make thy flesh to sin, and say not before the face of God that no one knows; that the Lord thy God be not angry with thee, and destroy the work of thy hands, and thou findest thyself empty when thou standest before the Lord thy God.'

Seest thou, O thou malicious Answerer, what has been said of old of them that will vow; how terrible a thing it is [to fail of one's vow]? And what befel Achan the son of Carmi? When he had taken some little out of what had been dedicated to God, the wrath of God came upon all Israel. When Pharaoh king of Egypt had let God's people the children of Israel go, and sought again to retake them, he was overwhelmed in the Red Sea with all his host. Amalek sought to withstand Israel in the wilderness, and was smitten. Shishak [Zerah] king of Egypt went up to Jerusalem to take the treasures of the temple, and the Lord smote him. Sennacherib king of Assyria went up to take the holy city, and to insult holy Sion, and an angel smote 185,000 [men in his camp]. Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon carried away the holy vessels from the temple, and he was driven from his kingdom, and had his meat with the wild beasts for seven years. Belshazzar king of Babylon took the holy vessels to his own use, and that same night he was slain, and the kingdom of Babylon ended. King Antiochus went up to Jerusalem to take the treasure of the temple: he died by a terrible death, bearing witness of himself that it was for this cause that he died. King Ahaz took the treasure of the temple and gave it to the king of Assyria; and it did him no good; but rather thereby he increased against himself the wrath of God. The Phœnician captain spake to the king of Syria of the wealth of the temple: he was smitten with a dreadful wound. Menelaus presumed to take the treasure of the temple: he was eaten alive of worms, and gave up the ghost. The king Antiochus Philopator entered into the temple: he was terribly smitten, and died. The Lord says: 'If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thou hast aught against thy brother, leave thy gift before the altar, and go first and be reconciled with thy brother,' &c. Seest thou that even if any one, being in anger, has brought a gift to the altar, the Lord allows not to take it back, but bids him leave it before the altar until he be reconciled?

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[1] In the Greek of St. Basil himself, in Epist. cclx. referred to above, the mark or stigma itself is the seventh punishment. *ἑβδόμη αὕτη τιμωρία, τὸ μηδὲ κρύπτεσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ σημείῳ προδήλῳ πᾶσι προκεκηρύχθαι, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν ἀνοσίων ἔργων δημουργός.*

'Joseph, who was surnamed by the Apostles Barnabas, which is, being interpreted, the Son of Consolation, being a Levite from Cyprus, having lands, sold them, and brought the money, and laid it at the Apostles' feet.[1] But a certain man named

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[1] What follows is from St. John Chrysostom's comment. on Acts v. 1-13, Hom. xii. *Opera*, Parisiis, 1739, tom. ix. p. 96, &c.

Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part and laid it at the Apostles' feet. The grave point here is that the sin was committed by a mutual understanding, and no one else knew what was done. Whence came the thought to this base and wretched man to do what he did? And Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? See, here is now also a great miracle, and one much greater than that which took place before. Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? That is, Was there any necessity or compulsion? Do we draw you against your will? Why hast thou conceived in thy heart this thing? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And Ananias, hearing these words, fell down, and gave up the ghost. Seest thou what makes this miracle to be greater than that of the lame man? Was it the killing? [No]; but the knowing the thoughts, and the things that had been done in secret. And great fear, he says, came on all them that heard these things. And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out and buried him. And it was a space of about three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? He wished to save her: for the man had been the first author of the sin: and therefore, perhaps, he gives her purposely time for answering, and a power of repentance, saying, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea; for so much. Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall carry thee out. Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost. And the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband. And great fear came upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things. After this fear of them had supervened, they wrought many more miracles. . . . But let us recur to what has been said above. They sold, he says, and brought the prices, and laid them at the Apostles' feet. Ye see, beloved, that they did not make it over to the Apostles to sell, but they sold themselves, and gave the prices to them.

But not so does Ananias; but he reserves to himself a certain part from the price of the lands which he sold: and for this he is punished, as having acted in the matter dishonestly, and as detected in stealing from what had been his own. This narrative touches also those who are now priests, and very closely. And since his wife also was privy to what was done, he on this account questions her also.

But perhaps some one will say that he dealt with her with excessive severity. What sayest thou? Tell me: what excess of severity is there? If one who had collected a few sticks was stoned, much more surely should he be put to death who commits sacrilege. For this was sacred money. So he who, after purposing to sell what was his own and to distribute the produce, afterwards takes back some of it, would be a committer of sacrilege. And if he who so takes from what was his own commits sacrilege, much more he who takes from that which was never his own. And think not because the same is not done now, nor punishment follows immediately, that therefore these sins pass unpunished. Seest thou how he is rebuked for this, that, after having made that money to be sacred, he takes some of it back? For couldst thou not, he says, even after having sold it, use it as thine own? Wert thou forbidden, or hindered? Why, after having vowed, dost thou take it? See how, immediately from the very beginning, the devil began to attack, even in the midst of such great signs and wonders as were wrought: or rather, see how this man also was blinded by him. Something of the same kind there was also among them of old, when Achan was found guilty of stealing what was dedicated to God: and ye know with what great vengeance that offence was visited. For sacrilege, my beloved, is a very terrible thing, for it is full of great irreverence. We neither obliged you to sell, he says, nor, when you had sold, to give the money. Thou didst choose to do so of thine own free will. Why then hast thou stolen aught of the sacred money? Why, he says, has Satan filled thy heart? But if Satan has done this, why is the man blamed? He is guilty because he admitted that influence, and was filled with it.[1] But he should rather have corrected him, one may say. But he would not have been corrected. For he who saw such miracles and had received no benefit was much less to be benefited in any other way. Therefore it was not right that the thing should be simply passed over, but rather that the evil as a gangrene should be cut out, so that it might not poison the rest of the body. And, as it is, even he himself is benefited in this, that he went not on to farther wickedness, and the rest in that they were made more earnest. But otherwise the contrary would have been the case. Therefore he first convicts him, and shows that what had been done was not concealed from him; and then he condemns him. Wherefore, he says, hast thou done this? Didst thou wish to have it? Then thou oughtest to have kept it from the first, and not to have promised it. But now by taking it, after having dedicated it, thou hast made thy sacrilege greater. For he who takes what belongs to others is moved by some desire of what belongs to others to take it. But thou hadst it in thy power to keep what was thine own. Why then didst thou make this to be sacred, and then take it? It is of great irreverence that thou hast done this. What thou hast done is unpardonable: it admits of no excuse. Let no one be scandalised if some are now also guilty of sacrilege. For if there were some even then, much more now, when evils abound. But let us rebuke them before all, that the rest also may be afraid. Judas was a sacrilegious thief: but this did not scandalise the other disciples. Seest thou how many and great evils the love of money causes? And great fear, he says, came upon all them that heard these things. He was punished: but the rest gained. So that this was not ordered simply, without farther purpose. But though there had been other signs wrought before, still there was not such a fear. So that saying is verified: The Lord is known in executing judgment; in the works of his own hands is the sinner taken. So it was also in the case of the ark: Uzzah was punished, and upon the rest there came fear. But in that case the king so feared that he refused the ark. But here these [the disciples] become more attentive. Didst thou notice how Peter called not for her, but waited till she came in? Nor did any one of the others dare to tell what had passed. This is fear of the teacher; this is honour from the disciples; this is obedience. There was an interval of three hours, and the woman learned not what was done, nor did any one of them that had been present tell her; though there was time enough for the thing to have become known: but they feared: and the writer [of the Acts], as if himself wondering at this, says that she, not knowing what was done, came in. However, from this it might be understood that he [St. Peter] knew the things that had been done secretly: for why else, without having asked others about it, does he ask her. Is it not plain that he does this, as knowing? But her great blindness suffered her not to put off the guilt; but with great audacity she replies, for she thought that she was speaking only to a man. The worst was this, that they had proceeded to their sin as of one mind, or by concerted agreement. Why have ye agreed together, he said, to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them that have buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall carry thee out. First, he tells her of the sin; and then he shows that she shall justly suffer the same punishment with her husband, since she had committed the same sin with him. And how says he that immediately she fell down at his feet, and gave up the ghost? Because she was standing close to him. Thus they drew on themselves their punishment. And who at this would not be struck? Who would not fear the Apostle? Who would not wonder? . . . 'This he says, showing that thenceforth they were not easily to be despised, as they had been in time past: and that in so short a time, as it were in a moment, so great [a change] had been wrought by a fisherman and a common man. Earth had become heaven by a new manner of living, by new boldness of speech, by the miracles, and by everything. And the Apostles were objects of wonder, as if they had been angels; as they heeded nothing; neither ridicule, nor threats, nor dangers. Nor only for this, but also because they were very benevolent and caring for men, helping some with alms in money, and others by healing their bodies. 'Why has Satan filled thy heart?' Peter is all but excusing himself as he is about to punish him: and he instructs the rest. For since what was being done would appear very hard, for this cause, both in the case of the man himself and in that of his wife, he makes the judicial tribunal terrible [that is, for the instruction and warning of others]. But if, when they had sinned unpardonably, he had *not* inflicted on them both such punishment, what irreverence against God might there not have grown from hence? But that it was for this cause is manifest from this, that he did not punish at once, but first exposed the sin. Hence no one groaned, no one lamented; but all feared. And with a certain propriety, when their faith was made more earnest, the miracles also that were wrought became more numerous. And the fear [which fell upon all] was with those of their own company (*παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις*) intense. What befalls them that are without moves us not so much as what befalls them that are of ourselves. So then, if we be all united one with another, no one will make war on us: but if we be divided one from another, then, on the contrary, all will rise up against us. On this account they [the Christians at that time] were confident, and went with boldness even into the market-place, and lived in the midst of their enemies, and prevailed. And that word was fulfilled which says, "Obtain the mastery (*κατακυρίευε*) even in the midst among thine enemies." And this also was a sign of greater power, that while they were being taken as prisoners and bound, they did such things.'

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[1] *δεξάμενος τὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ πληρωθείς.* But the Slavonic has 'received that energy, and fulfilled it.'

Seest thou, thou dishonest Answerer, how for them that repent [of their vow] there is fear and trembling, and death? Hear also besides for them that break their vows (since it has been set forth above how many and great vows the Hossoudar the Tsar made to the Lord, and confirmed with imprecations, and attested them by his subscription and his seal) what St. John Chrysostom says of them that break their vows: 'Though punishments do not follow upon them immediately from God, this is all the greater reason for fear. For much more terrible torments await them.' . . . 'Therefore, if thou hast lied, say, Yes, we have sinned, because we hearkened not to Christ, because we swore. My many oaths and my perjuries have come upon my head. Therefore confess. For [Joseph's brethren also, when they came to be in straits] confessed, and were saved. For what, though vengeance does not fall upon thee at once? Ahab, for his sin against Naboth, did not suffer at once what he suffered. But why is this so? It is that God gives thee a fixed time, within which to wash off thy sin. But if thou persistest, he sooner or later will bring upon thee the punishment. Ye know what they suffered who lied. Think then what they shall suffer who also forswear themselves. Think, and desist. It is not possible to swear, and not to forswear oneself, whether willingly or unwillingly. He who forswears himself cannot be saved. One single act of perjury is enough to do all, and to bring upon us the complete punishment. For this cause then let us give heed, I beseech you, to ourselves, that we may escape the punishment due to this sin, and be vouchsafed to obtain the loving mercy of God.'[1]

Again, O thou Answerer, thou sayest that 'God, according to the Apostle, has set some apostles, others prophets: he has not given to one all gifts, that he should not have incitements to *forwardness*, and so to exclusion from his grace.' Consider, thou hypocrite, the apostolical ordinance, how he has enumerated the separate gifts; and how elsewhere he says, 'In what calling soever a man is called, in the same let him abide.' How then has the Tsar, leaving his own imperial propriety or pattern, rushed, contrary to that propriety or pattern, to the eminence of the Pontificate? Even as thou thyself declarest, when thou quotest from Ezekiel: 'Thine heart was lifted up in thy beauty, and thy wisdom was corrupted by thy brightness. For the multitude of thy sins I have cast thee down to the ground[2] . . . thou art become destruction, and shalt be no more for ever' (Ez. xxviii. 17-19). But how canst thou apply this to us, because we depart from evil, according to Christ's commandment and the commandment of his saints? Consider, O thou men-pleaser, whose heart it is that has been lifted up. Is it not his who has seized to himself an heritage and a power not his own, even as another Uzziah? If thou speakest of our departure, I am ready to suffer for Christ's sake all evils, even as I am now suffering, but to suffer legitimately, as the Apostle writes; or as Gregory the Divine writes of St. Basil:

'Likewise, with regard to persecution, there is a direction[3] of the Saint [that is, of St. Basil], that we should fly from persecution, and not put ourselves in the way of suffering, but hide ourselves when we are sought for, and by discreet conduct spare the persecutor, that he may not, by proceeding even to blood, increase the sin of his persecution. But when time has passed, and we are taken, we ought to enter into the conflict courageously. And he says that to offer oneself of oneself to be murdered is a sign of pride and of offensive presumption; but when the time has come [to suffer], to shrink and to be unwilling to contend in behalf of Christ's law is not a sign of martyrdom, but of insensibility.' The comment: 'This, he says, as long as he was present, was for us the great Athanasius:[1] he was our pillar, and support, and strength; or I will say rather, that of the whole Church. But when, on account of the oppression of the heretics, it was brought about that he should be put out for a time, he on that account withdrew. For as men seeking to take a city, and seeing it to be exceedingly strong, and not easy to be attacked, and despairing of reducing it by force, will, with deceitful words, betake themselves to artifice and treachery, and [having dealt] with the guards of the city by flattery and bribes, they go and so take the city without any difficulty, and get it under their own power; or, as the aliens in old time, having taken counsel against the valiant judge Samson, first deceived his wife with gifts, and she, having treacherously questioned him, revealed to them the secret of his consecration. And they, having first cut off his hair, in which was his strength, took him and ill-treated him as they would. So also they who war upon us, the Philistines of the present day, first got rid of our great Athanasius, the prince of our watchmen, in whom was all our strength; not indeed by corrupting him, but they by violence drove him out, and hid our power in concealment; and having shorn the Church of her glory, they afterwards drew the rest to such their impiety without fear, doing this with boldness.'

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[1] Chrysost. Comment. in Act. Hom. xiii. pp. 101, 102.

[2] Paisius no doubt had continued, as against Nicon, thus: 'I have given thee to be made an example, and to be put to shame before kings. For the multitude of thy sins and the unrighteousness of thy traffic I have polluted thy consecration; and I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee: this shall devour thee: and I will give thee to be ashes upon thy land in the face of all that see thee. And all that have known thee among the peoples shall be astonished at thee, because thou art become destruction,' &c.

[3] The MS. refers to Gregor. Theol. Hom. ix. But in the Cologne ed. of 1690, it is Serm. xx. (his funeral sermon on St. Basil bp. of Cæsarea), p. 319. *ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμιμον αὐτοῖς ἔδει καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα γενέσθαι (νόμος δὲ μαρτυρίας μήτε ἐθέλοντας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν, φειδοῖ τῶν διωκόντων, καὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, μήτε παρόντος ἀναδύεσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ θράσους, τὸ δὲ ἀνανδρίας ἐστίν).*

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[1] xiii. *στίχος* 24. *τοῦτο Ἀθανάσιος ἡμῖν ἕως παρῆν, ὁ στύλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπειδήγε ταῖς ἐπηρείαις τῶν πονηρῶν ὑπεχώρησεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ φρούριόν τι τῶν καρτερῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλευθέντες, ἐπειδὰν ἄλλως ἴδωσιν ἀπρόσιτον καὶ δυσάλωτον, ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην χωροῦσιν. εἶτα τί; χρήμασιν ἢ δόλῳ τὸν φρούραρχον ὑποσπάσαντες, οὕτως ἤδη σὺν οὐδένι πόνῳ καὶ τῆς φρούρας ἐκράτησαν. εἰ βούλει δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ τῷ Σαμψὼν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τὴν κόμην πρότερον ἐν ᾗ τὴν ἰσχὺν εἶχε περιελόντες, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ χεῖρα τὸν κριτὴν ἔλαβον, εἶτ᾽ ἐνέπαιξον ὅσα βουλομένοις ἦν τῆς πρὶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δυναστείας ἀντίῤῥοπα. οὕτω καὶ οἱ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀλλόφυλοι τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκειράντες, οὕτως ἤδη τοῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐνετρύφων δόγμασί τε καὶ πράγμασι.* Greg. Theol. Opera, ed. 1690, vol. i. p. 389.

'Behold here a third great conflict in behalf of the Trinity. First he fled in the time of the great Constantine from the Arians, having been falsely accused by them; secondly, under his son Constantius; thirdly, under Julian.. Therefore it is fitting that our great champion in suffering, having suffered according to Christ's law, having engaged in three conflicts, and having come out victorious in all, should obtain the encomiums and titles of a perfect triumph.'

Again thou sayest, O Answerer, 'To Rachel he gave beauty, only he did not accord [to him to have] of the fruit of her womb.' Not so. Thou hast forgotten thyself; or who did not permit? and where is Rachel found childless? Who was the mother of Joseph and Benjamin? Again thou writest: 'David composed psalms, and wrote them: however, he sang them not himself: it was only the sons of Koreh who sang them sweetly.' Who is the witness that David did not sing his psalms himself? David himself says of himself, 'Of mercy and judgment will I sing unto thee, O Lord.' And again: 'I will sing unto my God as long as I live.' And again: 'I will sing and sing aloud in my glory.' Again, thou man of false words and of fables, thou writest: 'Milo of Crotona—so strong was he in his own conceit—expected that he should have strength also in his hands; and it happened to him exactly as to Polydamas, who, wishing with his hand to support a cavern of rock [was crushed]; and Milo attempted to rend a tree in twain, but when he had only cleft it asunder, his strength was exhausted by the violence of the effort, and the tree, as soon as it was left to itself, flying back, caught his hands, and held them wedged in its trunk: and after a time the wolves came and devoured him alive.' Thou art not content with the divine and right dogmas, which are fenced round and established by the divine canons. But of such men the Lord has testified, bidding us beware, and saying, 'Take heed unto yourselves, and beware of false prophets, who shall come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. From their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?' Is not this the true word of God? Consider, thou hypocrite, thyself, fairly and in truth. Who art thou? and what are thy works? Art not thou an antichrist that comest to us? Hast thou not clad thyself in a sheep's fleece, while inwardly thou art a ravening wolf, seizing the simpler souls? Are not thy fruits those of the bramble and the thistle? Art not thou that evil tree, bringing forth evil fruits, of which Christ says, 'Therefore from their fruits ye shall know them'? In like manner the divine apostle Peter also prophesied of such, saying, 'There were also false prophets among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not' (2 Pet. ii. 1-3). And the divine apostle Paul cautions us against such, saying, 'Laying aside lying, speak truth.' But as for thy lying fable, he, thou sayest, who sought to rend a tree in twain, having only cleft it asunder, had his strength spent by the violence of the effort; and when the tree was let go to recover itself, it caught his hands and held them wedged in the wood; and the wolves came and ate him up alive. So thou also, O thou new maker of schism, seekest to tear asunder the straight commandments of God, but being rendered powerless, art caught of them, and wilt soon have to be devoured by the spiritual wolves.

Again thou sayest, 'Lucifer, because he had great excellency, and there was no good gift which was wanting to him; but he was one by himself, under one, that is under God only:' and thou quotest from Ezekiel (viii. 17-19): 'Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty; thy wisdom was corrupted by thy brightness. . . . For the multitude of thy sins, I have cast thee down to the earth; thou art become destruction, and thou shalt be no more again for ever.' Consider, thou hypocrite, who has been lifted up in his heart. Is it I, who follow the divine commandments, which say, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another;' and again, 'But wheresoever they shall not receive you, nor hear your words, shake off the dust of your feet and depart out of that city'? (Matt. x. 14.) When Christ and the Apostles and all the saints fled or withdrew from malice, was this in them pride of heart? If so, thou accusest Christ himself, and the holy Apostles, and all the saints, and not me only. Accuse rather him who abides not within his own bounds, and has lifted himself up, not against me only, but also against God himself and his law. Again thou goest off to fables, and sayest: 'Seeing him in the midst of so many benefits ungrateful, what think ye? Is not such ingratitude from an excess of malice and covetousness? Ingratitude is like a certain wind, which dries up everything, flowers, herbs, fruit, and rivers.' Who is it, O thou Answerer, that is ungrateful? Is it of me that thou writest, that I am ungrateful? Nay, I am grateful. I have received nothing from our Tsar that I had not earned, of goods movable or unmovable, but for great toil in his service, as God knows; and I have not squandered [anything like the prodigal son] with harlots, but have dedicated all to the Lord, as facts witness; and the Tsar has thence not merely a double or treble return of thanks, but one perpetually reproduced as fruit in this world; and after his life here (may it be long!), in the world to come also, even to the coming of Christ, there will not cease to be an addition of grace. Whence is this known? I will tell thee. The Lord testifies in the parable, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man who sowed good seed in his field' (Matt. xiii. 24-30). And again: 'The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in his field; which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Another parable spake he unto them: The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened' (ib. 30-33). Who then is it that sows the good seed? 'The Son of Man. The field is the world: the good seed are the children of the kingdom: but the tares are the children of the wicked one;' that is, thou and such as are like unto thee. The enemy manifestly is the devil, your father, as the Lord testifies: 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. When he heareth a lie, he rejoiceth at it: and he was a murderer from the beginning. And the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire; there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear' (ib. 38-43).

Hearest thou now the Saviour's teaching in his parables? They who are imaged by the good seed are to grow and bring forth fruit unto the harvest; that is, to the end of the world. In like manner also those other parables of Christ which follow witness. What then, I ask again, is our ingratitude? If the Tsar is of that good seed which the Lord will gather into his barn, why dost thou make him, by changing his mind, to become one of the tares to be burned in the fire, even as thou thyself wilt be burned for thy scandals as tares? And if the Tsar is a son of the kingdom, why dost thou make him become a child of enmity, one of those on account of whom the Son will send his angels to gather out of his kingdom all scandals, and all them that work unrighteousness; and they shall cast them into the furnace of fire, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth? Has the Tsar found the treasure hid in the field, and bought it? Why does he repent? Has the Tsar bought the pearl of great price? Let him not repent, lest by changing his mind he lose his treasure, and receive not his reward. So also the divine Apostle writes, saying, 'Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.' And a little farther on: 'If any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: he himself shall be saved, but his work shall be burned' (1 Cor. iii. 12-15). So Ananias and Sapphira lost their reward for keeping back a little money, and died themselves, as is written above.

Again thou writest: 'An emblem of the ungrateful man is the sea, which, though it receive into itself many rivers of sweet water, yet it turns them all to bitter and salt waters.' Thy simile suits exactly for the Tsar's majesty. Thou now strikest at his unthankfulness towards God, that when God had so greatly honoured him upon earth with the empire of all Russia, he has nevertheless offered nothing to the Lord and to the holy Church of Moscow, in which he was anointed to the empire with the oil of gladness; nothing that is worthy of him; but has dishonoured her as an orphan, and has stripped her as a widow of all her goods; of all her divine honour, with which God had honoured her; as she is now seen by all men, deprived of all her goods movable and unmovable. But if it is against us that thou adduceest this illustration, it has no manner of propriety. If thou alludest to this, that the Tsar's majesty, for our many and great labours [in his service], granted us some slight benevolences, his munificence was not in truth an adequate recompense for our labours and pains; but, whatever it was, we kept nothing whatever even of this for ourselves, for our lusts and pleasures, but dedicated it all to the Lord, as the facts themselves testify.

Again thou writest: 'There are four classes of men who are found ungrateful before God and before men. There are found some who know not the benefits [they have received], and never raise their voice to heaven to pray for their guardians and instructors, nor to thank their Creator for the good which he has given to them so richly.' If thou art thyself unworthy to see our prayers for the Tsar's majesty which we make in the holy church every day and night, ask of those who know. Consider of thyself, O thou hypocrite, who of us ever sees or hears prayers of thine. No; but only contention and agitation. An illustration very appropriate and applicable to thine own life thou hast framed against thyself, saying, 'And these are like to hogs which eat acorns, and never look at the oak which produces the acorns. Another class of ungrateful men are those who drown their virtues' (as thou, wretched man and unrighteous men-pleaser, rushest like a hog against God's commandments) for their own filthy gains, not heeding the lawgiver Christ, who says, 'Remember the word which I spake unto you.' And the apostle Jude testifies, saying, 'Remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be workers in the last time who should walk after their own ungodly lusts. These be they who separate themselves, sensual, not having the Spirit' (Jude 17-19). In like manner also Peter, the prince of the Apostles, writes: 'This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you, in which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance, that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour; knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, [Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as before from the beginning of the creation][1] (2 Pet. iii. 1-4). And the divine apostle Paul says: 'Remember them that have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God;' &c. (Heb. xiii. 7-9.) And again he prophesies, saying, 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron' (1 Tim. iv. 1). And a little farther on: 'Refuse filthy and corrupt fables' (1 Tim. iv. 7). For such are not willing to be subject to our Lord Jesus Christ. 'For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables' (2 Tim. iv. 3, 4). How is it, O man deceived in thy mind and of weak understanding, that thou canst not cease to utter fables? Our Lord Jesus Christ commands thee, and all the holy prophets and apostles enjoin thee, to remember the commandments of God and the traditions of the holy prophets and apostles; but thou, without any kind of shame, revellest and delightest in exhibitions of vain rhetoric, and in profane fables, or rather doctrines of devils.

Again thou sayest: 'Such were the Jews who reviled Moses and the Lord God himself, who gave them manna and flesh morning and evening.' If thou alludest, O Answerer, to the Tsar, as if I reviled him, then I say, Nay, God forbid! I revile him not: but I blame malice and injustice. But as for this that the Jews reviled Moses the servant of God, the priest, and God himself, it is for thee to notice also that for this their great sin the earth opened and swallowed them up; as it is written in the Psalm, 'They angered Moses also in the camp, and Aaron the saint of the Lord. So the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the congregration of Abiram.' And if it were not for the long-suffering mercy of God, then now also, when men take to themselves the priesthood like Dathan and

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[1] This passage within brackets is not in the MS., but it must have been intended that the reader should supply it.

Abiram, he would command the earth to open and swallow them up without sparing them, or, as in the case of them that sinfully offered incense, fire would come forth in their company and consume those sinners without mercy.

Again thou sayest: 'Another class of ungrateful men are they who forget the benefits they have received. Hence this verse, *'Ανὴρ ἀχάριστος εὖ παθὼν ἀμνημονεῖ* (The ungrateful man forgets the benefits he has received). But a certain sage says, *Κακῶν μὲν ὧν ἄν τις παθῇ χρῆ λησμονεῖν, 'Αγαθῶν δ' ἀπάντων εἰς ἀεὶ μνήμην ἔχειν* (The wrongs that we may have had done to us we ought to forget; but all the benefits we ought to remember for ever).' O vain man, art thou again going off after human fables? Is there not something written about this also in the gospel? And again: 'Let no man remember evil against his neighbour:' and, 'Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven.' And again thou quotest, saying: 'The ill that is done to us we should write upon the sand; but the good we should cut in stone. But we do the contrary. The ill that is done to us we cut in stone; but the good we write on the sand.' Many of the idolaters of old time set up stone pillars, and inscribed on them their diabolical superstitions; and all have vanished away and perished, without any trace remaining. But what is good, though it be written only on the sand, shall not be effaced for ever, as the gospel testifies. Christ wrote on the sand the pardon of the sins of the woman taken in adultery (very probably thou knowest not of this), and it holds good to this day. But Pilate wrote a title on the cross, 'Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews,' and [that of which he said], 'What I have written I have written,' lasted not. The Evangelists wrote the gospel, and it abides for ever. The Great Hossoudar the Tsar wrote his deed of solemn gift and vow to the Lord God and to the most pure Mother of God for the Iversky monastery, a copy of which has been transcribed above; and he confirmed the same by the subscription of his own hand, and sealed it with his chrysobulla on which is the image of the Saviour Christ, for a true attestation, and the image of the Tsar's majesty, and the insignia of the empire of Moscow and all Russia. And all these [securities] have become as nothing. The Great Hossoudar the Tsar himself does not respect his own vow; and all the people, looking to his example, [are taught to do] likewise: as the Lord testifies, 'The disciple is not above his teacher, nor the servant above his lord: It is enough for the disciple that he be as his teacher, and the servant as his lord' (Matt. x. 24).

'After the return from Babylon of the Jews whom Cyrus the king of Persia allowed to return, according to the divine command, he gave command also to rebuild the temple of God at Jerusalem, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had destroyed, and to restore all the vessels which the king Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple of the Lord. So the temple of God was being built by the Jews. But they were accused to Darius king of Persia by their enemies. Then Darius the king made a decree to search in the house of the rolls which was in Babylon. And there was found in Achmetha, the city of Media, a roll, and therein was a record in the name of Cyrus the king thus written: Cyrus the king made a decree to build the house of God which is at Jerusalem, and the place where they shall offer sacrifice. And he fixed a measure, to make the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits, and to build it three walls of great stones, and one roof of timber. And the expenses were to be given out of the king's house. And the golden and silver vessels of the house of God which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple which was at Jerusalem and brought to Babylon he ordered to be restored, and brought again unto the temple at Jerusalem, every one to his place, and placed in the house of God. Now therefore, Tatnai, governor beyond the river Shethar-boznai, and your companions the Apharsachites which are beyond the river, be ye far from thence. Let this house of God alone: let the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews build this house of God in his place. Moreover, I make a decree what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews for the building of this house of God: That of the king's goods, even of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith expenses be given unto these men, that they be not hindered. And that which they have need of, both young bullocks and rams and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, and wheat, salt, wine, and oil, according to the custom of the priests which are at Jerusalem, let it be given them day by day without fail; that they may offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons. Also I have made a decree, that whosoever shall contravene this command, let timber be pulled down from his house, and, being set up, let him be hanged thereon; and let his house be made a dunghill for this. And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there destroy all kings and people that shall put to their hand to hinder and to destroy this house of God which is at Jerusalem. I Darius have made a decree. Let it be done with speed' (Ezr. vi. 1-12). Seest thou, O unjust Answer-maker, or rather, maker of enmity, how even unbelieving kings, even idolaters, not only observed with care their own edicts or vows, but also those of their predecessors. 'On a roll there was found written a decree' for the building of the temple. It is not said that it was either confirmed by the manual signature of the king, or that it was sealed with his seal, or made awful by fearful imprecations and threats of imperial punishments, but only that there was found a simple roll. And yet the king ventured not to disregard it, as thou now, O thou enemy of God, misleadest our Tsar to do, and bringest him into so great sin. Our Tsar would not sin against truth if he were to execute on thee the edict of Darius the king of Persia, thou enemy of all righteousness, as has been written above: 'Whosoever shall contravene this decree, let timber be pulled down from his house, and let him be hanged thereon.' And though thou be like the raven which has no house whence timber can be taken to hang thee, thou mightest well be hanged on the gallows used for robbers, since Christ testifies, 'He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.'

Again thou sayest: 'Another class of ungrateful men are they who turn the benefits they have received to malice, and to loss. The having done good to such is that about which the royal prophet lamented; and for this cause he exclaimed, Judge, O Lord, them that wrong me, fight thou against them that fight against me. . . . They have recompensed me evil for good, and great disappointment to my soul.' Consider, O thou man of false words, if thou sayest of us that we are ungrateful, what is our ingratitude? What is the virtue of the Tsar, if our ingratitude is our withdrawing from evil? What losses, pray, has the Tsar suffered from us? Everything [in the shape of property], movable or unmovable, that the primates our predecessors had accumulated in the patriarchate, the Tsar, without any sort of fear of God, has appropriated to his own purposes and to those of his servants: everything, in contravention of the divine laws and commandments, he has overruled by force, and enslaved to himself. Therefore there is no sense in putting into his, the Tsar's, mouth what the royal prophet David said when he was persecuted by his enemies: but it is for us rather, who are persecuted, to complain to the Lord God against our persecutors, that he may deliver us from our enemies; and not to say this psalm only, 'Judge, O Lord, them that injure us,' and what follows to the end, but we may add also that other: 'Arise, thou Judge of the earth, and reward the proud according to their deserving. Lord, how long shall the ungodly, how long shall the ungodly triumph? They flourish, and speak aloud their injustice; they boast themselves, even all the workers of unrighteousness,' &c. But for the Great Hossoudar there can be no sense in saying what David said in his prayer against them that persecuted him, 'Judge, O Lord, them that wrong me,' because he is persecuted by none, except it be, like Saul, from God. But for him, the Great Hossoudar, it would be more appropriate to say, 'Persecute him, and take him, for there is none to deliver him' (Ps. lxxi. 9). 'My God, go not far from me: my God, haste thee to help me. Let them be confounded and perish that are against my soul; let them be covered with shame and dishonour that seek to do me evil' (ib. 10, 11).

XXVI. Reply or Refutation against the Twenty-sixth Question and Answer.

Thou, O Questioner, sayest that 'Nicon inveighed against the Hossoudar, and inveighs against him still, because he established the Monastery Court, and put in it to judge laymen; and because he appoints to monasteries archimandrites and hegoumens of his own selection.' I Nicon neither have 'inveighed' against the Hossoudar, nor do I 'inveigh' against him now; but I reprove his malice, and I will not cease to reprove it. Listen, O thou that art alienated from God, thou Questioner, how in old time also the Lord honoured the priesthood; and how, when some were about to do violence to the first patriarch Abraham, on account of his wife Sarah (for the king of Egypt unjustly determined to take away the wife from her husband, while he was still living), the Lord plagued him till, coming to understand how the thing was, he let go the patriarch with honour and great wealth. And again, a second time, when Abimelech king of Gerar had determined unjustly to take Sarah the wife of the same patriarch Abraham, the Lord God appeared to Abimelech by night in a dream, and said, 'Behold, thou art but a dead man, for this woman that thou hast taken, for she is another man's wife' (Gen. xx. 3). And Abimelech restored to the patriarch Abraham Sarah his wife, with much wealth. Pharaoh unjustly determined to keep the people of God in bondage, and he was plagued with the wrath of God. Adam ventured unlawfully to eat of the forbidden fruit, and he was driven out of Paradise. Cain thought unrighteously of the sacrifice of Abel, and unrighteously slew him, and for all the days of his life he was in trembling upon the earth. So likewise now, if any man do wrong to the order of God's high-priests (the bishops), God will judge him by this same rule, and with no less severity. 'Then Moses went up into the mount of God. And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you: and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: if any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them' (Ex. xxiv. 13, 14). Seest thou, O thou Questioner, that it was not to the elders that he committed jurisdiction, but to the chief-priests? And again the Lord commanded, saying, 'Let Aaron carry the breastplate of judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually' (Ex. xxviii. 29). But when Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were of the tribe of Reuben, and not of the priestly race, rose up against Moses and Aaron, when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face, and spake to Korah and to all his company, saying, 'The Lord hath distinguished and knows who are his and holy, and these he has caused to come near to him, and those whom he hath not chosen to himself he has not caused to come near to him' (Num. xvi. 4, &c.). 'And they hearkened not to Moses to desist, but raged against the priesthood. And they took censers, and offered incense. And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that were with Korah, and their cattle. They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them, and they perished from among the congregation.' And again, on the morrow, the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying, 'Ye have killed the people of the Lord. And the Lord slew by a plague fourteen thousand and seven hundred:' 'for a memorial to the children of Israel, that no stranger which is not of the seed of Aaron come near to offer incense before the Lord; that he be not as Korah and his company.' So now also, if any one, undeterred by these examples, dares to judge and lord it over the sacred order and its property, God will take vengeance upon them likewise. And again, when the Israelites, being the people of God and the lot of his inheritance, desired to have a king to judge them, and asked Samuel to make them a king, 'the men of Israel gathered themselves together to Samuel to Ramah, and said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like the other nations. And it was wickedness in the eyes of Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me and served other gods, so do they also unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit yet protest solemnly unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them' (1 Kings viii. 4, &c.). 'And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king. And he said: This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots, and he will appoint them captains over thousands and captains over hundreds, and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. . . . And he will take your fields and your vineyards and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed and of your vineyards, and give to his eunuchs and to his servants. And he will take your manservants and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men and your asses, and put them to his work; he will take the tenth of your sheep; and ye shall be his servants' (1 Kings viii. 10-18).

Are not all these things accomplished in you which have been written above? Has not our Tsar (our king) taken to himself the lands dedicated to the Lord, and our herds and flocks and beasts, and our corn and all our goods? Have not bishops and priests been made officers in his army? But let us continue that history of the Old Testament:

'And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day, because ye of yourselves choose to yourselves a king. And the people would not obey the voice of Samuel, and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us; and we will be as all the nations; and our king shall judge us. . . . And Samuel heard all the words of the people, and he rehearsed them in the ears of the Lord. And the Lord said to Samuel, Hearken unto their voice, and make them a king.' Of them Hosea said in the name of God: 'I am the Lord thy God, who established the heaven and created the earth, whose hands hold all the host of heaven, and I showed not to thee these, that thou shouldest go after them. And I brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt know no other gods but me, and there is no saviour but me. I fed thee in the wilderness, in the land uninhabited. In their pastures they were filled to fulness; and their heart was lifted up: therefore have they forgotten me. Therefore I will be unto them as a lion; as a leopard by the way will I observe them; and I will meet them as a bear robbed of her cubs, and I will rend the caul of their hearts, and there will I devour them like a lion: the wild beast of the field shall tear them. O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help. I will be thy king: where is any other that may save thee? In the digging up of thy land who will help thee? Where is thy king? Let him save thee in all thy cities; and thy judges of whom thou saidst, Give me a king and princes. And I gave thee a king in mine anger, [and took him away in my wrath]' (Hosea xiii. 4-11). This we have written, not as finding fault with the Tsar [for being Tsar], but blaming his improper actions. And whoever wills, let him serve the Tsar, and receive judgment from him. But to us Christ our God has given a law, and has set us himself an example not to obey and not to make answer before unrighteous judges, and not to implead [others before them]. 'In that same hour Jesus said to the multitudes, Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves to take me? I sat daily teaching with you in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me' (Matt. xxvi. 55). 'The high-priest then asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said' (John xviii. 19-21). 'And when the soldiers who had taken Jesus had led him away to Caiaphas the high-priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled, the high-priest and all the council sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death; but found none: though many false witnesses came, yet found they none' (Matt. xxvi. 57, 59, 60). 'And there arose certain and bare false witness against him, saying, We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands. But neither so did their witness agree together. And the high-priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee? But Jesus held his peace, and answered nothing' (Mark xiv. 57-61). Seest thou, O thou imitator of the Jews, how Christ our God, when he was unjustly led to judgment before the unrighteous high-priests and elders of the Jews, answered not, and set an example for all them that should believe in him? he even rebuked them when they questioned him with an adjuration. 'And the high-priest answered and said to him, I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God? Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said,' &c. (Matt. xxvi. 63.) 'Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? He answered and said to them, *Ye* say that I am. And they said, What need we any farther witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth' (Luke xxii. 67-71). O wicked Jews! What had they heard? That 'Ye say that I am;' not directly, 'I am he.' Why do ye unrighteously bear witness that we ourselves have heard from his own lips? So now also, imitating the Jews, and lying, certain men say, as thou, O Questioner, and others like thee, 'Why, Nicon himself referred himself to the Tsar's pleasure to be judged, as the Hossoudar should please.' Nicon never has said, in contravention of the divine commandments, nor says now, nor consents, that so it should be. But Nicon said to those who questioned him, having been sent by the Tsar, 'The divine laws do not allow kings to usurp dominion over property, movable or unmovable, which has been dedicated to the Lord; nor to judge [persons who have been similarly dedicated, *i.e.* clerks]: whoever pleases, let *him* accept the Tsar's jurisdiction.' But for us, though we were stripped to our last garment, Christ forbids us to go to law [before the Tsar]. But if the Tsar drag us before his tribunal by force, as the Jews did Christ and his holy Apostles, after the manner of persecutors, that will be seen to by him who is above, the King of kings and Lord of lords, who has promised to take speedy vengeance for every wrong on them that commit injustice and violence: As also of old he many times took vengeance of them that were proud and that lifted themselves up against God's property and heritage, and judged unrighteous judgment: as of Pharaoh, of Moab, of Midian, of Gebal, Ammon and Amalek, of Assur, of Midian, and of Jabin and Sisera at the brook of Kishon, and of Oreb and Zeb, and Zeba and Zalmunnah, of Dathan and Abiram; of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who unjustly condemned the prophet Daniel and the three children of the Hebrews; and of Belshazzar the king, when he polluted in his feast the sacred vessels; of Saul, the devourer of filthiness; of Uzziah, who offered incense unlawfully; of Ahab, who slew and persecuted the prophets; of Herod, of Pontius Pilate, and of the high-priests and the elders of the Jews; and of all the rest who were unrighteous judges of the holy prophets and the holy apostles, and their persecutors and murderers; as Maxentius, and Julian the apostate, and Valens; whom we omit now to name. But let us return to what we were saying before.

Listen, thou Questioner, and imitator of the wickedness of the Jews! As our Lord Jesus Christ answered not to the Jews who questioned him, so also did he when he was brought before the governor. 'And the governor asked him, saying, Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus said to him, Thou sayest. And when the chief-priests and the elders accused him, he answered nothing. Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee? And he answered him to never a word; insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly' (Matt. xxvii. 11-14). The gloss: 'As being accused of matters concerning the emperor, the Lord was taken to Pilate; and so he questions him whether he pretended to make himself king over the Jews. And Jesus said to him, Thou sayest. The answer that he made him was a prudent one; for he said not, I am [the king of the Jews]; nor again, I am not; but he said something between: Thou sayest that I am: or thus: As I say, dost not thou also say the same? and he answered nothing more: for he knew that the tribunal was not to proceed according to justice. And Pilate marvelled at the Lord, both for his despising and not fearing death, and for this, that while showing wisdom and subtlety of speech, and ability to say much in answer for himself, he would not answer anything, but despised his accusers. We also may learn hence, when we see a corrupt tribunal, to say nothing, that we make not more scandal, nor cause greater condemnation to them that will not hear our words' (Comment of St. John Chrys. on Matt. xxvii. 11). 'Then Pilate entered into the judgment-hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate answered, Am I a Jew?' (John xviii. 33-35.) Consider, O Questioner, this second question of Pilate, and Jesus's answer: 'Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?' This he said to expose the malice of the Jews. Then Pilate answered him, 'Am I a Jew?' taunting Jesus for the malice of the Jews: 'thine own nation,' he said, 'and the chief-priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?' (John xviii. 35.) 'Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence' (ib.). Seest thou, O Questioner, the objection made by Jesus to Pilate? For when Pilate had said to Jesus, Thine own nation and the chief-priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus answers to the first question, explaining that his kingdom is not earthly but heavenly. Therefore he saith, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Again 'Pilate saith unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. For this cause was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. And every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all' (ib. v. 35-38). 'The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he was the more afraid; and went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above; therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin. And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him. But the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cesar's friend. Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cesar' (John xix. 7-12). Seest thou, O thou Questioner, how the heathen Pilate is inclined to spare Jesus? And we do no kind of wrong to our Tsar, nor do we call ourselves Tsars. As I am what I am, so he is what he is; though some imitate the Jews. For as they, rejecting Christ their Saviour, cried out, 'We have no king but Cesar,' so too do these now say, 'Eh! we need no patriarch: the metropolitan of Kroutitz does just as well.' So too now they that follow his holy commandments ought not to submit to secular judges, who would compel them to answer at their tribunals, but should be taught by the Lord, who has commanded, saying, 'Beware of men: for they will deliver you up to councils; and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you' (Matt. x. 17-20). 'And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance' (Acts ii. 4-5). And so the Apostles spake with boldness. 'But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them,' &c. And a little afterwards:

'And it came to pass on the morrow that their rulers and elders and scribes, and Annas the high-priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high-priest, were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in their midst, they asked, By what power or by what name have ye done this? Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, &c. And when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled: and they took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus. . . . They could say nothing against it; but when they had commanded them to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves, saying, What shall we do to these men? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem; and we cannot deny it. But that it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name. But Peter and John answered, and said to them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard. So when they had farther threatened them, they let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them' (Acts iv. 5-21). So Paul spoke boldly to Agrippa and Festus (ib. xxvi.); and at Rome also; 'preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, undeterred' (ib. xxviii. 31).

And though he were not a Christian sovereign, and were not himself subject to the Christian law, that dragged by force before his tribunal them that had any matter for judgment with us, then even for this case Christ has laid down a law in the gospel: 'And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy cloak, let him have thy vest also' (Matt. v. 40). But for them that are in the covenant of the gospel, though a man be a Tsar or a prince, he may not, in contravention of the divine commandments, judge of them that are above the power of his own dignity, that is, the sacred order of the clergy; because the priesthood is a very much greater thing than even the empire itself. About this much has been set forth [by you and your Answer-maker], as if the Lord had said to kings and princes, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained: Verily I say unto you, whomsoever ye shall bind on earth they shall be bound in heaven, and whomsoever ye shall loose on earth they shall be loosed in heaven.' But to whom was this said? To his holy disciples and apostles, and to the successors of their power and inheritance after them, the bishops; but not to kings and princes. Consider what is done now; though it be in contravention of the divine canons, and of canons vii. and xliii. of the Council of Carthage.[1] If our emperors of their own will confess themselves to priests and not to bishops, and receive from them judgment in all their sins, and censures [or suspension from the holy communion], and whomsoever they will to bind on account of any grave sins they think him bound, and whom they are pleased to absolve they think absolved, alas for them! for with God they are not absolved. Therefore there is reason for me to weep and mourn, and not only mourn, but also to groan and cry aloud, because such go to destruction. For it is to the bishops alone that such power is given of God to bind and loose sins, and not simply to priests; as the office itself in the Euchologion shows. Nevertheless, if from habit such an arbitrary form of discipline has come in, and emperors and princes endure to be inhibited or bound by priests, and think their absolution to be valid, how much more are they bound in reason to hear the bishops, and not to pretend to judge them, of whom the Lord has said, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me'? But if any one presumes, farther, even to judge him who is not subject to his jurisdiction, how much more does he madly rage against the Lord? Therefore to such the Lord says with a threat, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with whatsoever judgment ye judge ye shall be judged:' that is, As ye take to yourselves unjustly my judgment which is not given to you, ye kings and princes, and rage madly against my servants the bishops, and the rest of the sacred order, and unjustly condemn, I will justly condemn you, according to your deeds. Therefore also he makes the addition, and says, as teaching at once and threatening,

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[1] Reserving absolution to the proper *bishop;* and forbidding *priests* to absolve, except *by permission of the bishop.* K. fol. 47 and 52, Bever. i. pp. 522, 569, canons vii. and xlvi. Aristin. These are ix. of the 'Second' (really the last) and xxxi. xxxii. of the 'Third' Council of Carthage, which in Justell's edd. (1614 and 1661) are ix. and xliii. of the Code of cxxxviii. canons of A.D. 419.

'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned.' In the same manner also the blessed Apostle testifies, saying, 'Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God' (1 Cor. iv. 5). And again he says: 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth; but he shall be holden up; for God is able to make him stand' (Rom. xiv. 4). And again: 'What hast thou which thou hast not received?' (1 Cor. iv. 7.) But to them who are willing to be judged before secular judges, being clerks, of whatever order of the clergy, the Apostle testifies, saying: 'Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?' (1 Cor. vi. 1, 2.) Seest thou, O thou Questioner, how that then they shall judge the world, as now thou wouldst have the world to judge them? And how is any one to endure to be judged by them whom he is to judge himself? But they shall judge not sitting personally and weighing words, but they shall condemn it. For this he shows when he says, 'And if the world shall receive judgment by you, are ye unworthy to judge small matters?' This, he says, brings shame to you, and an unspeakable degradation. Since it would have been fitting for them to be ashamed of having to be judged even by them that are within: but when it is contrariwise, it is a plain shame to be judged of them that are without: for those tribunals are much inferior to these. 'Know ye not that we shall judge angels? and not only the things of this life?' Seest thou the great superiority in honour of the priesthood? If Paul says that we shall also judge angels, and not only things of this life, how is it possible for the saints to receive judgment from secular persons? 'Therefore,' he says, 'if ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church. I speak to your shame. Is it so that there is not a wise man among you? No; not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?' This he says, that if any one object that there is not one man among you wise, or capable of judging with discernment, it is better to give up the matter altogether. And what is this? 'If there is not even one man among you wise, then,' he says, 'leave it even to the unwise to judge according to authority and dignity, that there be not shame by both; by the one (the secular judge, I mean) in that he judges, and by the other, in that he is judged by one of those without.' Canon i. of the Two Canons of all the holy Apostles together enacts: 'Let every one abide in his own order, and transgress not the constitutions; for they are not ours, but God's; even as the Lord has said: "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that heareth me heareth him that sent me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me"'[1] (K. fol. 12). And canon ix. of the Council of Chalcedon: 'Clerks having suits one against another, if, instead of taking them before the bishop, they apply to secular courts, are to be canonically punished. And clerks having anything against a bishop must wait for the meeting of the synod. And if bishops have anything against the metropolitan, they must make it known to the patriarch of Constantinople' (K. fol. 38). The gloss: 'A clerk having anything against another clerk may not go to law before secular judges, but only before his own bishop. And if, leaving their own bishop, they go before a secular court, they are to be punished according to the canons. In like manner a clerk having anything against his bishop must go to the metropolitan of that province; and when, at the fixed time, all the bishops of his province come together to the metropolitan, then he shall have his cause judged before the metropolitan in the synod. But if a bishop or a clerk have any difference with the metropolitan, his cause is to be judged by the patriarch under whom are the bishops and metropolitans of all the provinces of the same region. Or it may be judged by the patriarch of Constantinople. But this power is given to none of the other patriarchs, neither by the canons nor by the civil law (that he should judge a metropolitan subject to another patriarch), but only to the patriarch of Constantinople.'[2] Can. xv. of Council of Carthage: 'Bishops or priests or deacons accused of any crimes,[3] if, leaving the Church courts, they apply to the secular, even though they[4] be wronged, are to be degraded from their order. And even though they gain their suit in any civil actions, and avail themselves of the decision, they are equally to lose their order. But the ecclesiastical judges, unless it can be shown that they have decided of favour (or for a bribe), or of hatred, or that they had been previously deposed by a synod, are not to be prejudiced by the success of any appeal.[1] But if both sides choose judges, by these they must abide.'[2] The gloss: 'Bishops, priests, and deacons must not decline the ecclesiastical tribunals. If any one of them, being accused of some crime, abandons the ecclesiastical tribunals and goes to secular judges, and pleads his cause and is tried before them, even though he be not found guilty and condemned by the secular judges, he shall lose his order. And if the cause against him be not criminal, but civil, concerning property or money or other secular matters, and he pleads and gains it (having similarly abandoned the ecclesiastical tribunal, and betaken himself to secular judges, and having had his cause judged by them), if he chooses to hold to their judgment, and claims the property or money, or whatever else it may be, for which he has a decision in his favour, he shall lose his order. But if, disregarding the secular tribunal, he does not take nor claim anything of what he has had awarded to him by its decision, he shall remain in his order. If any one having been judged by the bishops, and condemned or cast by them, appeals to higher ecclesiastical judges against those who condemned him in the first instance and succeeds in his appeal, then, unless they be proved[3] to have decided either of enmity or of favour, or for some bribe, the ecclesiastical judges whose judgment is reversed shall incur no liability. But if both parties, the accused and the accuser, or the defendant and the plaintiff, agree to choose ecclesiastical judges, and consent to have their cause judged by them, then, even though they be in number fewer than the canons require (the canons require twelve bishops to judge a bishop, and seven bishops to judge a priest, and four to judge a deacon, as we have written on canon xii. of this synod), that party which is condemned or cast may not on any pretence call in question their judgment, but must abide by it, &c. A synod may correct the ignorance or error of judges: but how can a man be heard who himself chose ecclesiastical judges, so by his own word and act affirming them to be unexceptionable, and then says afterwards that he has been erroneously and unjustly condemned or cast by them; or who brings any other charge against ecclesiastics whom he himself selected?'[1] (K. fol. 48.) Canon civ. of the same council:[2] 'Any bishop applying for a secular trial from the emperor is deposed.' The gloss: 'A bishop or clerk accused of crimes, who declines the tribunal of the Church, and asks of the emperor secular judges, is to be deprived of his rank' (K. fol. 65). Gregory the Divine in his serm. xiii. about St. Athanasius writes as follows:

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[1] See above, p. 8.

[2] See above, pp. 38 and 61. Bever. i. p. 123.

[3] The Greek Πηδάλιον adds, 'or in any civil matters.'

[4] *καὶ ἀδικούμενοι*: mistranslated in the Slavonic 'and be condemned.'

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[1] Here the Slavonic had quite changed and corrupted the sense of the Greek.

[2] According to the Greek Πηδάλιον, three canons, xv. xvi. xvii., are here fused together into one canon, xv., by the canonists. See Beyer. I. p. 535, Aristin.

[3] The Slavonic at fol. 49 of K. has 'unless they be excommunicate' ('otloucheni' for 'oblicheni'): and it continues thus, 'let him who has been condemned remain in the same sentence;' whereas the sense is, that he shall have no cause against them, even though he should be successful in an appeal, and though their judgment should be reversed.

'Here a foul assembly,[3] with lay people, judged religious bishops, and examined into their lives unlawfully. For how can one say that it was not unlawful to examine the acts of bishops before all, and to mix together what should not be mixed, and to make inquiry before those who are without of their private actions? For priests are rightly to be judged by bishops, not by secular people; and bishops are to be judged among themselves, not before the people. But as for those irreligious people who condemned the great Athanasius, as it had been before about his hand, so now again some spake against him, accusing him that he had arbitrarily overthrown a holy table, and had broken up a chalice. And other like private acts they contrived to bring out by examination before the people. Not that these charges were true; but they suborned false accusers, promising to give them an abundant reward, "if through your false accusations the bishops who are upon trial are condemned." And in consequence of such false accusations orthodox ministers were expelled from their churches,[4] and instead of them others were put in; and there was exacted a written consent to heterodoxy, and care was taken that there should be writers ready, and writing materials. And hence most of those also who were orthodox[1] were entrapped into subscribing such a written avowal of heresy, in order not to give up their chairs. And if it be fit also to name the causes for which they so dishonourably subscribed, we may find four: for they were either frightened into subscribing, or they were enslaved by interest, or they were caught by flattery, or they were entrapped through ignorance, in which last case the blame is least. However, though such may make answer to the bishop, and say, We are not able to understand; this will not benefit them at all. For for quite common people of the laity it may be admissible to plead thus, as they know not the divine scriptures: for one of the simple people, who suffers deception through ignorance, obtains some little lenity or indulgence. But for teachers, certainly, it is quite out of place to say this, who are appointed to correct the ignorance of others. And if no man is allowed to plead ignorance of the Greek law,[2] however stupid and ignorant he may be, and the law makes no allowance whatever for offences committed against it through ignorance, will it not be absurd to allow the hierophants of salvation, the rulers of the Church, the bishops, to plead ignorance of the principles of salvation, though in other respects they may be of the simpler sort and of no depth of understanding? However, let there be some allowance made for such as through ignorance followed others. But what, think you, are we to say of the rest, who, being both sharp-witted and having minds cognisant of wisdom, were yet deceived through the other causes above mentioned, and in obedience to the rulers conformed to impiety? On account of this[3] I have wept often, seeing then the spread of impiety, and seeing the present persecution excited against the true doctrine by those who were, by their office, the guardians of the doctrine (but evil men, seemingly pastors of Christ's flock, but really wolves and destroyers. Of such we may say with truth, in the words of the prophet Jeremiah), "The pastors are become foolish" (Jer. x. 21): and again, "Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, and my pleasant portion they have put to shame" (ib. xii. 10); that is, the Church of the Lord brought together and beautified by painful labours and sacrifices, that is, by the prophets and righteous men who were before Christ, and after Christ by the Apostles and by the host of the martyrs, and above all these by the transcendent sufferings of Christ himself for us.' And concerning St. Basil the same St. Gregory the Divine writes as follows:

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[1] Bev. i. p. 535, Arist. (Can. xii. of this gloss is x. of 'Third' C. of Carth.)

[2] This is canon cvii. of Bever. vol. i. p. 641, Aristin. See above, pp. 103, 140.

[3] *ἐντεῦθεν οἱ βέβηλοι τῶν ὁσίων κρίται, καὶ ἡ καινὴ μίξις, ὄψις δημοσία, καὶ μυστικὰ προβλήματα, καὶ ἡ παράνομος τῶν βεβιωμένων ἐξετασις, καὶ οἱ μισθούμενοι συκοφάνται, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς κρίσις, κ.τ.λ.* Opera Greg. Naz. Coloniæ 1690, vol. i. p. 386-7. *εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας Ὁμιλ. κα΄.*

[4] *καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξωθούμενοι τῶν θρόνων ἀδίκως, οἱ δὲ ἀντεισαγόμενοι, καὶ τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀπαιτούμενοι, ὥσπέρ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ τὸ μέλαν ἕτοιμον, καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης ἐγγύς.* Ib. p. 387.

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[1] *ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀηττήτων οἱ πλεῖστοι πεπόνθασι, διανοίᾳ μὲν οὐ πεσόντες, γράμματι δὲ παραχθέντες, κ.τ.λ.* p. 387.

[2] *διδασκάλῳ δὲ πῶς τοῦτο δώσομεν, ὃς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοίας ἐπανορθοῖ, ἄνπερ ᾖ μὴ ψευδώνυμος; πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, Ῥωμαίων μὲν νόμον μηδενὶ ἀγνοεῖν ἐξεῖναι, μηδ' ἂν σφόδρα ᾖ τις ἀγροικίας καὶ ἀμαθέστατος, μηδὲ εἶναι νόμον τὸν βοηθοῦντα τοῖς πραττομένοις δι' ἀγνοίας, τοὺς δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀγνοεῖν μυσταγωγοὺς τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἀρχὰς, κἂν τἄλλα τυγχάνωσι τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ὄντες καὶ μὴ βαθεῖς τὴν διάνοιαν; πλὴν ἔστω συγγνώμη τοῖς δι' ἄγνοιαν κατακολουθήσασι.* p. 388.

[3] This comes earlier in Greg. Naz., and, like the rest, is paraphrased rather than translated. *ὃ πολλάκις ἐδάκρυσα, ὁρῶν τὴν τότε χύσιν τῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐπαναστάντα διωγμὸν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ παρὰ τῶν προστατῶν τοῦ λόγου. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ ποιμένες ἠφρονεύσαντο κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, καὶ ποιμένες πολλοὶ διέφθειραν τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου· ἤσχυναν μερίδα τὴν ἐπιθυμητὴν, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγω, πολλοῖς ἱδρῶσι καὶ*

'Then the governor, being moved, was inflamed with greater fury,[1] and rose up from his seat, and began to use sharper words to him, saying, Hey! fearest thou not the power? Fear lest what should happen? or lest I should suffer what? Some one of the many things which are in my power to do. Basil said, What are these? let us know what they are. The governor said, Confiscation, exile, tortures, death. Basil replied, If there is anything else to threaten, utter it, for of these nothing touches us. The governor said, How? what meanest thou? Basil said, Because confiscation lays no hold on one who possesses nothing, unless thou wantest these worn haircloth garments and a few books, which are all my property. Exile I know not, as I am not confined to any one place; nor do I regard this place where I am now living as specially mine, but I regard every place into which I may be cast as mine, or rather all places as God's, whose pilgrim and sojourner I am. What will tortures lay hold upon where there is no body? unless you speak of the first blow; for of that alone are you master. And death is a benefit, for it will send me quickly to God, to whom I live, and whose citizen I am (being already rather dead than alive in the greater part of me), and to whom I am hasting from afar off.'

Comment: 'Then, he says, the governor was roused, that

σφαγίοις συνειλεγμένην, τοῖς πρὸ Χριστοῦ τε καὶ μετὰ Χριστὸν, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μεγάλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν πάθεσι. p. 387. Then follows ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀηττήτων κ.τ.λ., as given above.

[1] Opera Greg. Naz., ed. 1690, tom. I. p. 319.

is, he was inflamed with greater fury. So, wishing to frighten the Saint, he began to speak to him, and to threaten him, with the sharpest words; or, rather, he spoke words of madness. He ran off to power, and exclaimed, How! fearest thou not the power? But he replied, Why should I fear thy power? lest I should suffer something? The governor said, with gravity, Dost thou ask to suffer nothing of the many things which it is in my power to inflict? And the Saint replied, What are they, O governor? let them be named. He enumerated, confiscation of goods, exile, tortures, and lastly death. The Saint to this replied, Of these none touches me. The governor, wondering at this, began to ask the Saint, How sayest thou that these touch thee not, when thou art one man out of many [like others]? And the Saint, For I have already done, and done better, to myself all that robbers [or confiscation could do], for the hope of the kingdom of heaven; and, having now nothing, I am not afraid of confiscation. All fear of exile too I am rid of, knowing that I have one only country, that is, paradise, on high: but all this earth I regard as a place of sojourning and exile, according to the word of the prophet David: The earth is the Lord's and the ends of it: but I am a stranger and a pilgrim, as all my fathers were. Tortures I fear not; for what will they take [to torture], not finding a body, but the remains of one wasted with abstinence and grief, unless it be this that you mean, that you may give me one blow or a second, which may cause my death; for so much only is in thy power. But I, to speak with the Apostle, die daily, by the mortification of the flesh. How then shall I fear death? Nay, I regard it rather as a benefactress which will send me to God, for whom I live, and whom I serve, and long from afar off to appear before his face. Rather it were a misery for me not to suffer as a martyr for the truth.

'At this the governor, wondering, said,[1] No man hitherto has ever spoken to me (naming himself) thus, or with such freedom. Perhaps the reason is, said the Saint, that thou didst never before fall upon a bishop; else certainly he would have spoken to you in this manner, if he had to contend for the like matters. For as to other things we are gentle, O governor, and more humble than all other men; for so the commandment of God bids us to be; and we are not used to look big [lit. to raise the eyebrow], I will not say in the face of such great power [as that of the emperor], but not even in the face of any common man. But where God is the point endangered and the subject of requirement, without regarding anything else, we look to Him alone. Then fire and sword, and wild beasts, and claws tearing the flesh, are luxury to us rather than terror. So then revile, threaten, do whatsoever it pleases thee, enjoy thy power. Let the emperor too hear this [which I say], that thou wilt neither reduce us, nor persuade us to consent to impiety, though thou threatenest worse things [than thou hast yet named].'

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[1] τούτοις καταπλάγεντα τὸν ὕπαρχον, οὐδεὶς φάναι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὕτως ἐμοὶ διείλεκται, καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης τῆς παῤῥησίας, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ προσθεὶς ὄνομα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκόπῳ φησὶν, Ἴσως ἐνέτυχες, ἢ πάντως ἂν τοῦτον διειλέχθη τὸν τρόπον, ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀγωνιζόμενοι. τἄλλα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεῖς, ὕπαρχε, καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου ταπεινότεροι, τοῦτο τῆς ἐντολῆς κελευούσης, καὶ μὴ ὅτι τοσούτῳ κράτει, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν τυχόντων ἐνὶ τὴν ὄφρυν αἴροντες. οὐδὲ Θεὸς τὸ κινδυνευόμενον, καὶ προκείμενον, τἄλλα περιφρονοῦντες, πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον βλέπομεν. πῦρ δὲ καὶ ξίφος καὶ θῆρες, καὶ οἱ τὰς σάρκας τέμνοντες ὄνυχες τρυφὴ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἢ κατάπληξις. πρὸς ταῦτα ὕβριζε, ἀπείλει, ποίει πᾶν ὅτι ἂν ᾖ βουλομένῳ σοι, τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπόλαυε. ἀκουέτω ταῦτα καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡμᾶς γε οὐχ αἱρήσεις, οὐδὲ πείσεις συνθέσθαι τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ, κἂν ἀπειλῆς χαλεπώτερα.

The comment: 'At this,' says Gregory the Divine, 'the governor was astonished, and said: It is strange to me. No one ever hitherto has spoken to me (naming himself at the same time) with such audacity. But the Saint said to him: No doubt that is because thou hast never yet had a bishop [to persecute]: if thou hadst had one, he would have been equally void of fear, and would have spoken to thee with boldness, contending for the truth of orthodoxy. We, O governor, in other things are humble towards all men; and the commandment of God enjoins us to be so; because he also voluntarily for our sakes humbled himself, and was obedient even to death, as the divine Apostle testifies in his Epistle to the Philippians. Therefore we also, imitating his voluntary humility, so far as we can, do not oppose, nor exalt ourselves, but are humble and kind towards all, not lifting up our eyebrow on high. But where our faith is interfered with, and there is a question concerning God, though they take from us gold, or there be anything else, even the most cruel tortures, for us to suffer, we do not humble ourselves, but, regarding all else as nothing, we contend for this one thing alone. And as for any tortures which may await us, as fire, or sword, or the teeth of beasts and the tearing of our flesh, these things are terrors only for the bad, and we receive them just as meat and drink. Therefore, do what thou wilt, and enjoy thy power in torturing me. And (he added) let the emperor hear this, that thou canst not coerce me, nor canst make me to communicate with his heresy, though he threatens me with ever so cruel tortures.

'The governor having said and heard in reply these words, and having learned the firmness of the man, that he was so little to be frightened, and so unconquerable, dismissed him from his presence and sent him away, no longer using the same threats, but with a certain respect and deference. And he himself having gone as soon after as he could to the emperor, said: We have the worst of it, O emperor, with the head of this Church. The man is not to be moved by threats, he is too firm for words, too strong for arguments. We must try some other of the less noble sort; but this man must either be compelled publicly, or all hope must be given up of working on him by threats. At this the emperor regretted what he had done, and was overcome by the praises he heard of the man (for a brave man excites the admiration even of his enemies); and he would not order that violence should be used against him; but he suffered something like what iron suffers when it softens in the fire, but remains still iron. And changing from threatening to admiration he still would not be received to communion, for he was ashamed to change, but he sought how to make some sort of apology as decently as he could. This too we will relate. For entering into the church with all his armed guards (it was then the day of the Epiphany, a great day of assembly), and making himself part of the congregation, he thus assumed for himself union.'[1]

The comment: 'The governor having spoken these most sharp words to the Saint with such threats, and having heard from him in reply words uttered with all wisdom and sobriety, and noticing how against his own threatenings he spoke with such boldness, without any sort of alarm, concluded hence that he was not to be overcome by threats, and dismissed him from his presence, and caused him to be conducted home, no longer with the same threats, but with a certain respect and honour. And he himself having gone soon afterwards to the emperor, informed him of the man's opposition. We, he said to the emperor, have been worsted by the head of that Church; for the man is above threats, extremely firm in the words of his reply, in discussion invincible. Any other man of the common sort might be subdued by threats; but this man must either be compelled by force publicly; that is, must be tortured and put to death; or, as there is no hope of subduing him, he must be let alone, to remain as he will. Hereupon, he says, the emperor was struck with shame, being driven to it by the praises he heard of the man. For such is the power of virtue, that it forces even its adversaries to wonder and to honour it. The emperor then gave order that no farther compulsion should be used with the Saint: and he himself suffered something like what iron suffers; for as it may be softened [in the fire], but remains still iron, so Julian[1] [Valens] was forced to shame by the virtue of the great Basil, and praised him, and regarded his excommunication with awe. But still he himself remained to the end in his impiety: he was not received to communicate with the faithful of God's holy Catholic Apostolic Church. He was ashamed, it is said, of changing. But folly is that of which one ought to be ashamed; and of changing from orthodoxy to heresy. But he, wretched man, was ashamed to change from heresy to piety. But he entered into the holy church with all his armed men (it was then the day of the Epiphany, a day of assembly, such as in Holy Week is the day of the Resurrection), and made himself part of the people; that is, mixed himself with the people in the holy church, and so joined himself with the assembly of the saints.'

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[1] *ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι κ.τ.λ.* to *οὕτως ἀφοσιοῦται τὴν ἕνωσιν.* p. 350-1.

The comment:[2] 'Consider another conflict of our athlete Basil. As he was before the tribunal of the governor, the governor, of his pride, ordered them to strip off his mandya from the saint. But he was ready; and said, If thou wilt that my tunic be stripped off also, let it be so. The judge threatened to tear him with the iron claws, and to cause him to be disembowelled, thinking so to frighten him. But the Saint, rebuking him for his vain and intemperate threat, said, It is a pleasure rather to hear such an intention announced for me. The flame of hell [*i. e.* of concupiscence] which these many years past has been within me is not yet altogether extinguished; and thou by such a threat promisest to heal me. And if thou takest out my bowels, I shall be so much the sooner set free from this wretched body. For it is desirable for me to be dissolved from the body and to be with Christ. Thus the governor then threatened him, and thus the Saint made answer to him.'

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[1] In the MS. 'Decius,' which has been erased, and 'Julian' written over it, and afterwards erased too. See Op. Greg. Naz. ed. Par. 1842, vol. i. p. 806-813.

[2] The text itself here paraphrased is as follows: *ἄθρει δὴ πάλην ἑτέραν ἀγωνιστοῦ καὶ διωκτοῦ· τὸ περιαυχένιον ῥάκος σφενδονᾶσθαι προσέταττεν· ὁ δὲ, προσαποδύσομαί σοι, φησὶν, εἰ βούλει καὶ τὸ χιτώνιον. τύπτειν ἠπείλει τὸν ἄσαρκον· ὁ δὲ ὑπέκυπτε· ξέειν τοῖς ὄνυξιν, ὁ δὲ ἰατρεύεις φησὶ τὸ ἧπαρ, ὁρᾷς ὅπως με κατατρύχον, τοῖς τοιούτοις θεραπεύων σπαράγμασιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν.* Ib. p. 354, ed. 1690.

'He seemed to behave himself the more admirably before all, because he was ready for the sake of orthodoxy not only to be banished from his country, but also to die. "And here," says the Divine, "what the secular power did against St. Basil came to an end;" viz. what was done by Julian [Valens], and by the governor [Modestus], and lastly, the violence done to him by Eusebius governor of Pontus. And all came to nothing and ceased, "and had a good end, worthy of the faith of the Saint, the providence of God so disposing."'[1]

From the Life of St. John Chrysostom: 'Then the blessed John again said to the emperor: I entreat thee to remain purely in orthodoxy, to turn away from slanderers, and to go frequently to the church of God, and not to grieve the Holy Spirit by your anger, nor to inflict grief on my poor soul. But let this also be known to thy piety, that he will have no cause to be ashamed who receives rebuke and correction for the good of souls. And the emperor and all that were with him answered with religious reverence, and said to him: We have heard thy words, venerable father, and we will do what pleases thee before all, before thine eyes; and for the future we will not disobey thee, but will do with all our heart all that thou biddest us; and we will not reject thy words, but will obey them as if they came from Christ.'

From the Life of the same St. John Chrysostom: 'There was a certain woman named Callitrophia, who had been the wife of the head Nauclerus of Alexandria. She, of malice and envy inspired by the devil, was accused by the citizens to Paulicius, who was then the Augustal in that city, as being extremely rich. And he, having caused her to be brought before him, made order to take from her 500 gold pieces; and when she could not pay so much, she pledged all her property, and took up money at interest, and gave it to Paulicius. And he, having taken the

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[1] Ib. p. 355. What follows about St. J. Chrysostom is from the Lives of the Saints by Simeon Metaphrastes, in the Slavonic Cheti Menée.

500 gold pieces, let her go. And after a time the creditors came upon her, demanding repayment. And after two years had passed, they deposed Paulicius from his office; and they took him to Constantinople to examine him as to the way in which he had governed his province. And that poor widow arose, and embarking in a ship, followed him; and on her arrival she fell at the feet of the emperor, and prayed for justice against Paulicius, and that he should restore to her the money which had been unjustly taken from her. But the governor [of Alexandria] helped Paulicius, and gave a different account of the matter to the emperor from that of the widow, having himself obtained his post and become governor through Paulicius. The woman, seeing herself wronged, petitioned the clerk of the empress, and told him all her misfortunes; and as soon as this was repeated to the empress, she forthwith sent two of her young men to bring Paulicius before her. When he was come, the empress said to him: Art thou he who hast wasted Alexandria, the metropolis of Egypt, and squandered all the revenues for the provisioning and maintaining and paying the forces? He answered: Know, O empress, that I have wasted nothing, nor squandered, nor caused any harm to any one; and whatever I had received, thy majesty knows that I paid everything into the treasury before I was removed from that office. She however said: I know nothing of what thou sayest; but by the life of the emperor, I will not let thee go till thou payest down 100 pounds of gold. Having said this, she commanded her young men to guard him till he paid the money. And Paulicius, hearing her command, and seeing that he could not get away from her, that he might not irritate her, gave up all the gold required, and so obtained his dismissal. And the empress, having taken the money, gave to the widow thirty pieces of gold, and so sent her away. The widow went out from the palace weeping and lamenting, as she had never thought of such a new calamity as this which had now come upon her. But having heard of the blessed John, how he took the part of them that were wronged, especially if they had none to help them, she fell down before him, and told him all that the empress had done with regard to Paulicius, and how ill she herself had come off. When the great John heard that, and especially when she said that they to whom she owed money in Alexandria were pressing her for repayment and for

interest, he called Paulicius to the holy church, and said to him: I know of you that you have allowed yourself to do an injustice against God, who is the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widows. Knowest thou not that it is hard to contend against him? Now therefore restore to this poor woman the 500 gold pieces which you took from her unjustly, that she may redeem herself from the creditors from whom she had to borrow, and may be freed, together with her children, from the distress in which they are, and from that unjust bond. Paulicius replied: This woman petitioned the empress, and she took from me 100 pounds of gold, and treated me very ill besides, on her account. Let her go and get the money from her to whom she petitions and cries out against me. But John said to him: The empress took all that gold from thee; but it was for thine offences of which thou wert guilty when thou wert in that office. But I will not be a party to the doing of injustice to this poor woman, nor let thee go hence until thou payest her all that thou didst take from her. Make no excuses by speaking against the empress; for I say to thee that thou shalt not go out from hence until she has received the uttermost farthing. But for the thirty gold pieces which the empress gave her, they shall be for her maintenance [in the mean time]. The empress, hearing a report of this, sent a message to John thus: Let Paulicius go, for I have already taken gold enough from him for that debt. But John replied to her by the same messenger, saying: Believe me when I say, that Paulicius shall not be set at liberty until he repays what he took from this poor woman. The empress sent again to him, saying: Let that man go. But John, on the contrary, replied to her: If thou wishest that I should let him go, then send to this widow 500 gold pieces; and if thou doest this, thou wilt not have done any great matter, since on her account thou didst take a much greater sum of gold from Paulicius, viz. one hundred pounds. The empress, on hearing this, was filled with wrath, and said: It seems to me that John has come from Antioch to set at naught imperial commands. Then she sent again that same hour two centurions with two hundred soldiers, to go to the church, and by force to take away Paulicius from the patriarch, and to let him go to his house. But when they were come before the doors of the church, and would have gone in, they saw an angel of the

Lord standing before the doors, holding in his hand a spear, and suffering them not to go in. At this sight they feared greatly, and returned to the empress trembling, and told her of the apparition of the angel, and how he was standing with his spear. And the empress, when she heard that, feared, and was greatly troubled, and was struck with awe. However, when it was past, the same hatred against John remained in her mind as before. She watched for a convenient time to repay him. And a little afterwards the empress sent again to him Froshentius [Crescentius?], a man of high rank, requesting him to let Paulicius go. The great John did not either listen to his flatteries; however, he said: Do not quarrel with me; for I wish to rescue this poor widow from the distress which has been brought upon her unjustly, and at the same time to do something for the empress herself towards the salvation of her soul. Paulicius, seeing that he could not otherwise get away out of the church, sent to his house, and caused the 500 gold pieces to be brought to him, and gave them to the widow in presence of the patriarch; and so he let him go, and he returned to his house. The woman also returned to her own city and to her house, glorifying God, who had been merciful to her through the prayers of John. But John again taught the people that they should desist from unsound opinions. And after some days the empress again sent to the blessed John, partly threatening and partly flattering him, and bidding him not to oppose her, nor rebuke her, saying thus: Cease now, as becomes thee, from meddling with affairs of state; as neither do we attempt to direct ecclesiastical affairs, but leave them to thee to do as thou wilt. Cease to cause disorder in the churches, and to make us a byeword in the mouths of all. I have always regarded thee as a father, and I honour thee very much; but thou must now choose one of two things: either give up the government of the Church, or desist from meddling with matters of state; for I will not endure thee if thou causest trouble. The blessed John, when he heard that, was greatly troubled, and considered with himself, saying, What will happen to this woman, who acts thus without shame, and provokes Christ to anger by her deeds? And, sighing deeply, he answered and said to them that were sent: If I were to seek to please men, I should not be the servant of Christ. And again the same Apostle says, Rebuke, reprove, entreat. I strive so to do; and I will not desist from teaching, that I may not remain in heaviness, or in all the pollution of other men's sins, but that I may be kept by the providence of the Lord without stain even to my last breath. If she thinks that I reprove her in my sermons, it profits her nothing to harbour ill-will against me, or to complain of this. I see that she is outside of the company of good people, and that she keeps not the commandments of Christ. Nevertheless, personally, I have never spoken against either her or any one else, nor put any dishonour upon them. God forbid my ever doing so. But, rebuking avarice, I have not ceased to exhort men to desist from this vice; and I do not mean to cease. If she is free from that mischief, she should rather rejoice that she is outside of all this blame: but if she is not free from those faults which are named, then let her know that it is not I who reproach her with this, or who do her any dishonour; but it is those very acts themselves which she does. For he who doeth sin is the servant of sin, as says the Apostle. What is there which forbids her to do well? or what profit will it be to her, even though she gain the whole world, if she lose her own soul? or what shall she give in exchange for her soul? With these words in teaching I have many times struck people, and have sent them away in peace to tell her what they had heard. And they, writing down quickly those words, have confessed to her, saying: We have heard words to-day from a man who fears not any form of death, but regards all as nothing, caring only for one thing, viz. to rebuke and exhort those who walk not by the right way; and in so doing he abides ever indefatigable. Saying this to her, they gave her the paper on which they had written these words.'

From the Life of the same John Chrysostom: 'At that time there was in the city with the emperor a nobleman named Theognostus, who was a good man and had the fear of God ever before his eyes; and for this cause the emperor had a great regard for him. And there was another nobleman, named Gai, of the Arian belief. He was jealous of Theognostus, and slandered him to the emperor, saying that he spoke ill of the emperor and of the empress, and said: They are never satisfied with taking gold from their subjects, and they are ruining their empire. At this the emperor, flying into a passion, gave orders to banish him to Thessalonica, and to confiscate all his property, except some sheds outside the city for the support of his wife and children. And as Theognostus was on his way to Thessalonica he fell sick of grief, and died. His wife, seeing this undeserved severity, and that her husband was dead, and much property had been taken away from them, became very ill also. However, she went to the church, to the blessed John, and told him all her misfortunes. And that tender-hearted man, when he heard it, was greatly moved with compassion, and began to talk to her, saying: Do not lament, but rather generously give glory to God, and endure thy misfortune and that of thy husband; for thou hast God for thy judge, who will provide for thee, and will be a father to thy fatherless children. For he knows all things; and whatever is good for us, that he does, as with his servants. However, if Theognostus died through injustice, we will say confidently that his death will be to him for everlasting life, and for everlasting punishment to them who slandered him. With these and many other like words he exhorted her, and sent her back to her house, and bade her take from the xenodochion daily what sufficed for her own support and for that of her children: and he had an intention of interceding with the emperor to restore to her the property of her husband. Then there came another misfortune; namely, a deliberate enmity against that poor woman and her children, or rather against the blessed John. For when the time came for the gathering of grapes, when all go out into the country to get in their grapes, the empress Eudoxia, as she was going over the lands of the emperor, in passing by entered into the vineyard of [the widow and family of] Theognostus, and plucked a bunch of grapes from it with her own hands, and ate some of the grapes from it; on which her attendants said to her: Madam, this vineyard belongs to others. Now it was a rule of the emperors, that if the emperor or the empress, in passing, entered into any vineyard or orchard and ate of its fruit, it should no longer be permitted to the owner of that land to retain possession of it; but the emperor should take it, and the owner should receive an equivalent; either another vineyard from some imperial property into which the emperor had never gone, or money from the imperial treasury. The empress then ordered that the vineyard of Theognostus should be registered among the imperial vineyards for two months, either wishing to do a spite to the widow and her children because she was angry with her for having complained to John, or else seeking an occasion for words with him, and a pretext for bringing John before her, and for expelling him from his church. She knew how compassionate he was, and that if he heard of the commission of any such injustice, he would not be a passive spectator of the distress of that widow and her children: and perhaps something else (so she thought) might come out from that to facilitate her purpose. As she guessed, so also it fell out. For as soon as the blessed John knew of it, he sent a memorial to her by Eutychius his archdeacon, a man who could speak with acuteness and wisdom, and who was of virtuous life, saying thus: The Christian faith and life of thy mother are known to all; and for her prayers and good works God gave to thee the empire of this earth. I hope from thee that thou also wilt exert thyself to act well, and wilt obtain also from him the kingdom of heaven; for the wealth and glory and praise of this life will profit us nothing in that terrible day of judgment, but only the works of a good life. Therefore, forget not the fear of God, knowing well that the breath of us all is in his hands: to whom he wills he adds, and from whom he wills he takes away. We are dust and ashes: we shall soon go down into the earth into a dark and narrow place, as all the kings and captains and princes of old who were before us. Think of the emperors and kings who were before you. Such as you are now, they were then: such as they are now, you must be soon. While then you can, reflect. They who did good, how happy are they! but they who did evil are remembered with great curses; and sometimes men are unwilling even to hear them named, so odious is their memory. Do thou then, O dear daughter in Christ, who honourest what is good, imitate the good, by keeping the faith undefiled, and by passing all thy life in righteousness and good works. Give orders to restore to the poor widow of Theognostus and to her children the vineyard which they had to console them. It is enough for them to have suffered the great affliction of his exile and death, and the confiscation of all his property. Yea, I intreat thee, put away the anger which thou hast against her, remembering Christ's words in the gospel, which he spake, Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. Least of all should there be wrath from thee. And for whatever has been gotten, whose shall it be? Can we take down to the grave with us either the sweetness of the grape, or the fatness of the olive, or fine apparel, or wealth, or glory and power? Shall we not leave all here, and depart hence naked, taking nothing whatever with us hence, except our works? Therefore, remembering all this, order the vineyard to be restored to the poor widow, that thou mayest obtain a reward from God in the day of judgment. These and other like words were spoken to the empress by Eutychius in the name of the blessed John. But she, after hearing them, wrote to him thus: Thou petitionest with asperity; thou hast condemned me by thy words as unjust, and doing unrighteously, because thou art ignorant of the imperial custom and law, not treating me with respect, but wronging me. Henceforth I will not put up with thee, nor allow myself to be altogether set at naught by thee. As regards the vineyard of Theognostus, thou oughtest to have known the Roman laws, and what they prescribe in such cases. If thou knowest not, then learn how they who were emperors aforetime have enacted. Let her choose which she will of these two alternatives: either in lieu of that vineyard let her take another, wherever she will, which may be its equivalent, or the price of it in money. But I do not choose to change the rules of the former emperors; nor have I any thought of myself in the matter. After receiving this letter from her, the blessed John soon rose up, and went to her to the palace; and, being seated in her presence, he began again to admonish her with like words, saying more than before to her; and he concluded by saying: Give back the vineyard to the widow, and let it not be said of thee that thou doest injustice. But she said: I have already written to thee that there has been a statute made by them that were emperors before us in time past about such lands; and I have offered her the choice of taking either another vineyard in lieu of that, or the worth of it in money. But John said to her: I have said to thee, and I will say to thee again, Give back to this widow her own: she asks for nothing but what is her own. But the empress said to him: Do not thus oppose thyself to the imperial power; for thou wilt get no good success at all from this. John again answered, and said to her: Give back the vineyard, and make no pretence of old rules and laws, since, if such a statute was made by unchristian emperors, there is only so much the more reason now [for thee to do as I say]. For all emperors have made laws: and there is nothing to forbid thee to abrogate an ill-made and unjust law and to set it right, being as thou art an empress, and wife to the emperor. So defer not thus to do, and to let her know; that I may not have to call thee a second Jezebel, nor thou incur a curse like that which she incurred. When he had thus spoken, the empress in a rage ordered them to turn John out of the palace; and, disclosing the hell which she concealed in her heart against the Saint, she said: I will revenge myself for this. Now I will neither give up the vineyard, nor give anything else in lieu of it. Thou canst not conquer me, nor force me to do what I do not choose to do. What is more, I will punish thee. The Saint went out from the palace; and, having called the archdeacon Eutychius, gave him orders, saying: Tell the doorkeepers of the church that when the empress comes to the church they are to shut the doors in her face, and not to let her enter, nor any of those who are with her; but they must tell her that John has given them orders thus to do. Be on the look-out, and mind that you obey. And when the day came for the festival of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, all the people of the city came together to the church, and the emperor, and all the nobles with him, and they that lived all around the city, and strangers who had come from a distance, not only for the festival, but also to hear the sweet instructions of John. But John himself, being enlightened by the power of the Holy Ghost, began to discourse to the people with many stories: and all that heard him marvelled at the wisdom given him from God. And he so explained to them what was difficult in the divine scripture, that he was praised by all, and there was no small joy in all the people, so that all said: In truth thou art worthy of this chair, O thou thirteenth apostle! for Christ has sent thee to this city of Constantinople to save our souls, and to give us to drink from the fountains of salvation, which God has intrusted to thee. And there were present a great number of scholastics who could write rapidly and accurately; and what he said these wrote down: and they observed with admiration that he never hesitated in speaking, and never said the same thing twice, but spoke as if he were speaking a speech composed and learned by heart beforehand. And as all were rejoicing on account of his instruction, there came the empress to the doors of the church with her ladies, and with all her officers of all ranks, and would have entered. But the door-keepers of the church shut the doors in her face, and suffered her not to go in. She was filled with anger, and at the same time confused with shame, and she exclaimed: See, all of you, how this man harbours anger against me! While all go into the holy church, I alone am forbidden by him to enter it. Cannot I depose him from his chair? But they who had come with her went up to the door, and said: Open to our lady the empress, and do not affront her. But they replied to them, saying: It is not of ourselves that we have done this, but by the orders of the patriarch; and we dare not, without his order, let her in. Then one of those who were there with the empress stretched out his hand to strike the doors of the church; and at once his hand withered, and became as dead. The empress and all with her, seeing this, feared greatly, and returned to the palace. But the man whose hand had withered went into the church, and standing in the midst of the people, in the sight of all, cried out and said: Have pity on me, my lord, holy father! heal my hand, which has withered when I dared madly to strike at the holy church. I have sinned; forgive me! The holy John, having by the Spirit understood the cause for which this had happened to him, said to him: Go, wash thy hand in the cantharus of the church in which they bless the water, and I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ that it will be to thee according to thy faith. The man went and washed, and was made whole, and came back into the midst, glorifying and thanking God. And all who saw him thus suddenly healed gave glory to Christ our God, who had given to his servant John gifts of healing. This became known even to the emperor himself. Nevertheless he made as if he knew it not before the empress, knowing the fierceness of her temper and her hardness of heart. But the emperor loved the holy John very much, and heard him with pleasure.'

Letter to the Bishop Cyriacus: 'Grieve not, brother Cyriacus; for when, being persecuted, I fled from Constantinople, I cared nothing for this, but I said within myself: If the empress wishes to drive me out, let her drive me out; for the earth is the Lord's, and the ends of it. If she wishes to saw me asunder, let her saw me asunder. We have Isaiah for an example. If she wishes to throw me into the deep, I remember Jonah. If she throw me into a pit, I have Daniel thrown into the den to the lions. If she will have me stoned, I have Stephen, the first martyr, who so suffered. If she wishes to take my property, let her take it: naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked I shall depart. I am comforted by the Apostle, who says, God is no respecter of persons; therefore, if I had pleased men I should not have been Christ's servant. And David arms me, saying, I did speak of thy testimonies before kings, and was not ashamed. Many have risen up against me, but all is of envy that they have done.'

Seest thou, O thou Questioner, the fortitude of our holy and ever-memorable fathers; how they not only did not submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the emperors, but farther corrected and rebuked the unrighteous judgments of emperors, though they many times threatened them with tortures and death? Nevertheless, they could not so terrify them. They were ready for the sake of justice to die rather than to accept an unrighteous judgment. And if the commandments of God, and the canons and constitutions of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, are not enough for the prohibition of your unlawful tribunal [meaning especially the Monastery Court or Prikaz], we will add farther to these testimonies even from the laws and constitutions of kings.

The first king of Israel, Saul, when he had madly attacked the priesthood, lost his kingdom. Having slain the priests of God, he was slain himself by his own hands. And after him David reigned in the sight of Isráel. And David executed judgment and justice over all his people, but not over the priests. Again the divine David, as in the person of Christ, and for Christ, said against all them that make war against Christ (Ps. ii. 1): 'Why do the heathen rage, and why do the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand by, and the princes gather themselves together against the Lord, and against his Anointed. Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us:' &c. Hearken, thou Questioner! Who is it that rages, and that meditates vain things? Are they not now those princes (kniazi) who with lawless bishops stand by [the Tsar], and who have gathered themselves together against the Lord and against his Christ? that is, against the holy and sacred gospel, which says, 'Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' And ye say, 'Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us;' that is, let us not heed the censures of the patriarch, and let us cast away from us his injunctions. Against such, the Psalm continues, 'He that liveth in the heaven shall laugh them to scorn, the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure:' &c. Therefore again the same blessed David, as if admonishing them, says, 'Now therefore, ye kings, understand; be taught, all ye that judge the earth: serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice before him in trembling:' &c. 'Now therefore, ye kings, understand:' that is, transgress not his law, but abide within the bounds set for you. And elsewhere: 'Set not your minds on wrong and robbery' (Psalm lxii. 10); that is, take not away the authority and jurisdiction of the priesthood. Therefore also he threatens, saying, 'Be taught, all ye that are judges of the earth: be taught,' that is, by the examples of those who before you invaded the functions of the priesthood, as Saul and the rest, and perished for having so done. And again, testifying to them, he says, 'Receive [in the Greek, 'grasp, or hold fast'] discipline;' that is, the law of God's commandments. And again, in order to alarm them, he says, 'Lest the Lord be angered, and so ye perish from the way of justice, when his wrath shall speedily be kindled.' And Solomon, in like manner, testifies, saying, 'Thou hast chosen me to be king over thy people, and to be a judge over thy sons and daughters' (Wisdom ix. 7); but not 'over thy priests.' And again: 'Hear then, ye kings, and consider; be instructed, ye that judge the ends of the earth. Understand, ye that rule the multitudes, and boast yourselves in the nations of the Gentiles. For the empire is given you of the Lord, and power from the Most High, who will also try your acts, and search out your thoughts. For ye are servants of his kingdom. Ye have not judged justly; ye have not kept the law, nor walked according to the will of God'[1] (Wisdom vi. 1-4). But where, I pray, is it found to be the law or the will of God that a king or his nobles should judge bishops, and the rest of the sacred order, and their property? Such invaders the wise Solomon threatens, saying: 'Destruction shall speedily come upon you; for there shall be the most severe judgment for the powerful. The small man may obtain mercy, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented; for He respecteth not persons who is lord of all, nor is abashed before nobles; for he hath made the small and the great; and in like manner he is provident for all. And for rulers there will be a severe and searching trial.' And again the same Solomon says: 'But there shall be an evil destruction to the transgressors. Behold, these are the ways of all that commit transgression: by wickedness they destroy their own soul.' And again: 'My son, forget not the words of the law: let thy heart keep my words. For length of days, and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee' (Prov. iii. 1, 2). But where is there any such law and commandment as this, that emperors or kings (Tsars) are to lord it over the bishops and the rest of the sacred order? If any one unjustly and unlawfully takes to himself the power of the priesthood and the episcopal jurisdiction, how shall length of days and years of life and peace be added to him? And again, the same Solomon says: 'A reckless king will fall into mischief: if a king listen to the words of an unrighteous man, all who are under him will be transgressors.'

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[1] Then follow in the margin of the MS. references to Rom. xiii. [1-7?], 1 Pet. ii. [13-17?], Tit. iii. 1-3, Sirach xvii. [15-31?] which seem to be pointed *against* Nicon, and in favour of submission to the civil supremacy.

Again, it is written in the Paralipomena: 'And Jehoshaphat the king of Judah returned to his house in peace to Jerusalem. And Jehu the son of Hanani the seer went out to meet him, and said to him, Dost thou help the ungodly, or make friendship with him who is hated by the Lord? And Jehu said to him, For this cause there is wrath upon thee from the Lord: because things not good are found in thee, for that thou hast not taken away the idols out of the land of Judah, and hast not prepared thine heart to seek the Lord God of thy fathers. And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem. And he went out again through the people from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim, and brought them back unto the Lord God of their fathers. And he set judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city; and he commanded the judges, saying, Take heed what ye do, for the judgment which ye judge is not man's, but the Lord's; and he is with you in the judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you continually; and take good heed in all that ye do; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts. Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites and of the priests, and of the chief of the inhabitants of Israel, that they should judge there the judgment of the Lord for them that dwelt at Jerusalem. And he charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully, and with a perfect heart. And what cause soever shall come to you of your brethren who dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, of law and of commandment (whatever question there may be), of orders and judgments, ye shall warn them that they trespass not against the Lord, and so wrath come upon you and upon your brethren. This do, and ye shall not trespass. And behold Amariah the chief priest is over you in all *matters of the Lord;* and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, who is the ruler of the house of Judah, is for all *the king's matters.* Also the scribes and Levites shall be officers before you. Deal courageously, and the Lord shall be with you for good' (2 Paralip. xix.). But the other kings of Judah and the kings of Israel who transgressed against God, and ill-treated the priests, were on that account destroyed. And of this there is the history in the books of the Kings.

Listen, and hear how heathen kings, fearing God, honoured the priesthood; as is written in the book of Esdras: 'The letter that Artaxerxes king of Persia gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe, even a scribe of the words of the commandments of the Lord, and of his statutes to Israel. Artaxerxes king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the God of heaven, to perform his word and vow: I make a decree that all they of the people of Israel in my realm, and of the priests and Levites, which are minded of their own free will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee: forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellers to visit Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of thy God which is in thy hand, and to carry the silver and gold which the king and his counsellers have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem; and all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon with the free-will offering of the people and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem.' And he commanded in that letter 'that they give bullocks and rams and lambs, and their meat-offerings and their drink-offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of the God of Israel which is at Jerusalem. And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God. The vessels also that are given thee for the service of the house of thy God, those deliver thou before God in Jerusalem. And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the king's treasure-house. And I, even I, Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily; unto a hundred talents of silver, and to a hundred measures of wheat, likewise a hundred kegs of wine, and a hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing a limit; whatsoever is desired or wanted according to custom for the God of heaven, that take (let no one be backward) for the house of the God of heaven, whatever it be; that there be not wrath against the empire of the king and his sons. Also we certify you that touching any of the priests and Levites, scribes, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, ye shall not levy nor shall have power to impose on them anything. And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God that is in thy hand, set scribes, and judges, and deputies, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the law of thy God; and teach ye them that know not. And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, exactly, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment' (Ezra vii. 11-26).

Seest thou, O thou Questioner, how this heathen king of antiquity feared the God of Israel; what honour and liberty he gave the priests? Shall he not in the day of judgment rise up in the judgment and condemn those who now do wrong to the honour and authority of the priesthood, as it is written, 'The Queen of the South shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it,' &c.? But, if thou wilt, thou mayest learn also from the laws and constitutions of Christian emperors that it is not right for religious kings to take to themselves the jurisdiction of the priesthood. Hearken! The first Christian emperor Constantine, at the end of his letter to Silvester Pope of Rome, writes thus:[1] 'For in that spot where the episcopal power and the head of the Christian religion has been established by the King of heaven it is not meet that an earthly king or emperor should exercise authority.' 'And of all these privileges, which we by this our sacred writing and other our divine decrees have granted and confirmed, we decree that they remain uninfringed and unquestioned even to the end of the world. . . . Therefore, as in the presence of the living God, who has called us to reign, and as before his terrible judgment-seat, we testify by this our sacred and imperial constitution to all who shall be after us emperors or kings (Tsars), &c. . . . If any one of violence, or of unbelief, or of pride, infringe or contemn any of these provisions, may he incur everlasting condemnation, and fall under that punishment, and have for his adversaries the holy princes of the apostles of God, Peter and Paul, even in this life; and in the world to come let him be tormented in the lowest hell, and vanish away together with the devil and all the ungodly.' Seest thou the tradition of the religious soul of that emperor, and his awful confirmation of it? Thou mayest see this more at length above, in the complete document of his Constitution.

From the Greek Chronicle of the Emperor Constantine: 'But in the first holy Ecum. Council also, when certain men, acting under feelings of enmity, had presented to the emperor in writing, with their signatures, accusations against certain of the bishops, he took them, and rolling them up, and sealing them with his seal, ordered them to be kept for the present; and then availing himself of the humility of those bishops, and having so succeeded in obtaining unanimity, he brought forth the same papers and burned them before all, without having read a word of what was written in them. For it is not seemly, he said, that the faults of the clergy should be published, as many might thence take occasion more boldly to sin.' If thou wilt, we will show thee also from the imperial laws.

From the code (roll) of the Novells, constitution viii. ch. 2: 'The same emperor Justinian to John, military eparch, twice eparch, and patrician: We have before now written many legal books concerning the religious bishops, and then concerning all the clergy, and concerning the devout monks, in which we desired that the most devout monks should be called to judgment only before the bishops of the cities [*i.e.* the dioceses] under whom their monasteries may be. But now we have been induced by Menas, the religious bishop of this most flourishing city, to give liberty that, if any one have any difference with another, he may first declare it to the religious bishop under whom he is, and without any writing obtain his judgment; and if this be given, that they should not make any farther motion, nor drag one another before a civil tribunal, but without any writing and without expense accept the form of decision given by the bishop as equally binding with a written decision, if the two contending parties are content to have it so, and desist from their mutual grudge. But if, on account of any difficulty, it is not possible for the bishop to decide the questions at issue, then it shall be free for them to go also before the civil power, without prejudice to anything that they have received from the Church, or to the privileges given to the most devout clergy by the divine [*i.e.* imperial] statutes, and so to seek to bring the trial to an end. And if it be for civil matters that they implead one another, in that case the nobles (boyars) are competent judges for the matters to be judged of. But if they are from other provinces, they shall be judged by the authorities of their own province: and the trial is not to be drawn out beyond the time of two months from its first commencement, that the matter may be speedily ended, if it be plain. And for him who appears to be in the wrong by both judgments, the judge of his province is to condemn him to such punishment as he may have deserved. But first he must be stripped of his clerical order by the religious bishop, and so afterwards be delivered over to punishment under the hand of the lawful civil authority. But if it be an ecclesiastical crime, needing ecclesiastical chastisement and penance, the bishop is to judge such: for it is not our will that the noblemen who are governors in the cities should take cognisance of such causes.'

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[1] See above, p. 214, and in the K. at the end, fol. 9, but of ed. of 1831, fol. 1.

Ch. 54: 'If any one has any matter of complaint against any clerk, or monk, or deacon, or subdeacon, or nun, let him first make it known to the religious bishop under whom each of them is; and let him judge the matter between them.'

From the same Novell, ch. 56: 'If any one be called in question for ecclesiastical matters, the civil rulers have nothing to do with this, but the bishop judges him according to the sacred canons.'

Ch. 57: 'If any religious bishops of the same synod, that is, of the same province, have a difference one with another, either about ecclesiastical precedence, or about any other matters, their metropolitan, with the other bishops of his synod, is in the first instance the judge of such a matter. If the two contending parties will not abide by the decision given, then the most blessed patriarch of that jurisdiction shall judge between them, and make such order as may be fit, according to the ecclesiastical canons and laws; nor shall either of the parties have any power to speak against his decision.'

From the same Novell, ch. 58: 'If a clerk or any other have cause of complaint against a bishop, such a matter is to be judged in the first instance by the religious metropolitan of that province, according to the sacred canons and according to our laws: and if any one find fault with the judgment, the cause shall be referred to the most blessed bishop and patriarch; and he shall give it a suitable decision. But if a bishop or a clerk, or any other, has anything against a metropolitan, the patriarch of that jurisdiction is to judge the matter in the proper way. In all causes it is by their own metropolitan or by the patriarch, and not by any other judges, that bishops are to be judged.'

From the Novells of the emperor Justinian, ch. 31: The second constitution of title i. of the Novells says of 'clerks, priests, and deacons and subdeacons, readers and singers' (the sixty-third constitution of title iii., of the first book of the code, names also 'exorcists and ostiarii'), that 'all these are to be governed and judged by their own bishops.'

From the Novells of the same emperor Justinian, title ix. ch. 30: 'If any one has any matter against any monk, or nun, or woman living in a monastery, let him go to the local bishop, and state the case to him. And he shall send civilly a monk or novice to bring the hegoumen, or the deputy, or some other who is humble and meek; and having examined into the case, he shall judge it. But any secular person in authority, if he attempt to meddle with any such cause, shall lose his post, and shall pay to the public treasury ten pounds of gold, besides the loss of his rank. But they that were sent to, or who were brought, shall be confined to the precinct, and shall receive suitable penance: and it shall be forbidden by the bishop for the future to take such before the tribunals of civil authorities.'

The Ordinance of St. Vladimir, who baptised the land of Russia, concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction and concerning tithes: 'In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Lo I, the Prince Vladimir, named in holy baptism Basil, son of Sviatoslaf, grandson of Igor, and of the divine Princess Olga, having received baptism from the Greek emperor[1] and from the patriarch of Constantinople Aurantius,[2] received from him Michael, the first metropolitan of Kieff, who baptised all the land of Russia. . . . After this, having opened the Greek Nomocanon, I found in it the tradition of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, concerning the truth itself, and the regulations of the first Christian emperor Constantine, and of all the former Christian emperors, made in [*i.e.* in concurrence with] all the Ecumenical Councils concerning ecclesiastical causes, and concerning all the sacred order, and concerning tithes. And now, as regards those causes and suits, criminal or civil, which it belongs not to the prince to judge, nor to his boyars or tiunes, I, with my sons, and with all the princes, and with all the boyars, have given the judgment of these causes to the churches of God, to the most rev. the metropolitan, and to all the bishops throughout the land of Russia. And therefore henceforth none, neither my sons, nor my grandsons, nor any of my posterity for ever, must meddle either with ecclesiastical persons or with any of their causes. All that I have given to the Church of God in all the towns and pogosts, and in all the slobodas, where there are Christians. And I forbid my tiunes to judge any ecclesiastical causes, and, without [the concurrence of] the bishop's judge, to judge any matters of tithes.

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[1] In a MS. of the thirteenth century, used by Baron Rosenkampf, it is 'emperors' in the plural, meaning the emperors Basil and Constantine, whose sister Anna Vladimir married.

[2] This name, which is written in the MS. *Orontius*, *may* be connected with the surname of the patriarch of C. P. Nicholas *Chryso*berges, in whose time, A.D. 988, Vladimir was baptised. The ordinance of Vladimir in some MSS. mentions the name of the second metropolitan of Kieff, Leontius, who had already succeeded to Michael when it was enacted. See Blackmore's translation of Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russian Church*, p. 357, where, in Baron Rosenkampf's copy of the ordinance of Vladimir, Leontius is called 'the first metropolitan.' But the Stepennie Knigi of the Metr. Macarius name as the first Michael.

'All the people of the Church are given over to the bishops according to the canons; viz. the bishop, the hegoumen, the popes and their children, the deacon, the clerk, every one who stands in the choir, the monk, the nun, the priest's wife, the woman who makes the prosphoræ, the man who rubs the floor (polovnik), the baker (pechetz), the midwife, the widow, the ward (zadoushni), the stranger, the blind, monasteries, hospitals, hospices, xenodochia, alms-houses; these all are the people of the Church. The bishop is to take cognisance among them of all causes and wrongs, and of every quarrel and question of inheritance.'

Of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: 'And lo, these are the ecclesiastical causes given to the Church by the law of God, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and according to the constitution of the orthodox emperors and princes in all Christian peoples: Divorces, divers sins of impurity and of unlawful cohabitation, blows, quarrels with violence between husband and wife about their property; if any are found [marrying] within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity or affinity: To their jurisdiction belongs also sorcery and witchcraft, the unlawful use of herbs or drugs in three ways; for immorality, for poisoning, and for heresy; and three prosecutions; if a son beats his father or mother, or a daughter her mother, or a daughter-in-law her mother-in-law; or if children contend about an inheritance; sacrilege; the stripping of the dead; if any carry off a cross, or take the ornaments which are on the walls of a church, or from a cross; if any, without great necessity, bring cattle, or dogs, or cats into the church, or do in a church anything unseemly; or when two men are at blows with one another, if the wife of one of them take hold of the other unlawfully; or if any one is taken committing bestiality; or if any one prays under an oven, or in rye, or under a grove, or at water, or exposes children. All these causes are given to the Church. Other foundation can no man lay, on which to build. And if any one destroy the temple of God, him shall God destroy. The Church of God is holy. If any man infringes this holy ordinance, which we have made according to the canons of the holy Fathers and the ordinances of the first emperors, whether they be the princes my sons, or my grandsons, or great-grandsons, or any one of my race, or any other of the princes, or of the boyars, or any deputy in any city, or judge, or tiune, and breaks my order, and interferes with the ecclesiastical causes, or takes away [anything from the Church], let them be accursed in this world, and in the world to come, by the Seven Ecumenical Councils.'

Concerning the same causes, the Ordinancé of the Grand Prince Yaroslaf, son of the Grand Prince Vladimir who baptised the land of Russia: 'Lo I, the Grand Prince Yaroslaf, son of Vladimir, according to the deed of gift of my father, sat with the metropolitan Hilarion, and heard [him read] the Greek Nomocanon. So these persons and causes belong not to the jurisdiction of the prince and the boyars; but the metropolitan and the bishops are to judge all those causes which my father the Grand Prince Vladimir, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, gave to them in all the cities and in all the provinces where Christianity exists.'

If thou wilt, we will give thee something farther, even from the laws of the Tatar Tsars of the Horde which were in time past; that is, from the yarliks which they gave in the year 6821 [A.D. 1312, 1313] to the most rev. Peter metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia, the wonder-worker, and to the other metropolitans; so that even they shall rise up in the day of judgment, like the Queen of the South, with this generation, and shall condemn it, unless they repent. In them it is thus written:

The yarlik of the Khan given to Peter metropolitan of Kieff: 'By the power and will and majesty of the most high and immortal God, and by his great mercy, the word of Uzbek to all our great, middle, and inferior princes and powerful captains, nobles, and our dependent princes, and to our friends the Polish princes, high and low, and to our doctors and judges and teachers of the people, povieskniks, izbiratels, and baskaks, and our envoys and pursuivants, and tribute-men and writers, and passing envoys, and to our hunters and hawk-catchers, and leopard-trainers, and to all people, high and low, small and great, of our empire, in all our countries, throughout all our tribes (oulousi), where by the power of the immortal God our authority holds and our word rules, let no one injure in Russia the Catholic Church, the metropolitan Peter, and his people, and his ecclesiastics. Let no one take from them anything, neither property nor persons. The metropolitan Peter shall have cognisance, and shall judge justice, and shall direct his people in justice. In all causes, in robberies and in personal crimes, in thefts and in all other matters, the metropolitan Peter shall have jurisdiction, either himself alone, or through him whom he shall appoint. Let all submit themselves; and let all his clerks obey the metropolitan, according to their first law from the beginning, and according to the first letters and parchments of our first Great Tsars. Let no one invade what belongs to the Church or the metropolitan, because all that belongs to God. But whoever meddles with it, and disobeys our yarlik and our word, he is guilty to God, and shall get wrath against himself from him. But let the metropolitan walk by the right way; let him abide in the right way, and be in quiet; let him with a right heart and a right thought direct and judge and govern all the people belonging to his church, either personally, or through him whom he may appoint to have cognisance and to govern in his stead. And we shall not interfere with that his jurisdiction in anything, nor shall any of our children, nor any of our princes of our empire, or of any of our countries, or of any of our tribes: no one of them shall interfere in anything with what belongs to the churches and to the metropolitan, nor with their towns, nor with their volosts, nor with their selos, nor with any of their hunting-grounds or fisheries, nor with their forests, nor with their lands, nor with their oulousi, nor with their village places, nor with their vineyards or orchards, nor with their mills, nor with their winter-houses, nor with their droves of horses belonging to the Church, nor with their people, and all their laws and old ordinances which they have had from their first beginning. All that is to be under the cognisance of the metropolitan, or of such as he shall appoint. Let nothing be changed, or infringed upon, or wronged by anybody. Let the metropolitan abide in quiet and in meekness, and let him with a right heart and right mind pray to God for us, and for our wives, and for our race; and we will rule and be gracious to him and to his people, in the same way as the former Tsars our predecessors, who granted them yarliks and other signs of grace. And we after the same manner grant and confirm to them the same yarliks, that God may be gracious to us and aid us. And we respect the things that are God's. What is given to God we take not; but whoever takes what is God's, he shall be guilty to God, and the wrath of God shall be against him; and by us he shall be punished with death, that others, seeing his punishment, may fear. And when our envoys, and collectors of customs, and collectors of tribute, and secretaries go about, then, according to these our letters, as our word has spoken and ordained, all the catholic churches of the metropolitan shall be unharmed: no one shall beat or injure any of his people, nor any part of their property, neither their wives and daughters, nor all their goods, as the yarlik prescribes. And the archimandrites and hegoumens and popes, and all the clergy, shall be injured in nothing by any one, whether they take tribute for us, or anything else, whatever it be, for posts, or for customs, or for bridge-tolls, or for war, or for our service in hunting or fishing. Or when for our service we order a levy of men to be made from our districts, in the parts where we intend to war, no one is to take any man from the catholic church [*i.e.* from the catholicon or sobor], or from the metropolitan Peter, neither from their people, nor from all the clergy; for they pray to God for us, and preserve us, and strengthen our army. Who, besides, is there that knows not this from old time, that by the power and will of the immortal God all live and fight? This let all know, that we, praying to God, have given to them letters of grace after the fashion of the letters of the first [Tatar] Tsars, and we have made no change in anything. As it was before us, so our word declares and appoints that all shall continue to be, as to whatever shall be our tribute, or our surcharges, or imposts on the produce of grain payable in kind, or provisions for us and for our horses, or podvods, or provisions for our envoys, or for our Tsaritsas, or for our children; and whatsoever else or for whomsoever else it may be, let them neither take anything nor ask for anything. And if they do take anything, they shall restore it five-fold, even if they took it for great need; and from us they shall find no favour, nor shall our eye look gently upon them. And if any of the people of the Church be artisans of any kind, or writers, or stone-masons, or carpenters, or other workmen of any kind, or hunters, or fishers, or falconers, no one shall meddle with them on our account; nor shall our pardusniks and our hunters take them for our service. They shall not meddle with them, nor take from them their working tools, nor take from them anything at all. Moreover, their law [*i.e.* their religion] and its observances, and their churches and their chapels no one shall in any way damage or insult: and if any one insult or revile or condemn their faith, that man shall by no means be held guiltless, but shall die an ignominious death. And for the priests and deacons, who eat one bread, and live in one house, if any man have a brother or a son with him, they also are included in our grant of exemption. But if any one go out from them, and is not in the service of the metropolitan, but lives by himself, he is not to be exempted by pleading the name of a priest, but is to pay the tribute. But the popes and deacons and clerks of the Church are exempted from our dues by our first letter; and they are to stand and to pray to God for us with a right heart and right mind. But if any one begin to do otherwise, and prays not for us with a right heart to God, that man incurs sin. Every pope and deacon and clerk of the Church or of the people, whoever he may be, whencesoever he come, who wishes to serve the metropolitan, and to pray to God for us according to the thought or intention of their metropolitan [*i.e.* to belong to the clergy], that rests with the metropolitan: they and the metropolitan must settle that together: it is the affair of the metropolitan. Thus our word has ordained: and we have given to the said metropolitan Peter this letter as a deed of authority, that seeing and hearing this letter, all the people, and all the churches, and all the monasteries, and all the clergy and people belonging to them, may in nothing disobey him, but be obedient to him, according to their law and ancient custom, as it has been with them from of old. Let the metropolitan abide with a sincere heart, praying for us and for our empire. But whoever meddles with what belongs to the Church or to the metropolitan, upon that man there shall be the wrath of God; and after severe inquiry made by us, if convicted, he shall by no means be excused, but shall die by an ignominious death. Thus is the yarlik given: thus is our speech and word ordered.' [In such a year, and such a month and day of the month, on their field] 'was this written and given.'

In like manner also the Tsar Natiulan gave a yarlik to the metropolitan Michael. And again in like manner the Tsar Neigutsrim Azan gave one to the Russian Metropolitans and to all the Russian People.

In like manner did the Tsaritsa Taidoula, wife of Tsen-

Uzbek, give yarliks to the metropolitans Theognostus, Alexis, and Jonah.

The Tsar Iberdebek gave to the metropolitan Alexis a yarlik exactly similar to the first one written out above; that what belonged to the bishops should not be meddled with in any way, neither in respect of jurisdiction, nor in respect of property.

Again:[1] 'In the year 7059, Feb. 23 (A.D. 1551), the Tsar and Grand Prince John Basilivich of all Russia took counsel with his father the metropolitan Macarius, and with all the sacred synod. And there were many Questions and Answers about different ecclesiastical customs. These [the Questions, that is] were addressed in the capital city of Moscow, in the Tsar's palace, by the orthodox and divinely-crowned Tsar the Hossoudar and Grand Prince John Basilivich, Autocrat of all Russia, to his father the metropolitan Macarius, and to all the sacred synod, in the 18th year of his reign, in the 21st year from his birth, in the 9th year of the pontificate of the metropolitan Macarius.' 'There were present in this council: Theodosius abp. of Great Novgorod and Pskoff, Nicander abp. of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, Tryphon bp. of Souzdal and Torouz, Goury bp. of Smolensk and Briansk, Cassian bp. of Riazan and Mourom, Theodosius bp. of Kolomna and Kashira, Saba bp. of Sir and Podonsk, Cyprian bp. of Perm and Vologda, and the venerable archimandrites and hegoumens. And, all being seated, the orthodox Tsar rose from his throne, and standing in the midst of the sacred assembly, with a bright look and cheerful countenance regarding them all, addressed the council thus: "I beseech you, my most holy fathers, if I have found favour in your sight, instruct me with charity, as a true son, and be not slack to speak out to me unanimously that word which may assist me towards piety, both respecting our orthodox Christian faith, and respecting the welfare of the holy churches of God, and respecting our own Christian empire, and respecting the observance of the whole of the Christian law; for I heartily desire to be, and rejoice to be, and consent to be, a fellow-servant with you, and a defender of the faith, to the glory of the holy life-giving Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and to the praise and glory of our pious faith, and of the ecclesiastical discipline. Also we will that all dissension be now far from us." These words he said, and more than these. And in the same Council the Tsar, together with the metropolitan Macarius, presented a writing written with his own hand, with a salutary profession of penitence, very edifying to them that heard and considered it. It ran thus:

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[1] What follows is from the Stogláv, *i.e.* the Council of the Hundred Chapters. See Blackmore's translation of Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russian Church*, pp. 103, 104.

"This writing we offer to your fatherly charity in behalf of our most pure and true faith in the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, by the good pleasure of God the Father Almighty, and by the bounties to us of his only-begotten and coeternal Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the aid and operation of the all-holy and all-working and life-giving Spirit, and by the help of the Hope of orthodox Christians, our most pure and most blessed Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary; by the power of the venerable and life-giving Cross; by the intercession of the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the other incorporeal heavenly powers; of the honourable and glorious prophet and forerunner John the Baptist; and of the holy, glorious, and most laudable Apostles, the eye-witnesses of the Son and Word; and of the holy great Martyrs, who for the love and faith of Christ spared not their lives, and by their sufferings obtained everlasting crowns; and of the holy Bishops and Confessors; and of the holy bishop Nicholas, glorious by his miracles; and of the holy apostle-like Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and his pious mother Helena; and of all the orthodox Emperors and Empresses, who exerted themselves in behalf of piety; and of the holy great Wonder-workers who have shone by miracles in our land of Great Russia, the most rev. metropolitans Peter, Alexis, and Jonah; and Leontius bp. of Rostoff the wonder-worker; and the holy apostle-like Tsar and Grand Prince Vladimir, who enlightened all the land of Russia by holy baptism; and of his grandmother, the forerunner of Russia to God, the holy and blessed Princess Olga; and of his sons, the holy sufferers the religious Russian Princes, brothers after the flesh, Boris and Gleb; and the rest of his race who lived in orthodoxy and pleased God; and of our venerable and divinely-inspired fathers Antony and Theodosius of the Pechersky, and the great Sergius, and Barlaam of Novgorod the wonder-worker, and Cyril of Bielo-ozero, and Nicetas of Pereyaslaff, and Paphnutius of Borofsk, and Demetrius of Prilutsk; and of all the Martyrs and Confessors; and of such as were fools for Christ's sake; and of those of the great rank of Tsars and Princes and Boyars; and of all orthodox Christians who have shone by their good works, and have been glorified by God with great miracles in our dominions, given to us of God from our ancestors of the Russian Empire; of the great new Wonder-workers; and of all the Saints who from the beginning have pleased God. Trusting in the prayers of these Saints, we offer to your fatherly charity our counsel to confirm the ancient traditions of our true Christian faith which was delivered by our Creator himself, and not by any servant or messenger; for he himself delivered it to his divine disciples and Apostles; and they delivered it to their successors; and so the saving word of our Lord Jesus Christ has come down even till now. Therefore we beseech you, and testify by our Lord Jesus Christ and his divine disciples and Apostles, with the Seven holy Ecumenical Councils and the holy Local Councils, and by all the Saints above mentioned, for God's sake, and for the sake of the M. H. Mother of God, exert yourselves to deliver correctly our true and spotless Christian faith, with directions from the divine scripture for the good order of the Church and the good legislation of the Empire, and for all good earthly economy, and for the enlightening and quickening of our only-begotten and immortal souls, and for the confirmation of our true orthodox Christian faith, that it may be established and unshaken from generation to generation for ever, unharmed by soul-destroying wolves and by all the wiles of the enemy. And ye, holy lords, most rev. father Macarius Metropolitan of all Russia, and all ye Archbishops and Bishops, and venerable Archimandrites and honourable Hegoumens, and all the sacred Synod, and simple monks, all of you beadsmen, likewise my brethren, and all my friends, and Princes, and Boyars, and Voivodes, and warriors, and all orthodox Christians, assist me, and join with me all together, with all your souls, and let us fall down with tears before the all-good God, that he may open our spiritual eyes to see before us our sins which we have committed to our shame during all the days of our life; and that for the prayers of the all-pure Mother of God and all the Saints the Lord God may have patience with us, and may turn us back into the right way of his holy commandments, against which we have sinned before God and men, committing all manner of transgressions beyond what can either be described in writing or uttered by human tongue, of my youth and my ignorance. But now, hating all evil works, let us love such works as are good and pleasing to God, that we may not suffer with them that have provoked God and have remained impenitent, as Christ says in the Gospel: Then came they and told him of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. But Jesus said to them, Think ye that these Galileans were sinners above all them of this generation? Nay, I say unto you; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Let us remember how from the beginning of the world the angels were each in their order; but, having sinned, they were bound in chains of darkness, and cast out of heaven, and changed into devils. For one sin Adam and Eve, not having repented, were cast out of Paradise; and for the transgression of one man all the just went down to hell, until the Lord brought them out from thence. For fornication and incontinence of the flesh, and for transgression of the commandment that the sons of God were not to intermarry with the daughters of men, God spared not the whole universe, but destroyed it by the flood, and saved only righteous Noah the eighth person. For unnatural crimes and for fornication and adultery Sodom and Gomorrah were consumed by fire from heaven; and only one just man, Lot, who was outraged, with his two daughters, were delivered from impurity. And what need is there to multiply words in writing or speaking of this? Ye know, and ye see. All the scriptures are known to you, those of the Old Testament and those of the New; likewise these present times. For different sins and by different punishments many cities have been destroyed: some for pride, others for envy of brethren, and for their violence: many have perished for idolatry, such as were not converted to piety. But especially there is a more terrible punishment for the sins of fornication, and adultery, and sodomy, and for all uncleanness. For these many kingdoms have disappeared, and have been brought to nothing. Also for filthy talking, and for perjury, and for gluttony and drunkenness, many men have perished by sudden death.

"But for us, fearing after all these warnings, and having come to our senses, and having cleansed the sense of our souls and of our bodies, let us detach ourselves from all these things, which are all transitory, and consider all those things which have taken place before our own eyes, and which are still taking place. Are not all these crimes which I have named to be found among us? Some one may say that there is not among us idolatry. But there is covetousness: and is not that a second form of idolatry? and acts of foul impurity; and the like? How we have been enslaved by the love of money, or by carnal lusts, ye know yourselves better than all of us. But if any one says to me that we know not such wickedness, I venture to say with the prophet, that he is like the deaf adder, which heareth not the voice of the charmer. But for what shall we lament first? For such great iniquities, for all of them, let us weep, that we may make God merciful to us. This we all see, what a variety of punishments and merciful chastisements the Lord has sent upon us, to turn us from transgression, as a loving father. But we have by no means laid this to heart.

"First, God disciplined us by taking away from me my father, and from you your shepherd and defender. And before this affliction had passed, there began many other great and calamitous afflictions. The boyars and nobles who had been trusted and loved by my father took evil counsel together for me. Pretending to wish me well, but rather seeking to get unrestrained power to themselves, they had the audacity (as my mind was darkened) to seize and cut off my paternal uncles. And now, whenever I remember their violent death and cruel ill-treatment, I burst into tears, and repent, and ask pardon of them for my youth and ignorance. And after the death of my uncles, before long, my mother also died. From that time great unhappiness befell me, I being left an orphan, and the empire being in widowhood. And so our boyars found then an opportunity to lord it themselves arbitrarily over all the empire, there being no one to hinder them from all manner of unseemly acts: and owing to my sins, my orphan state, and my youth, many through their mutual feuds were destroyed miserably.

"But I grew up without that care and correction which I might have had from my father and mother, and I got used to their licentious habits, and committed the same abominable deeds with them. And from that time until now what evil deeds did I not commit before God? And what punishments did not God send upon us to bring us to repentance? At one time by the captivity and plundering of the holy churches, and the trampling under foot of everything sacred, and vast incalculable bloodshed, and conflagrations, and impoverishment, and captivity of priests and monks of all orders, of princes and boyars, and of all the Christian race, of men and of women, who have been scattered over the face of all the earth, and defiled with great outrages, and oppressed with great sufferings and tortures, or put to death. For this we many times were in hopes to take vengeance on our enemies; but we had no success. That which the Lord sought to teach us hereby (for it was not any superiority of the pagans over us) we understood not; but, uncorrected by those great chastisements, we made feuds among ourselves, and did all manner of violence to the poor Christians. And the merciful Lord so chastising us for the multitude of our sins, at one time by inundations, at another by pestilence, by divers diseases and calamities, how was it that we would not amend? And the Lord sent upon us for our heavy and great sins, seeking to turn us back to the blessing of our ancestors, a devouring conflagration, which destroyed all our wealth and that left by our ancestors, and above all the holy churches of God, and the holy relics, and vast numbers of the common people. But from this fear entered into my soul, and trembling into my bones, and my spirit was humbled, and I was softened, and confessed my sins. I betook myself to the holy catholic and apostolic church [*i. e.* the cathedral of the Assumption], and fell down before the great loving mercy of God, and before the M. H. Mother of God, and all the Saints, and before thee, the Primate, and all the Bishops who are with thee; and I now fall down before you with humble and hearty repentance, begging pardon for all the evil that I have done. And for the great mercy of God I received from you peace and blessing and absolution for all that I had done amiss. Then I also, with your blessing, and on their promise to do well in future, gave pardon to all my Boyars and Princes for their offences against myself. And by your good counsel, God helping us, I began, together with you and them, to set in order and govern the empire committed to me by God, so far as God enables me, asking of him grace and help. And farther, I beseech your Holiness and Reverence to make earnest prayer to the almighty and most merciful God for this, that God may no longer send us great scarcity of all the fruits of the earth, but abundance of them, and bless also our cattle and poultry, and all our other increase and wealth. And if by your fatherly prayers God be propitiated by us, and we get him to be gracious to us, and we purify ourselves from all sins spiritual and bodily, we may so trust in his favour that he will be gracious to us, and not despise our prayers. For he is bountiful and merciful, and he will not leave us orphans; but he will send his help to his servants, and will enlighten our mind: he will fix his fear in us, and strengthen us in the way of peace, and will guide us to every good work, and give us abundance of all manner of increase, and speedily put down all our enemies, visible and invisible, under our feet. But do ye, my lords, our fathers, pastors, and teachers, enter within yourselves, asking help of God, and keep your mind watchful, and enlighten yourselves in all divinely-inspired customs, as the Lord has delivered to you. Feed the flock of the rational sheep of all the orthodox Christianity of the Russian empire committed to you of God with the food of spiritual edification from the holy scripture. And me your son instruct and correct to all godliness, as it is meet that religious kings should be righteous in their imperial legislation, and in all orthodoxy of faith, and in purity. Our brethren, and all the princes and boyars, and all the orthodox Christians, without respecting persons and with careful zeal, confirm, instruct, enlighten, and correct, that they may without blame keep the true and Christian law. But first do ye yourselves, who are pastors and teachers, inform yourselves and confirm yourselves, and multiply the talent given to you of God. Likewise do all ye of the Sacred Synod and of the monastic Order confirm the right law and the true Christian faith as it has been delivered to you by the holy fathers of the seven Ecumenical and of the Local Councils; that we also, seeing your good works and spiritual instructions, and understanding from you the sense of the divine scripture, by the help of God, may be enlightened and converted to true repentance by your spiritual wishes and care for us, and that we may obtain great mercy both here and in the world to come from Christ our God. Now I pray you, O divinely-assembled Council, for God's sake, and for the sake of the most pure Mother of God, and for the sake of all the Saints, exert yourselves in behalf of the true orthodox Christian faith; confirm and expound it as the holy fathers have delivered it to you according to the divine canons. And not only do I say to you, Exert yourselves, but also suffer, if need be, for the name of Christ, as other godly men not only have suffered for his name, but even for his icon: as Stephen the younger, and Maximus the Confessor, and Theophylact of Alexandria, and many others in the [Seventh] holy Council: and as [ye have promised] that 'if princes and boyars, or if even sovereigns themselves, bid me to do anything which is not according to the canons of the holy Fathers, though they even threaten me with death, I will by no means obey them.' Ye see, then, that bishops engage to offer themselves even to death for the faith of Christ. How much more then ought ye to be ready to bestow your labour, and to disregard the reproaches of foolish men, such as those of whom the divine apostle Paul writes in his Epistle to Timothy: 'Son Timothy, know this, that in the last days perilous times shall come; for men shall be lovers of their own selves . . . and not lovers of God; traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures rather than lovers of God; and from these turn away. As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth. But their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs also was' (2 Tim. iii.). And shall we be afraid of the folly of these men? No, certainly. But even if there were persecutors on this account, others before us have suffered even to blood and unto death for the faith of Christ. But ye, O divinely-assembled Synod, exert yourselves for the faith of Christ, to correct and clear up [any questions which there may be] according to the canons of the holy Fathers. For for this cause also I have called you together, O god-loving Council, holy fathers, in behalf of the Christian faith and in behalf of the true orthodox law, as the Church of God has delivered it to us. We are always together with you, with one soul, for correction and for confirmation, as the Holy Spirit teaches us to be. If by the wiles of the enemy there should be anything faulty, at variance with the divine rule, which may have crept in by your negligence in all our Christian laws, and it is left now without being pointed out and reproved, to this I am no party: of this ye shall have to give answer in the day of judgment. If I oppose you, contrary to the divine canons, [if, that is, I oppose] your consent, be not ye silent about this. If

I be disobedient, rebuke me without any manner of fear, that my soul may live: and the like of all that belong to us: that the true Christian law may be preserved entire, and the most holy name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost may be glorified among us, now and ever, and world without end. Amen."

'And this having been read in the Council, the primate of the bishops, the most rev. Macarius Metropolitan of all Russia, with all the sacred Synod, with the Archbishops and Bishops, and with the most venerable Archimandrites and Hegoumens, marvelled much at this, praised the piety of the speech, and gave glory to almighty God.

'And there was a marvellous sight, and one to strike deep awe, to see so great an Imperial Majesty with spiritual earnestness uniting himself with the Church of God. And who at so great a joy could refrain from shedding abundant tears, seeing the Tsar with all his soul associating himself with the economy of the Church? And then the Tsar gave to the council a note about many matters of ecclesiastical custom' (*Stoglav.* p. 453).

Seest thou the mind of the Tsar, and his zeal, and his repentance for his past evil deeds? and how he gives commandment to confirm the ecclesiastical laws, according to the tradition of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and promises himself to be ready to suffer with them? 'And if I,' he says, 'myself shall be to blame in anything, be not silent, but rebuke me without any manner of fear, that my soul may live.'

And in this synod the Tsar and all the bishops, in Chapter 53, Concerning the Episcopal Jurisdiction, made a synodal answer from the canons of the holy Apostles and Fathers and from the constitutions of orthodox emperors thus: 'It is not right for princes and boyars, or secular judges of any kind, to trouble the sacerdotal order, nor to judge such. No man of the laity is to have dominion over them, but only the great catholic church (*i.e.* the cathedral of the metropolitan) has dominion over and judges such, according to the law of the sacred canons. But of the lay people neither prince nor boyar nor any secular judge shall have dominion over priests, or monasteries, or monks. All these are sacred, and dedicated to God, and belong to the bishops; and no one of the seculars has any dominion over them. So let not those who are not consecrated persons intrude into things consecrated, nor take anything from the Church. Though they be even founders of a church or of a monastery, they have a right only to the ecclesiastical blessing and oblation; and this it is the law that they should receive with reverence, and with the blessing of the bishop or priest. But if any one attempts to take anything from the Church without the blessing of the bishop or the priest, in contravention of the law of the Church, such a one is nothing else than a sacrilegious robber, a man greedy of filthy lucre, and dishonest. Such are as thieves and plunderers and robbers of the Church of God. And if any men do these things, they will all, unless they repent, inherit destruction. For thus our Lord Jesus Christ has commanded, saying, 'Give unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and the things that are God's to God.'

And respecting the same subject of the episcopal jurisdiction, the gloss on canon ii. of the holy Apostles runs thus: 'The divine scriptures and the sacred canons and laws do not allow secular judges to judge priests or any other ecclesiastics or monks, nor monasteries, or any of the other churches and oratories. They ordain that all authority and ownership, and lordship and government, and care, of these shall belong to the local bishops. And if any clerk have a difference with another clerk, he is not to leave his own bishop and go to secular tribunals; but they shall be judged by their own bishop, or by him whom he may appoint to judge in his stead. In like manner also monks and the rest of the people of the Church are to be judged by their bishop, or by his deputy. But if a clerk have a difference with his own bishop, or with others, the cause shall be judged by the metropolitan of that province with his bishops in their synod. If a clerk or a bishop have a difference with a metropolitan, the patriarch is to judge them. The metropolitan has under him in his province the bishops of the province; and these he elects and consecrates and governs. The bishops have under them, each in his own district, all the churches and monasteries, and monks, and clerks; and these they elect, and ordain, and govern. Secular rulers who usurp power over these orders are condemned in this world and in the world to come, as it is written in the Constitutions of the holy Apostles, that "they who usurp what has not been given to them provoke God, as Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah, and their sons, and captains, and as king Uzziah. It is a fearful thing for secular persons to meddle with sacred things. Not even a deacon is competent to offer sacrifices, nor to baptise, nor to make the greater or the lesser *ἁγιασμός* [benedictions of water]. So likewise a priest is not competent to rule or disturb the sacerdotal order; and they that dare to attempt such things fight not with us, but with the supreme bishop, Christ. For though Philip baptised the eunuch, and Ananias Paul, still they did not take to themselves the pontifical rank, but received power from God, from the incomparable High-priest." Much less then is it right for us seculars to meddle with the sacred orders and powers, and degrees, and the clergy, or to judge and govern these. If any one of them sin, he will be convicted and punished by God. And again in the same Apostolical Constitutions it is said, "Let every one abide in the order given to him, and not overstep the bounds (or constitutions), for these are not ours, but God's, as the Lord said, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that heareth me heareth him that sent me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.""[1]

On the same subject of the episcopal jurisdiction is canon ix. of the Council of Chalcedon:[2] 'If clerks have a difference about any matter, they are not to go to secular judges, but to their own bishops. If any clerk have a difference with another clerk, he must not leave his own bishop and go to secular judges, but first he is to state his case to the bishop, and by the same bishop's command both the contending parties shall come before him, and the bishop with the chief of his priests shall judge. If any one do anything in contravention of this rule, he incurs canonical censures. If a clerk have a difference with his bishop [or with a priest[3]], they shall be judged before the synod of the province.' The gloss:[4] 'A clerk having anything against another clerk may not go to law with him before secular judges, but only before his own bishop; and if, leaving their own bishop, they go before a secular court, they are to be punished according to the canons. In like manner a clerk, having any matter against his bishop, must go to the metropolitan of that province; and when at the time fixed all the bishops of his province come together to the metropolitan, then he shall have his cause judged before the metropolitan in the synod. But if a bishop or a clerk have any difference with the metropolitan, their cause is to be judged by the patriarch of all that region, under whom are the bishops and the metropolitans of all the provinces of the same region. Or it may be judged by the patriarch of C.P. But this power, viz. that of judging a metropolitan who is under another patriarch, is given to no one of the other patriarchs, neither by the canons nor by the civil laws, but only to the patriarch of Constantinople.'

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[1] This and the preceding extracts are from ch. xlvi. of lib. viii. of the Ap. Const. See above, p. 8.

[2] See above, p. 39, 61, and 303.

[3] These words are not in the Greek.

[4] See above, p. 39, 61, and 303.

Of the same episcopal jurisdiction canon xv. of the synod of Carthage:[1] 'Bishops, priests, and deacons may not decline the ecclesiastical tribunals. If any one of them, being accused of any sin, leaves the ecclesiastical tribunal and goes to secular judges, and pleads before them, and is judged, whether he be acquitted or condemned by the secular judges, he is to lose his order. If the cause is not criminal, but about property, or about malice, or any civil matters, and it so be that he sue about such and gain his suit, it shall be the same for him as for the man who [in a criminal case] declines the ecclesiastical tribunals and betakes himself to secular judges and is judged by them. And if he chooses to hold to their judgment, and claim [in virtue of it] either property or money, or anything else, about which his suit was which he gained, he shall lose his order. But if, disregarding the secular tribunal, he declines to profit by its decision in his favour, he shall remain in his order.' Of the same matter, viz. that it is not proper for secular judges to judge the sacerdotal and monastic order, nor oblige them to come before them, from the constitutions of the CLXV. Fathers of the Fifth Council: for there it is written, 'If any one either begin to do violence to the episcopal dignity, or seek to judge ecclesiastical causes, or drag before himself and do violence to a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon, or in a word any consecrated person, or by robbery and violence to take away from monasteries what has been given to them (that being all given to Christ, and his property), let him be accursed.'

On the same subject, from the books of the emperor Justinian, ch. lvii. can. 74: 'If any one, while the divine Mysteries or any other holy services are being performed, go into the holy church and insult either the bishop or a clerk, or any minister of the Church, we order that he is to be punished with corporal punishment, and sent into banishment. But if he also gets possession of the divine Mysteries during the divine service, or prevents the celebration of them, he shall be beheaded. And such crimes we order to be punished not only by the civil, but also by the military authorities.'

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[1] See above at p. 303. Also of the same council canon civ. (cvii. of Bev.) and cvi. (cix. as given above), and canon xi. of Antioch, K. fol. 27.

Of the same, from different titles of the emperor Justinian, ch. i.: 'A secular ruler is not to drag before himself monks or nuns, or women. But he who has anything against one of the monks or of the consecrated virgins, or of the women who are in the monasteries, must go to the local bishop, and state his case to him. And he shall send with civility a monk or a nun, and call before him the hegoumen, or his delegate, or some one of the seculars, and shall examine and judge the parties. But for the ruler who attempts to bring such cases before himself, he shall be deprived of his office, and shall pay to the public treasury ten pounds of gold, besides the loss of his rank. The messengers who brought [the clerks] before him shall be confined within the fortress, and shall receive suitable punishment; and they shall be forbidden by the bishop ever again to bring such persons before secular authorities.'

Of the same emperor, on the same subject of episcopal jurisdiction, can. 37: 'No violence is to be used towards the monastic order, whether they be monks or nuns, in any manner whatever; nor is the ecclesiastical order to be treated with disrespect: and whoever dares to do otherwise, he shall be imprisoned and sent into banishment.' In like manner the Constitutions of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, prescribed not to compel the sacerdotal order or any of the clergy to come before civil tribunals; and the Ordinances of the Grand Prince Vladimir; as has been written above.

And the Constitutions of the Greek emperor Manuel which he wrote, 'Of Episcopal Jurisdiction in respect of Property:' 'Whereas this also has reached the ears of my empire from the complaints of the ecclesiastics from all quarters, wherever there are any ecclesiastical possessions, that they are wrongfully made to pay imposts by our deputies and by the judges, we have at once taken thought for this, and decree on this subject in favour of this venerable church, and of all the churches throughout the world, and of the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and of the monasteries, and all the churches of God, wherever they are, or in the eastern parts throughout all the world, in such sort as any [property] has been given to God and offered as a sacrifice, so let it remain to the end of the world, in virtue of this irrevocable letter of my empire, whether they be cities, or lands, or meadows, or lakes, markets and odrini, or people bought for the houses of the Church, or customs under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or vineyards, or gardens, or anything else of like sort of their ecclesiastical property, we have judged and made a statute that none of the deputies of our empire shall have any jurisdiction over any of them. In like manner, whatever has been given or purchased for any ecclesiastical house of the Church is to be under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In like manner, no one is to dare to compel any one of the clergy to go to law with him before my judges or my deputies. And if any one of the judges or of the deputies of my empire dares to judge in cases of property either sold to the Church or given to it by any one, or which shall be hereafter sold or given, his house shall be confiscated without mercy, and converted either into an ecclesiastical house, or a house for justice; and he himself shall be banished for the whole space of his life, and of my life, for having contravened the imperial statute. But I say that whereas I have sincerely and for the love of God made gifts to the churches and monasteries, and, having of these motives offered some small matter from what is small, have received in return from his bountiful hand gifts ten thousand times greater, for this cause I make it a statute that neither the deputies nor the judges of my empire are either to entertain any suit or attempt to adjudicate upon any property whatsoever of the churches and monasteries, acquired by gift or by purchase; because my empire has given up all these possessions and the taxes and duties upon them to the churches of God, for the sake of the name of God, and to his glory, that we may be kept under his mighty hand; both as asking of him grace and pardon for all those things in which as a man I have joined myself to corruption and sinned against God, and also to obtain aid from them who are the soldiers of the great King, Christ, who from their early years have attached themselves to the monastic life, and have clad themselves in panoply, so as to have the Holy

Spirit for their helper and strong defender against their enemies visible and invisible. Therefore if any man, whether deputy, or judge, or noble of my empire, dares either for the sake of possession, or of violence, or for bribes, or by any artifice, to seek to wrong the churches of God, as is written in the authenticated letter of my empire, or to meddle with the things given to God and to his Church, and what is under her dominion in the east and in the west, under all the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and monasteries, wherever they may be, as we have said before; whether it be the revenues of the Church given to God throughout the world, whether cities, or lands, or pastures, or lakes, or markets and odrini, or people bought for ecclesiastical houses, or revenues under the jurisdiction of the Church, or vineyards, or gardens, or any other property of the Church, of whatever kind; if any man dare to contemn, or to wrong, or to subject to his jurisdiction, any of these persons or things,—first, may he not see the light and grace of the Holy Trinity when he stands before the terrible Judge; but let him fall away from the honour of the Christian name as Judas fell away from the number of the twelve Apostles; and let him in addition be accursed by all the saints of the Church of the Firstborn, and just men and god-fearing fathers, that have fallen asleep from the beginning.'

The exposition of the Seventh Eeumenical Council: 'Be not ready to receive new laws tending to licentiousness, but hold fast the truth. As the coming of God in the body must be confessed by us in word, and in mind, and in heart, and in writing, and in the icon of it, so likewise the sacred canons and laws and constitutions which the holy Church has received, and all the written traditions which the holy Apostles and the venerable Fathers and orthodox emperors have delivered, must be kept by us unchanged and inviolate: for they who excuse themselves from keeping these shall be punished with everlasting torments; but they who keep them shall be inheritors of everlasting life.'

All these testimonies we write out, though they be only from the divine [*i.e.* the imperial or civil] laws, because they show the same grace of the Holy Ghost working in all religious hearts and wills of emperors and kings.

But, 'In[1] the past year 7156, July 16 (A.D. 1648), the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Russia, in the twentieth year of his age, and the third of his divinely-protected reign, took counsel with his father and beadsman the M. H. Joseph patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and with the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and with all the synod of the clergy, and spake with his imperial boyars, and with the okolniks, and people of the council, proposing that those heads in the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and in the civil laws of the Greek emperors, which are applicable to the general and local government of the state should be written out; and that the ukazes of the former Great Hossoudars the Tsars and Grand Princes of Russia, and of his father the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich of blessed memory, and the decisions of [the Council of] the Boyars, should be [collected and] compared with the old statute-books; and that for whatever heads there seem to be no ukazes of former sovereigns or decisions of the boyars in the former statute-books, these heads should be formulated likewise, and set forth by his imperial ukaz, by common counsel, in order that the people of the Muscovite empire of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, might have one uniform administration of justice criminal and civil, in all cases for all alike. And the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich. made a decree that all that collation should be made and digested into a report by the boyars the prince Nikita Odoefsky and the prince Simeon Basil. Prozorofsky, and the okolnik the prince Theodore Theod. Volkonsky, and the secretaries Gabriel Leontieff and Theodore Griboyedeff. And for this his great business of state concerning the general and local government the Hossoudar decreed, after advising with his father and beadsman the M. H. Joseph patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and the boyars advised and assented, to choose from the stolniks, and from the strapchis, and from the dvorianins of Moscow, and from the jiltsi, from each order two men; and likewise to take from the dvorianins and from the sin-boyars of all the greater cities, except Novgorod, two men from each; but from the Novgorodians one man from each piatina; and from the lesser cities or towns one man from each; and from the gosts three men; and from the merchants' and the clothiers' Centuries two men from each; and from the Black Centuries, and from the slobodas, and from the towns, one man from each posada, good and intelligent persons; that his imperial business of state concerning the general and local government might by the aid of all these above-recited select persons be settled and brought to good effect: that all those great imperial matters of state being settled by his present imperial ukaz, and by a conciliar enactment, might remain to all future time altogether inviolable.

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[1] What follows is from the preface to the Code (Oulojenie or Soudebnik) of the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich.

'And in pursuance of the imperial ukaz of the Hossoudar Alexis Mich. Tsar and Grand Prince &c. of all Russia, the boyar the prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, with his colleagues, wrote out from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and from the civil laws of the Greek emperors, and from the old statute-books of the former Great Hossoudars, &c., and from the ukazes of the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theod. of blessed memory, and from the decisions of the Boyars; and for such heads as were not found written in the former statute-books, or in the ukazes of former sovereigns, or in the decisions of the boyars, they framed for them also fresh enactments; and so presented the whole to the sovereign.

'And in the present year 7157, Oct. 3 (A.D. 1648), the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Russia, with his father and beadsman the M. H. Joseph Patriarch, &c., with the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, likewise with his imperial boyars and okolniks and the people of the council, heard that collection read. And the same was read also to the select persons who had been chosen for that common council in Moscow, and from the other cities, in order that all that code might be for time to come firmly settled and unchangeable. And thereupon the Hossoudar made a decree that a fair copy of all that code should be written out in a roll, and that the said copy, when made, should be authenticated by the M. H. Joseph Patriarch, &c., and by the metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and all the sacred order, and by his imperial boyars and okolniks, and the people of the council, and by the select dvorianins and sin-boyars and gosts and traders and citizens of Moscow and of all the towns of the Russian empire. And, so soon as they should have confirmed it by their subscriptions, the Hossoudar decreed that another copy should be written out from it in a book, and that the same book should be authenticated by the Secretaries Gabriel Leontieff and Theodore Griboyedeff; and that from this book, for its establishment in actual use in Moscow in all the courts (prikazi), and in the cities and towns of the empire, there should be printed a great number of other copies; and that all causes should in future be dealt with according to that code.

'And in pursuance of the ukaz of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, &c., that code was written in a roll; and the M. H. Joseph the patriarch, &c., and the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and the archimandrites and hegoumens, and all the synod of the clergy, likewise the boyars and okolniks and people of the council, and the select dvorianini and sin-boyars, and gosti, and traders, and burghers set their hands to that code in the roll. And from that code another copy was written in a book word for word, from which has been printed this present book.'

Consider, thou evil-minded Questioner, thou that hast thine understanding darkened, here also *what* is the command of the Tsar, and the counsel of the M. H. patriarch, with the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, &c., and the assent (prigovor) of the boyars, &c. The command given was 'to write out from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and from the Greek civil laws, and to compare the ukazes of the former Great Hossoudars the Tsars and Grand Princes of Russia, and of his father the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theod. of blessed memory, and the decisions of the Boyars, with the old statute-books;' and that without any manner of change or departure from them in anything; 'and in the case of those heads to which there should be nothing corresponding in the codes of former Russian sovereigns in former years, nor decisions of the Boyars, that these same heads should be formulated and set forth by his the Hossoudar's ukaz, after common consultation' (but he did not bid them to introduce *new* laws); 'in order that all the *people* of the Muscovite empire of all ranks, from the greatest to the least, might have one uniform administration of justice, criminal and civil.' All the *people;* not the patriarch and the metropolitans, and archbishops and bishops, and archimandrites and hegoumens, and all the order of the clergy. And the Hossoudar the Tsar made a decree that all the above should be collected and written in a report by the boyar the Prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky with his colleagues. But that Prince Nikita is a man extremely proud, who has not the fear of God in his heart; and the divine scriptures and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers he neither reads nor understands. To live according to them himself he has no mind; and others who do live according to them he hates as his personal enemies, being himself an enemy of all truth. His colleagues are ordinary people, ignorant of the divine scriptures; and the Secretaries are notorious enemies of God, and barefaced robbers, who without any manner of fear in broad daylight spoil the people of God. As for this, that it is said that for that his great imperial business of state he, the Hossoudar, as if after consulting with his father the M. H. Joseph patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, with the concurrence of the boyars, decreed that there should be chosen from the okolniks, and from the stolniks and strapchis, and from the dvorianini of Moscow, and from the citizens, from each order two men; also from all the cities, from the dvorianins and sin-boyars, except in the case of Novgorod, two men from each, and from Novgorod one man from each piatina, and from the lesser towns one man from each, and from the gosti three men, and from the trader's centuries (gostinnie sotni) and from the clothier's centuries (soukonnie sotni) two men from each, and from the black centuries (chernie sotni), and from the suburbs (slobodi) and towns and fortified places (posadas), two men from each, good and intelligent people, in order that his the Hossoudar's business touching the imperial and local administration might, with the help and cognisance of all these chosen persons, be established and carried out and executed; and that all the same imperial matters, by the help and assent of all those chosen people, according to the present imperial ukaz and the enactment of the code made by common consent, may remain firmly settled and unchangeable; as for this, it is known to all, that the choice was made from all the commonalty without any freedom, through fear and dictation, not for the sake of true justice. And as for the assertion that, in pursuance of the ukaz of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, &c., the prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, with his colleagues, did write out from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and from the civil laws of the Greek emperors, and from the old statute-books of the former Great Hossoudars the Tsars and Grand Princes of Russia, and presented what they had written out to the Hossoudar the Tsar, &c., in this he, that enemy of God and of all truth, simply lied. From the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and the civil laws of the religious Emperors and Tsars, he wrote out nothing; as that book or code of lawlessness itself witnesses against their lawlessness. And where in particular places he professes to be writing as if from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, even there also he lies, there being no such canons of the Apostles or holy Fathers [as his text requires]. And in his whole book there is no single canon either of the Apostles or of the holy Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical or of the other Local Councils; nay, nor anything of the civil laws of the religious Greek emperors, nor from those of the orthodox Great Hossoudars the Tsars and Grand Princes of Russia. But all is a new composition, foreign to orthodoxy, and to the ecclesiastical laws of the Apostles and the holy Fathers, and to the civil laws of the orthodox Greek emperors. Yea, even the man himself witnesses this in his own lying composition, in chap. x. 'Of Judgment:'

'The Judgment of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich of all Russia, &c., how the boyars and okolniks and officers of the council, and the secretaries and all the officers and secretaries of the different tribunals (prikazes), and all judges whatsoever, are to judge and to decide all manner of causes for all the people of the Muscovite empire, from the greatest rank to the least, for the executing of justice. And they shall judge likewise all gosti (that is, merchants who come and reside for traffic), and all strangers who may be in the Muscovite empire, by the same code, and decide their civil causes for them according to the ukaz of the Great Hossoudar for the administration of justice. But of their own device in criminal and civil causes, of favour and of enmity, they shall neither add anything nor take anything away. They shall not in any way show friendship to their friend nor spite against their enemy, nor seek to square matters for any one in anything or for anything. They shall do all the Hossoudar's business without fearing the face of the powerful, and shall deliver them that are wronged from the hand of the unjust. And disputed matters, which for any reason it may not be possible to terminate in the ordinary tribunals, they shall bring up from thence as a reference or report to the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich of all Russia, &c., and to his imperial boyars and okolniks and officers of the council. And the boyars and okolniks and officers of the council shall sit in the palace, and by ukaz of the Great Hossoudar &c. shall decide all the Hossoudar's matters in their united council.'

How writest thou, thou compiler of the Tsar's judgment, or, as I should rather say, lawlessness, 'The Judgment of the Hossoudar the Tsar'? Judgment from the beginning is God's, not the Tsar's. Nor has it been taught from man, nor by man, but by God himself. Listen!

'In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai. They had departed from Rephidim, and came into the wilderness of Sinai. And there Israel encamped before the mount. And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore if ye will heartily obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, ye shall be a peculiar people unto me from all peoples. For all the earth is mine. But ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. These words thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. And Moses came, and called for all the elders of the people, and said before their faces all these words which the Lord commanded him. And all the people answered together, and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord. And the Lord said, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and be ready against the third day: for on the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai. And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take heed unto yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, nor touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death. There shall not a hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live. When the trumpet soundeth long (and when the cloud goeth off from the mount), they shall go up into the mount. And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and sanctified the people, and they washed their clothes. And he said to the people, Be ready against the third day; come not at your wives. And it came to pass on the third day, in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace; and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. And the Lord said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish. And let the priests also, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break forth upon them. And Moses said unto the Lord, The people cannot come up to Mount Sinai: for thou hast charged us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it. And the Lord said unto him, Away, get thee down, and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto the Lord, lest he break forth upon them. So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them. And God spake all these words, saying: I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me,' &c. (Ex. xix. 1 to xx. 3). 'And all the people saw the thunderings and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they removed, and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die. And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not. And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness, where God was. And the Lord said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say unto the children of Israel: Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven' (ib. 18-22). 'Now if ye will heartily obey my voice, and fulfil my covenant,' &c. (as above, ib. xix. 5). And again the Lord said: 'And these are the judgments which thou shalt set before them' (ib. xxi. 1 and Deut. iv. 44, 45). And again: 'The Lord said to Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest. And be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning unto Mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me in the top of the mount. And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount. . . . And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto Mount Sinai, as the Lord had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tables of stone. And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, and taking vengeance on iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means spare the guilty' (Ex. xxxiv. 1-7). 'And the Lord said to Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. And Moses was there before the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant' [the ten commandments] (ib. 27, 28). And again: 'The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them: I am the Lord your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances. Ye shall do my judgments, and keep my ordinances, to walk therein: I am the Lord your God. Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes and my judgments; which if a man do, he shall live in them: I am the Lord your God' (Lev. xviii. 1-5). And again: 'And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's' (Deut. i. 16, 17). And again: 'Moses called all Israel, and said unto them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and keep them, and do them. The Lord made a covenant with you in Horeb. The Lord made not this covenant only with your fathers, but with you, who are all of you here alive this day. The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount, out of the midst of the fire. I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to show you the word of the Lord: for ye were afraid by reason of the fire, and went not up into the mount' (ib. v. 1-5).

Who is there more just among kings than David? But not even he would glorify himself, or write, 'The judgment of David the king;' but he prayed, saying, 'Give, O God, unto David the king thy judgment, and thy justice unto the king's son: to judge thy people according to right, and thy poor with judgment' (Ps. lxxi. 1, 2). And again: 'I am set a king upon Sion his holy hill, to preach the commandment of the Lord' (Ps. ii. 6, 7). 'The Lord remains for ever and ever; he has prepared his throne for judgment: and he shall judge the world in righteousness, he shall judge his people with justice' (Ps. ix. 7, 8). 'The Lord trieth the righteous and the wicked' (Ps. x. 5). 'From thy presence my judgment shall go forth, my eyes shall see the thing that is right' (Ps. xvi. 2). 'For all his judgments are before me, and I have not put away his statutes from me' (Ps. xvii. 22). 'The words of the Lord are pure words, even as silver that from the earth is tried, and purified seven times in the fire' (Ps. xii. 6). 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimonies of the Lord are true, giving wisdom to the simple. The judgments of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the statutes of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether. They are more to be desired than gold and precious stones, sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb; and thy servant keepeth them: in keeping of them there is great reward' (Ps. xviii. 7-11). 'For God is the judge; he putteth down one, and setteth up another' (Ps. lxxiv. 7). And again: 'The Lord loveth mercy and justice' (Ps. x. 7). 'The Lord is good and righteous. For this cause he has made a law for them that err from the way' (Ps. xxiv. 8, 9). 'The king's strength also loveth judgment: thou dost establish equity, thou executest judgment and righteousness in Jacob' (Ps. xcviii. 4). 'Behold,' he says, 'the judgment of God is nigh.' 'It is meet to love the king, and not to contemn the judgments of God.' 'He spake unto them out of the cloudy pillar; because they kept his testimonies, which he had given them' (Ps. xcviii. 7). 'Thou didst cause thy judgment to be heard from heaven.' 'The Lord executeth mercy and judgment for all them that are oppressed with wrong. He declared his ways unto Moses, his works unto the children of Israel' (Ps. cii. 6, 7). 'For the Lord shall judge his people; and he will be gracious unto his servants' (Ps. cxxxiv. 14). 'Blessed are they that are undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they that keep his testimonies. Thou hast commanded that we diligently keep thy commandments. So shall I not be confounded when I have respect unto all thy commandments. With my lips have I been telling of all the judgments of thy mouth.' But it was not his own legislation and ordinances that holy David enacted: and he said, 'I have had as great delight in the way of thy testimonies as in all manner of riches. I will meditate in thy precepts, and will have respect unto thy ways. My soul breaketh out for the very fervent desire that it hath alway unto thy judgments. For thy testimonies are my instruction. I have chosen the way of truth, and thy judgments I have not forgotten. I have stuck unto thy testimonies, O Lord; put me not to shame. I will run the way of thy commandments when thou hast enlarged my heart. Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes, and I shall keep it unto the end. Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law; yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart. Make me to go in the path of thy commandments; for therein is my delight. I spake of thy testimonies also before kings, and was not ashamed. The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver. I have sworn, and am steadfastly purposed to keep thy righteous law; therefore I love thy testimonies above gold and topaz. Righteous art thou, O Lord, and right are thy judgments. I will be as glad at thy words as one that findeth great spoils. I hate and abhor injustice, but thy law do I love. Great is the peace which they have that love thy law, and they are not offended by it.' And all the rest of the same Psalm (cxviii.).

Seest thou, thou writer of iniquity, how much the divine David has uttered and testified concerning the judgment of God? Therefore also he has testified to them that should be kings after him, saying, 'Now therefore, O ye kings, understand; receive discipline (that is, the commandments), all ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence, lest the wrath of the Lord be kindled, and ye perish from the right way, when his wrath is kindled suddenly. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him' (Ps. ii.).

'And it was so that the days of David drew nigh that he should die; and he made Solomon his son king, and told him all that the Lord God had commanded him saying, Solomon thy son shall build my house and my courts; for I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father. Moreover, I will establish his kingdom for ever, if he be constant to do my commandments and my judgments, as at this day' (3 Kings ii. 1; and 1 Paralip. xxviii. 6, 7). See how God commands him to keep his judgments; and what he testifies to royalty. 'Also David charged his son Solomon, saying, I go the way of all the earth: be thou strong therefore, and show thyself a man: and keep the observances of the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, keeping his commandments which are written in the law of Moses, that thou mayest understand what to do in all things whatsoever I have commanded thee. That the Lord may continue his word which he spake concerning me, saying, If thy children take heed to their way, to walk before me in truth with all their heart and with all their soul, there shall not fail thee, said he, a man on the throne of Israel.' See, what David charges his son Solomon to keep. Is it not to keep the commandments of God, and the judgments of his righteousness? David also prays to the Lord for Israel and for Solomon his son, that they may keep the judgments of righteousness, saying, 'O Lord God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, keep this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their heart unto thee: and to Solomon my son give a perfect heart, to keep thy commandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes,' &c. (1 Paral. xxix. 18).

'And Solomon the son of David reigned in Jerusalem over Israel. And the Lord gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea-shore. And Solomon's wisdom exceeded the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt' (3 Kings iv. 29). See, thou vain sophist, that before the appearance of God to him Solomon was wise. And after the offering of a thousand burnt-offerings (3 Kings iii. 4), 'In that night the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream.' See here also: It was after the offering of a thousand burnt-offerings that the Lord appeared to Solomon. But if any one, instead of himself offering to God, takes as a robber what belongs to God, will not God be displeased with him? Yea, verily, he will. Hear what follows; what the Lord said to Solomon, and what Solomon asks: 'And God said to him, Ask what thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And Solomon said, Thou hast showed unto David my father great mercy; and thou hast made me king in his room. And now, O Lord my God, let thy word be fulfilled which thou didst promise unto David my father: for thou hast made me king over much people, numerous as the dust of the earth. Now therefore give me wisdom and understanding, that I may go in and out before thy people with power; for who is able worthily to judge this thy so great a people? For this cause give thy servant an understanding heart, to hear and to judge thy people in justice, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge so great a people? And God said to Solomon, Because this thing is most desirable to thy heart, and thou hast not asked for thyself riches, nor power and glory, nor the lives of thine enemies, nor length of days for thyself, but hast asked for wisdom and understanding whereby to judge my people, over which I have made thee king, lo, wisdom and understanding are given to thee; and I will also give thee riches, and means, and glory, so that there has been none like thee among kings before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee' (3 Kings iii. 4-13). Seest thou what was the petition of Solomon, that he asked neither for glory nor for wealth, but for a wise heart, to know how to judge God's people in justice, but not by himself and with his own judgment, as the prince Nikita writes, 'The judgment of the Tsar the Hossoudar,' &c.? Hear how after this God charged Solomon: 'And if thou wilt walk in my ways, to keep my commandments, as thy father David walked, then I will also lengthen thy days' (ib. 14).

Afterwards he himself also learned to marvel at the judgments of God; and he says, 'Great are thy judgments, O Lord, and they cannot be expressed: therefore undisciplined souls have erred: for transgressors have attempted to do violence to thy holy people' (Wisdom of Sol. xvii. 1). 'My son, forget not the words of the law, my words let thine heart keep: for length of days, and years of life, and peace shall they add unto thee' (Prov. iii. 1). And again he says, 'My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, neither be weary of his correction' (ib. 11). And again he says, 'Of these things be not ashamed, nor respect persons, to sin thereby: of the law of the Most High,[1] and his covenant; and of judgment, so as [not] to justify the wicked' (Ecclus. xlii. 1). And again thus: 'My son, keep my words, hide my commandments within thee. My son, fear the Lord, and thou shalt be strong; but except him, fear none other. Keep my commandments, and thou shalt live' (Prov. vii. 1, 2). And again he says: 'The fear of the Lord hateth injustice, oppression, and pride, and evil ways: I hate the perverse ways of the bad. Counsel is mine, and security; wisdom is mine, mine is strength. By me kings reign, and potentates decree justice. By me magnates are magnified, and rulers by me govern the earth' (ib. viii. 13-16). And again, more pointedly, he writes: 'Hear therefore, O ye kings, and consider, learn, ye that judge the ends of the earth. Give ear, ye that rule the multitudes, and glory in the nations of the Gentiles. For empire is given you of the Lord, and power from the Most High; who will try your works, and search out your counsels. For ye are servants of his kingdom. And if ye have not judged justly, if ye have not kept the law, nor walked according to the will of God, horribly and speedily shall he manifest himself to you; for a sharp judgment shall there be to them that are exalted. For the mean man is an object for mercy, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented. For he who is Lord of all will not respect persons, nor will he stand in awe of greatness: for he has made the small and the great, and careth for all alike. But for rulers there shall be a most searching trial,' &c. (Wisd. vi. 1-8). 'A wise man hateth not the law; but he that is an hypocrite therein is like a ship in a storm. A man of understanding has faith in the law, and the law is to him faithful' (Ecclus. xxxiii. 2, 3). And again the wise man says, 'Love justice, ye that judge the earth; think of the Lord in goodness, and in simplicity of heart seek him' (Wisd. i. 1). And the Lord says: 'Keep ye judgment, and do justice' (Is. lvi. 1). And again: 'The Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us' (ib. xxxiii. 22). And again: 'Hearken unto me, my people, hearken unto me; for the law is from me; my judgment has gone forth to be a light to all lands. Hearken unto me, ye that know judgment, my people, in whose heart is my law. Fear ye not the reproach of men, nor submit to their reviling. For as a garment it shall waste with time, and as wool it shall be eaten by worms: but my justice shall be for ever' (ib. li. 4, 5, 7, 8).

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[1] Here in the margin of one MS. are inserted three references, seemingly intended *against* Nicon, Rom. xiii.: [' Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. . . Whosoever resisteth resisteth the ordinance of God,' &c. v. 1, &c.] 1 Pet. ii. [' Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors,' &c. v. 13, 14?] and Tit. iii. [' Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates . . . to speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, showing all meekness unto all men,' &c. v. 1, 2?]

In like manner also of the new law of the gospel, and of judgment, the Lord himself testifies, saying, 'I came down from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of my Father that sent me' (John vi. 38). And again he says, 'I am not come of myself, but my Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak' (ib. vii. 28 and xii. 49). And again he says, 'All things are delivered to me of my Father' (Matt. xi. 27, and Luke x. 22). And again, 'The Father judgeth no man, but all judgment he hath committed to the Son' (John v. 22). And again elsewhere it is said, 'Behold my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles' (Is. xlii. 1). 'And if I judge, my judgment is true' (John viii. 16). 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' (Matt. v. 17). 'And if any man hear my words, and believe them not, I judge him not:' and after a little, 'He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the word which I have spoken, that shall judge him at the last day' (John xii. 44-48). And the divine Apostle says, 'Other foundation can no man lay beside that which is laid, that is, Christ' (1 Cor. iii. 11). And again, 'Ye are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone' (Eph. ii. 19). 'Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto' (Gal. iii. 15). And again: 'Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?' (1 Cor. vi. 1.) 'Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same thing. But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things. And thinkest thou this, O man that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? For we know that the judgment of God is against them which do such things' (Rom. ii. 1-3). And again another Apostle says, 'If thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge. There is one lawgiver and judge, who is able to save and to destroy' (Jas. iv. 11, 12). And now this is enough which has been said about judgment, showing that judgment is God's, and not 'the judgment of the Tsar and Grand Prince,' as thou, thou fraudulent compiler, without fearing to dishonour the Lord God, hast written, 'The judgment of the Tsar and Grand Prince,' and the rest of thy lawlessness. Who art thou, that hast dared, contrary to the divine laws, and to the canons of the holy Fathers, to compose new satanical laws, like a new Luther?

Hast thou not heard what has been written out above, how God charged in the mount, saying, 'Take heed to yourselves that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death' (Ex. xix. 12). And again, 'Charge the people, lest they approach to the mount unto the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish. And let the priests also, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break forth upon them, and slay some of them' (ib. xix. 22). But thou, what kind of a counsellor art thou unto God, who being neither a priest nor a deacon, darest to devise conceits of thine own contrary to God and to his saints? Hast thou not heard God himself charging, 'Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you this day'? (Deut. iv. 2.) And again, 'Ye shall keep mine ordinances; ye shall not do according to any of these abominable customs, that ye defile not yourselves therein' (Lev. xviii. 30). But against them that fear not God, but make laws of their own, the divine David in the person of God says, 'The Lord bringeth the counsels of the heathen to naught; he maketh the thoughts of the people to be of none effect; he maketh to be of none effect the counsels of princes' (Ps. xxxii. 10, 11). 'But unto the sinner saith God, Why dost thou proclaim my judgment, and take my covenant within thy lips? Whereas thou hast hated instruction, and hast cast my words behind thee' (Ps. xlix. 16, 17). And again elsewhere he says, 'The wicked transgressor speaketh unto himself to sin; there is no fear of God before his eyes. For he flattereth himself in his own eyes until his iniquity be found out and be hated. The words of his mouth are iniquity and deceit; he willeth not to understand, so as to do good. He deviseth iniquity upon his bed; he hath set himself upon every way that is not good' (Ps. xxxv. 1-4). And again in another psalm he says, 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. Corrupt are they, and are become abominable in transgressions: there is none that doeth good. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand and seek after God. They have all gone back together: they have become unprofitable: there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Can they not understand, all they that work wickedness?' (Ps. xiii. or lii.) 'They have encouraged themselves in an evil counsel; they commune of laying snares privily, and say who shall see them?' (Ps. lxiii. 5.) 'Therefore they are bound by their pride as by a chain; they have clothed themselves with their injustice and impiety. They have devised, and they speak in malice; of oppression they speak loftily. They have set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue goeth through the earth. And they say, Whom hath God seen? and is there knowledge with the Most High?' (Ps. lxii. 6-9.) 'I said unto the transgressors, Transgress not; and to the sinners, Set not up your horn. Set not up your horn on high; speak not against God injustice. For God is the judge' (Ps. lxxiv. 4, 5, 7). Again elsewhere it is said, 'Now sit and write this on a tablet and in a book, that it may be for the times to come: that this is a rebellious people, lying children, that will not hear the law of God: which say to the seers, Prophesy not unto us anything else, but only deceits. Turn us out of this way; take away from us this way; make the judgment of Israel [the oracle, τὸ λόγιον] to cease from before us. Therefore, thus saith the Lord, the holy one of Israel: Because ye submit not yourselves to this word, and trust in a lie, and because ye murmur, and trust thereon: therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant. It shall be as the breaking of a potter's vessel, so that there shall not be found in the bursting of it a sherd to take fire from the hearth, or in which to take up a little water' (Is. xxx. 8-14). . . . 'Thus saith the Lord: Ye have taken counsel, but not with me; and have made covenants not by my Spirit, to add sin to sin' (ib. xxx. 1). And again another prophet saith, 'Though the Lord hath not sent them, yet have they run: and I have not spoken unto them; but they speak of themselves iniquity and lies. Thus saith the Lord: Hearken not to their words which they speak to you, deceiving you. They speak the visions of their own heart' (Jer. xxiii. 21, 16). 'Woe unto them that prophesy out of their own hearts, that prophesy following their own spirit, and have seen nothing, saying, The Lord saith! But I have not sent them.' (And again the same prophet:) 'Thus saith the Lord God! when the Lord hath not spoken' (Ez. xiii. 2, 3, 6; and xxii. 28). And again another saith, 'Praise is not good in the lips of a sinner, for it is not sent from the Lord' (Ecclus. xv. 9). And the Apostle writes, 'And how shall they preach, except they be sent?' (Rom. x. 15.) 'And thou hast tried them which say that they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars' (Rev. ii. 2). 'Woe unto them! for they have fled from me: destruction unto them! because they have transgressed against me: and they have spoken lies against me' (Hos. vii. 13). 'And they are evil; they know not understanding. They all follow their own ways; they have turned aside every man to his own way. They have corrupted themselves from the first even to the last' (Ps. xiii. and Is. liii. 6). 'Woe unto them that write iniquity; who, when they write, write malice' (Is. x. 1). 'Woe unto them that make their counsel in secret, and their works will be in the dark' (ib. xxix. 15). 'Woe unto you, children that are apostates!' (ib. xxx. 1.) 'Woe unto them that are wise in their own conceits, and cunning craftsmen in their own eyes' (ib. v. 21). 'Woe unto their souls, because they have devised an evil counsel to themselves.' 'Woe to the transgressor, for evil shall befall him according to his works' (ib. iii. 11). 'Woe to the revilers, who revile the law.' 'Woe to them that call evil good, and good evil, that make light darkness, and darkness light, that make bitter sweet, and sweet bitter!' (ib. v. 20.) 'Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways. Woe to the heart that is faint because it believeth not; therefore it shall not be protected. Woe unto you that have lost patience: and what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?' (Ecclus. ii. 12-14.) 'Woe unto you, lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered' (Luke xi. 52). 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint, and anise, and cummin, but have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. They are blind guides, straining out gnats, but swallowing down camels. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of violence and injustice. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and the platter, that the outside of them may be clean also' (Matt. xxiii. 23-6). 'Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the temptation of Balaam for reward, and have perished in the gainsaying of Korah: feeding themselves without fear; clouds without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots; raging waves of the sea foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever. And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him. These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great swelling words' (Jude 11-16). Of whom the Lord himself prophesied, saying, 'Take heed that no man deceive you. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many' (Matt. xxiv. 4). 'Go ye not therefore after them. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold' (ib. 11). And again: 'For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect' (ib. 24). And elsewhere he says, 'Beware of false prophets. From their fruits ye shall know them: do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them' (ib. vii. 15-20). 'Another parable put he forth unto them saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field. But while men slept his enemy came, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn' (ib. xiii. 24-30). 'And his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the tares of the field. He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man; the field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world: and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth' (ib. 36-42). And again: 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: which, when it was full, they drew to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away. So shall it be at the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth' (ib. 47-50). 'Then the Pharisees and scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands? He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men. And he said to them, Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition. . . . And when he had called all the people unto him, he said unto them, Hearken unto me every one of you and understand. There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him those are they that defile the man' (Mark vii. 5-9, 14, 15). 'Then came his disciples, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended, after they heard this saying? But he answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch. Then answered Peter, and said unto him, Declare unto us this parable. And Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding? Do ye not yet understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts:—*murders*' (Though any man kill not with the sword, but with the tongue, he is a transgressor of the law; for they sharpen their tongues above a two-whetted sword); '*adulteries*' (The introduction of any other law at variance with that which is laid down is an adultery); '*thefts*' (He is a thief who steals away anything from the divine law and commandments, and adds on to it his own diabolical code); '*false witness*' (He is a false witness who instead of the right law introduces fraudulently his own lying forgeries); '*blasphemies*' (He blasphemes who in contravention of the tradition makes a composition of his own private reasoning, Matt. xv. 1-19); '*injuries*' (He is injurious who instead of the right commandments of God, lays down another law of his own); '*wickedness*' (Is not he wicked who deserts the right way, and follows his own wickedness?); '*deceit*' (Of a truth he is deceitful who, leaving the true light, calls his own darkness light); '*filthiness*' (His thoughts and acts are filthy who dwells on a vain wisdom of his own at variance with right doctrines); '*an evil eye*' (Certainly his eye is evil who looks not to justice, but to his own will or interest); '*pride*' (Pride is nothing else than that which was at the beginning, as that of the devil: 'I will ascend,' he said, 'to heaven, and set my throne above the stars of heaven, and I will be like unto the Most High. But now thou shalt be drawn down to hell, and to the heart of the earth.' So also now he whose pride disregards the divine laws, so as to set up laws of his own, is like to him in his pride and madness. For is not he mad who, in contravention of the traditions, delivers other foolish traditions? as it is written in the Psalms: 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God'). 'These are the things that defile a man' (Mark vii. 22). 'O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things' (Matt. xii. 34, 35). 'And why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' (Luke vi. 46). 'Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils? And then will I declare to them, I never knew you: depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity' (Matt. vii. 21-23). 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber' (John x. 1). So also the prince of the Apostles the divine Peter prophesied of these lying legislators, saying, 'Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation' (2 Peter iii. 3, 4). 'Even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in destructive heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And in the abundance of feigned words shall they make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not' (ib. ii. 1-3). 'Presumptuous are they, self-willed: they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities. As natural brute beasts made to be taken and destroyed, they speak evil of the things that they understand not; and shall utterly perish in their own corruption . . . . beguiling unstable souls' (ib. 10, 12, 14). And the divine John prophesied of them, saying, 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world' (1 John iv. 1). And again he says: 'Look to yourselves, that we lose not those good things which we have wrought.' And a little farther on he says: 'Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, and bid him not God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker in his evil deeds' (2 John 8-11). Also the holy apostle Jude, the brother of God, has prophesied of such, saying, 'It was needful for me to write unto you and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness' (Jude 3, 4). 'But ye, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, how that they told you that there should be mockers in the last time who should walk after their own ungodly lusts, in their impurity, sensual, not having the Spirit' (ib. 17-19). Likewise the divine apostle Paul prophesied of such, saying, 'The Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared' (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2). And elsewhere the same Apostle says, 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ' (Col. ii. 8). 'Not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore, be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is' (Eph. v. 15-17). And again the same Apostle says, 'In the last days perilous times shall come: for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, &c., having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away' (2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 5). And again he says, 'The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables' (ib. iv. 3, 4). And again elsewhere: 'If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine of godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself' (1 Tim. vi. 3-5). 'Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle' (2 Thess. ii. 15). 'What communion,' he saith, 'hath light with darkness? or righteousness with unrighteousness?' &c. (2 Cor. vi. 14). 'Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience' (Eph. v. 6). And again the same Apostle says, 'Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have been taught, and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ' (Rom. xvi. 17, 18). 'As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions rather than godly edifying which is in faith . . . from which some having swerved have turned aside unto vain jangling, desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither what they say nor whereof they affirm' (1 Tim. i. 3-7). 'Wherefore, rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith; not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth. Unto the pure all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled. They profess that they know God; but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate' (Tit. i. 13-16). 'But foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law avoid; for they are unprofitable and vain. A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted' (ib. iii. 9-11). 'As they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient' (Rom. i. 28). 'Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie' (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11), 'to fill up their sins in all ways; for the wrath of God is come upon them to the uttermost' (1 Thess. ii. 16); 'that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness' (2 Thess. ii. 12). 'There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues have they used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood: destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known. There is no fear of God before their eyes' (Rom. iii. 10-18). 'There is no difference: for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God' (ib. 22, 23). 'For they, being ignorant of God's justice, and going about to establish their own justice, have not submitted themselves unto the justice of God' (ib. x. 3). 'According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber; eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear; unto this day. And David saith, Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see' (ib. xi. 8, 9). 'Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth; men of corrupt minds . . . but their folly shall be manifest unto all men' (2 Tim. iii. 7, 8, 9). Against such men who are disobedient, and oppose themselves to the law and commandments of God, the Lord God himself threatens, saying, 'If ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments, and if ye shall despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgment, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my covenant' (Lev. xxvi. 14, 15), 'all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field; cursed shall be thy basket and thy store; cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep; cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out.'

So also the holy prophet Isaiah, by the word of God, says, 'Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof . . . because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore the curse hath devoured the earth, because they that live on it have sinned' (Is. xxiv. 1, 5, 6). And another prophet says, 'Cursed is the man that doeth the work of God by halves' (Jer. xlviii. 10). And the prophet Malachi says, 'If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings . . . . And ye shall know that I have sent this commandment unto you, that my covenant might be with Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts' (Mal. ii. 2, 4). And holy David says, 'Cursed are they that do swerve from thy commandments' (Ps. cxviii.). 'He loved cursing, and it shall come unto him; he desired not blessing, and it removeth away far from him.' And 'He clothed himself with cursing like as with a garment' (Ps. cviii. 17, 18). 'He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings' (John xiv. 24). 'Whoso loveth not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed' (1 Cor. xvi. 22). 'Every one that transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not known God' (2 John 9). And our Lord Jesus Christ says, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels' (Matt. xxv. 41). So Paul writes:

'But whether we or an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than that which we have preached to you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed' (Gal. i. 8, 9). 'For the earth, which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God; but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned' (Heb. vi. 7, 8). And Peter, the prince of the Apostles, says, 'Cursed children, which have forsaken the right way and are gone astray' (2 Pet. ii. 14, 15).

Canon of all the Apostles: 'Let every one abide in the order given to him, and transgress not the constitutions; for they are not ours, but God's; since the Lord has said, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that heareth me heareth him that sent me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.'[1]

Canon i. of the Second holy Ecumenical Council: 'Let the faith of the holy fathers of Nicea be firmly held to and abide in force; but let all that has been spoken or written against it by heretics, and the heretics themselves, be accursed'[2] (K. fol. 34).

Canon vi. of the Third holy Ecumenical Council: 'A layman opposing the council is to be excommunicated, and a clerk is to be deposed from his order.' The gloss: 'The holy fathers of the Council of Ephesus enacted and ordered that if any man, being a clerk, seek to tamper with these decrees, or in any way to change them, he is to be absolutely degraded from his order; or if a layman, he is to be excommunicated'[3] (K. fol. 36). Canon viii.: 'Let the rights belonging to every province be preserved to its bishop purely and inviolably; and if any one introduces anything contrary to this, he shall lose his labour.' The gloss: 'If any bishop has taken away from another province, and subjected to himself, anything which was not originally under him, whether it be field, or vineyard, or land, or anything else which he has taken from another see, he shall not acquire any sort of title thereto, nor shall retain it; but he shall forthwith restore everything to the see to which it formerly belonged; since it is a duty to preserve honestly and inviolably to every see the property which is subject to it; that there creep not in under colour of the pontificate [the pride of] worldly power. If any one introduce any other rule at variance with the constitutions of this council, he shall gain nothing by it, but shall lose his labour'[1] (K. fol. 36).

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[1] See above, at p. 8.

[2] Bever. i. p. 90, Aristin.

[3] Bever. i. p. 103-106, Aristin. For the original canon see Concil. Mansi, vol. iv. col. 1473-4.

Canon i. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council: 'Let the canons of the holy fathers enacted in each of the councils hitherto be held to firmly'[2] (K. fol. 37).

Canon i. of the Fifth Ecumenical Council: 'If any one attempt to wrong the sacred order, or usurp the cognisance of ecclesiastical causes and rights, or forcibly bring before him a bishop or a priest or deacon, or any person of the sacred order, or by robbery and violence invade that which has been given to monasteries, and take away from them aught of that which has been given to Christ, let him be accursed.'[3]

Canon cxiv. of the holy synod of Carthage: 'Whoever asserts that without grace a man can keep the commandments of God, though with difficulty, let him be accursed; for without me, says the Lord, ye can do nothing.'[4] Canon cxv. of the same holy synod: 'Whereas St. John says, If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: if any one perversely interpret this as if it were said not in strictness, but of humility, let him be accursed.' The gloss: 'Since we are conceived in sin, and no one is pure from stain, though it be a child only one day old, he is anathematised who says that it was not in strictness, but of humility, that the apostle St. John said this, If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If he had said this of humility, would he not have said rather, We exalt ourselves [and humility is not in us]? For he deceives himself who lies, but he who speaks the truth does not deceive himself.'[1]

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[1] Bever. I. p. 103-106, Aristin. For the Latins the canons of the C. of Ephesus, so entitled, are only six; as at col. 1473-4 of Mansi's Coll. vol. iv. ed. Flor. 1759. But canon vii. of the Greeks in its full text is printed also by Mansi at col. 1361-4, and at col. 1469-70 canon viii. of the Greeks. This last is a decree made in Act vi. of the council, in favour of the liberties of the churches of Cyprus. The sources of the abridged canon, and of the gloss of Aristin and of the Russian Kormchay, will be seen in the following extract: *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν· ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις κατέλαβε καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται βιασάμενος, τοῦτον* [al. *ταύτην*] *ἀποδιδόναι, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβαίνωνται, μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τῦφος παρεισδύηται κ.τ.λ. ἔδοξε τοίνυν . . . σώζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν, κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατῆσαν ἔθος· . . . εἰ δέ τις μαχόμενον τύπον τοῖς νῦν ὡρισμένοις προσκομίσοι, ἄκυρον τοῦτον εἶναι ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ.*

[2] Mansi, vol. vii. col. 357-8, Bever. I. p. 111, Aristin.

[3] The same occurs also above at p. 317. But the Fifth and Sixth Ecum. Councils made no canons. Nor is there any canon like this among those of the Council in Trullo. It is not in the Kormchay of 1834.

[4] Bever. I. p. 648, Aristin. If these two canons, cxiv. and cxv., are not written out here by mistake, they must mean that those who would make the civil power to legislate independently of the Church, as if nature were self-sufficing without grace, are accursed. Canons civ. and cvi., quoted above at p. 103, are against applying to the secular power.

Canon i. of the Sixth holy Ecumenical Council [*i. e.* the council held in Trullo A.D. 690]: 'Let the apostolical faith and that of the fathers of Nicea remain entire, overthrowing the impiety of Arius, who introduced degrees of Deity, and affirming the consubstantiality.' The gloss: 'The council assembled under Justinian Rhinotmetes decreed that both the canons of the Apostles, and those of the six Ecumenical Councils held previously, and those of the seven Local Councils, should all remain in force, and be observed without change or corruption. It also put forth the canons here following for the benefit of souls and the healing of passions. And first of all it here confirms the tradition of the Apostolical canons; then those also of the Ecumenical and the Local Councils.'[2]

Canon i. of the Seventh holy Ecumenical Council (the Second Council of Nice): 'The holy canons we affectionately embrace and hold; those, that is, of the holy Apostles and of the six Ecumenical and of the Local Councils, and in addition those of our holy Fathers, as being inspired by one and the same Holy Spirit. Whom they anathematised, we anathematise; whom they deposed, we depose; whom they excommunicated, we excommunicate; and whom they put to penance, we also put to penance.' Another translation, of Nicon: 'For them that have obtained the sacerdotal order, the touchstones and rules of right are the forms of the canonical constitutions, which we receiving heartily with the prophet David sing to the Lord, saying: I have had as great delight in thy testimonies as in all manner of riches. Thou hast commanded justice, even thy testimonies, O Lord, for ever. O give me understanding, and I shall live. And if the prophetic voice enjoins us, as it does, to keep the testimonies of God for ever, it is plain that they abide unshaken and unmoved for ever. As Moses also, who saw God, says: To them nothing may be added, and from them nothing may be taken away. And, the divine apostle Peter, making his boast in them, cries aloud: Into which things the angels desire to look. And Paul: Though an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than what has been delivered to you, let him be anathema. These things then being so, and being so witnessed to us, we, rejoicing in them as one that should find great spoils, affectionately embrace the divine canons, and confirm their injunctions entire and unquestioned; those, that is, which were set forth by the holy trumpets of the Spirit the most honourable Apostles, and by the six holy Ecumenical Councils, and by the Local Councils held for the promulgation of such constitutions, and those of our holy Fathers. For they all, being irradiated from one and the same Spirit, determined what was profitable. And whom they anathematised we also anathematise, and whom they deposed we also depose, and whom they excommunicated we also excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we in like manner put to penance. For "without covetousness, content with what we have," this is what he who was rapt into the third heaven, and heard unspeakable words, that is, the divine apostle Paul, distinctly cries aloud.'[1]

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[1] Bever. i. p. 649, Aristin.

[2] Bever. i. p. 157, Aristin.

From the Epistle to Eulogius of Alexandria: 'If any man unsettles aught of the things decreed and confirmed by the god-bearing Fathers, this is no more to be called economy, but it is transgression, and contempt of the commandments, and impiety towards God'[2] (K. fol. 107).

From the Constitution of the Emperor Constantine: 'But if any one of violence, or of unbelief, or of pride, infringe any of these provisions, may he incur eternal condemnation, and find the saints of God, the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, to be his adversaries both in this world and in the world to come; and may he be tormented in the lowest hell, and vanish away together with the devil, and with all the ungodly.'[3]

From the Ordinance of the blessed prince the Grand Prince

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[1] See above, p. 8. Bev. i. p. 286, 284.

[2] See above, p. 9. Bev. ii. cc. 3.

[3] See above p. 215; and K. part ii. Appendix, fol. 4.

Vladimir, who caused the land of Russia to be baptised: 'If any man infringes my Ordinance, whether they be the princes my sons, or my grandsons, or any one of my race, or any one of the boyars, and infringes my order, and interferes with the ecclesiastical causes of the metropolitan, which I have given to the metropolitan and to the Church, and to the bishops in all the cities, according to the canons of the holy Fathers, he shall be judged and punished [capitally]. And if any one attempts to invade that jurisdiction of the Church, he shall forfeit the name of a Christian. And all such shall be accursed by the holy Fathers.'[1]

If any one, after all this, is not alarmed nor fears, but still wrongs the jurisdiction of God, against such the Lord speaks thus: 'But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments, and if ye shall despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgments, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my covenant, I also will do this unto you: I will even appoint over you terror, and consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes, and cause sorrow of heart: and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it. And I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slain before your enemies: they that hate you shall reign over you; and ye shall flee when none pursueth you. And if ye will not yet for all this hearken unto me, then I will punish you yet more for your sins. And I will break the pride of your power, and I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass; and your land shall not yield her increase: your strength shall be spent in vain. And if ye walk contrary to me, and will not hearken unto me, I will bring seven times more plagues upon you, according to your sins. And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant. And when ye shall fly into your cities, I will send the pestilence upon you; and ye shall fall by the hand of your enemies: . . . and I will scatter you among all the nations, and will draw out a sword after you. And your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste: and ye shall be in the land of your enemies. And upon them that are left alive of you I will send a faintness into their hearts, in the land of their enemies; and the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, as men fleeing from battle, and shall fall when none pursueth. And ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies; and ye shall perish in the countries, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up: and they that are left of you shall pine away for their sins' (Lev. xxvi. 14-39). 'Because ye have despised my judgments and my ordinances, my soul hath loathed you; and I will send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly, because of the wickedness of thy doing, whereby thou hast forsaken me' (Deut. xxviii. 20). 'The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave to thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And the heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven it shall come down upon thee until thou be destroyed. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them; and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. And thy carcass shall be meat unto all the fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and no man shall fray them away. The Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart: and thou shalt grope at noon-day, as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee. Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall take her; thou shalt build a house, and thou shalt not dwell therein; thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not gather the grapes thereof: thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof; thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee; thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to rescue them: thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long: and there shall be no might in thy hand. The fruit of thy land and all thy labours shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed alway: so that thou shalt be grieved to madness for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. The Lord shall smite thee in the knees and in the legs with a sore botch which cannot be healed, from the sole of thy foot unto the top of thy head. The Lord shall bring thee and thy king which thou shalt set over thee unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone. And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all the nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather but little in; for the locust shall consume it. . . . All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume. . . . And all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee. . . . And the Lord shall send against thee in hunger and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things: and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he have destroyed thee. . . . And the Lord God shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind. And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see' (Deut. xxviii.). As also holy David saith: 'If they pollute my statutes, and will not keep my commandments, I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sin with scourges' (Ps. lxxxviii. 31-32). And elsewhere he says: 'The sinners shall perish from off the earth, even the transgressors, so that they be no more' (Ps. ciii. 35). And again: 'But the transgressors shall be destroyed together, and the seed of the ungodly shall be rooted out' (Ps. xxxvi. 38). And the writer of the Proverbs saith: 'The ways of the ungodly shall perish from the earth, the transgressors of the law shall be swept away from it' (Prov. ii. 22). And again: 'He will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready. He hath prepared for him the instruments of death within the quiver; he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors' (Ps. vii. 12, 13). 'Because I called, but ye did not hear; I made many words, but ye did not attend; but ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproofs; therefore I also will laugh at your destruction, I will mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh in a moment, and destruction as a whirlwind. Then shall ye call upon me, but I will not answer; ye shall seek me earnestly, but ye shall not find me. Because they hated wisdom, and have not chosen the fear of the Lord; because they would none of my counsel, and despised all my reproofs; therefore they shall eat the fruit of their own way, and shall be filled with their own wickedness' (Prov. i. 24-31). Thus Isaiah speaks: 'When I called, none did answer; when I spake they did not hear: but they did evil before mine eyes, and chose that in which I delighted not' (Is. lxvi. 4). 'Therefore, thus saith the Lord: Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall hunger; behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall thirst; behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be put to shame; behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen; but yourselves shall be destroyed of the Lord' (ib. lxv. 13-15). 'Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold mine anger and my fury shall be poured out upon this place, upon man, and upon beast, and upon the trees of the field, and upon the fruit of the ground; and it shall burn, and shall not be quenched' (Jer. vii. 20). And again Isaiah says: 'Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward. Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt more and more: the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds and bruises, and putrefying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment. Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers' (Is. i. 4-8). 'For this gird you with sackcloth, lament, and howl: for the fierce anger of the Lord is not turned back from us. And it shall come to pass at that day, saith the Lord, that the heart of the king shall perish, and the heart of the princes; and the priests shall be astonished, and the prophets shall wonder. Then said I, Ah, Lord God, surely thou hast greatly deceived this people, saying, Ye shall have peace; whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul' (Jer. iv. 8-10). 'Howl ye! the day of the Lord is near, and destruction shall come from the Almighty. Therefore shall every hand be faint, and every heart of man shall melt. And they shall be afraid: pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them; they shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth: they shall lament one to another; their faces shall be as flames. Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate, and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it' (Is. xiii. 6-9). 'And I said, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate' (ib. vi. 11). 'Because they refused the law of the Lord of hosts, and drove from them the word of the Holy One of Israel; therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them: and the hills did tremble, and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still' (ib. v. 24, 25). 'And if they say unto thee, O Lord, whither shall we go forth? then thou shalt tell them, Thus saith the Lord: Such as are for death to death; and such as are for the sword to the sword; and such as are for the famine to the famine; and such as are for the captivity to the captivity. And I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the Lord: the sword to slay, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the earth to devour and destroy. And I will destroy and remove them into all kingdoms of the earth' (Jer. xv. 2-4). 'They shall not be lamented, neither shall they be buried; but they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth: . . . for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith the Lord, even my loving-kindness and mercies. And they shall die, both the great and the small; . . . and they shall not set out among them bread for the mourners for consolation over the dead, neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother

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[1] See above, p. 217. Also *Drevn. Roush. Biblióteca*, 2d edit. Moscow, 1788, part vi. and Karamzin's *Hist. of Russia*, vol. i. Appendix.

(ib. xvi. 4-7). 'The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within: he that is in the field shall die with the sword, and he that is in the city famine and pestilence shall devour him' (Ez. vii. 15). 'They shall seek peace, and there shall be none. Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour. . . . . The king shall mourn, and the prince shall be clothed with desolation, and the hands of the people shall be made feeble. I will do unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them; and they shall know that I am the Lord' (ib. 25-27). 'And it shall come to pass that he who fleeth from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he that cometh up out of the pit shall be taken in the snare; for the windows from on high are open, and the foundations of the earth do shake. The earth is utterly broken down; the earth is clean dissolved; the earth is moved exceedingly. The earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage; and the transgression thereof shall be heavy upon it; and it shall fall and not rise again' (Is. xxiv. 18-20). For like woes the prophet Micah laments, saying, 'Woe is me! The good man is perished out of the earth: and there is none upright among men: they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net; they prepare their hands for mischief. And I will take away their good things, as a moth fretting a garment in the midst. . . . The day of thy visitation is at hand: now shall be their lamentations. . . . Trust ye not in friends; put ye not confidence in elders' (Mic. vii. 2-5). 'Why dost thou show me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance? for spoiling and violence are before me; and there are that raise up strife and contention. Against me there is judgment, and the judges take reward against me. For this cause the law is slacked, and judgment is not suffered to be carried out to completion: for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore wrong judgment proceedeth. Behold, ye among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvellously: for I will work a work in your days which ye will not believe, though it be told you' (Habak. i. 3-5). So also in the divine gospel of St. Luke it is written of them who keep not the commandments of the Lord: 'And that servant which knew his lord's will, and did it not, neither prepared himself for obedience to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes' (Luke xii. 47). And again elsewhere it is said: 'He that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him' (John iii. 36). And again elsewhere: 'But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the men-servants and maidens, and to eat and drink with the drunken, the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers' (Luke xii. 45, 46). In this same place the Lord speaks of bad officers; that is, of unrighteous kings, and princes, and judges, who, having received those callings, judge according to their own will; even as now the Code that these have written shows their lawlessness, as it is written: 'He saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant,' and what follows (ib. xix. 22). What we were here saying is shown still more clearly by this parable of Christ: 'A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. . . . But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us. And it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, he commanded his servants to be called to him:' and afterwards he said, 'But those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them bring hither, and slay them before me' (ib. 12-15, 27). So shall the Lord do also to all those who now reject his divine laws and his judgment in the day of judgment, according to the declaration which saith, 'He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day' (John xii. 48). So they who reject the constitutions and canons of the holy fathers, and of the former religious emperors, shall be condemned. 'Hear another parable: There was a certain householder, which planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-press in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again he sent other servants more than the first; and they did unto them likewise. But last of all he sent unto them his son, saying to himself, They will reverence my son. But when the husbandmen saw the son, they said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When the lord therefore of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen? They said unto him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their season' (Matt. xxi. 33-41). Do ye understand Christ's divine parable? Who in it is the certain man? It is the holy Lord God himself. Who are the husbandmen? They are the Israelites. Who the servants? The prophets sent to them; of whom they beat one, as Jeremiah, and killed another, and stoned another, like Naboth. And what did the lord to them; that is, the Lord God? He miserably destroyed those wicked men; that is, the Jews. And where is now their kingdom? But all has been fulfilled, even as the prophets prophesied to that evil generation, of which Isaiah prophesied, saying, 'My well-beloved has a vineyard in a very fruitful hill. And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein. And he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. . . . And now go to, I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down' (Is. v. 1, 2, 5, 6). In like manner he sent also many other servants; viz. the holy Apostles, and teachers, more than the first; whom the labourers would not listen to, but did unto them in like manner: as when Herod cut off the head of John the Forerunner, and Nero put to death the apostles Peter and Paul, and other tyrants and unbelievers put to death others. And what did the Lord of the house to these? Was it not this? he miserably destroyed those wicked men, and gave the vineyard to others. So also after these the Greek emperors, and many sovereigns of other kingdoms, who lived according to the divine commandments, and kept the holy canons delivered by the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, died in peace, and became heirs of the heavenly kingdom. But they who unrighteously transgressed perished also in their unrighteousness, and their kingdoms were brought to desolation.

Have not all these things been accomplished in us also? as it is written: 'I will raise up evils against them, and mine arrows I will fix in them.' And a little afterwards: 'Are not all these things gathered together with me, and sealed up in my stores against the day of vengeance and retribution? I will repay at that time when their foot stumbles. For the day of their destruction is near, and they stand ready preparing it for you. For I will whet, as lightning, my sword, and my hand shall execute judgment, and I will recompense vengeance to my enemies: to them that hate me I will repay it: I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh. Then ye shall see that I am God, and that there is none other but me' (Deut. xxxii. 34, 35, 41, 42). Have not all such things as have been written out above been accomplished against us? Have there not been great pestilences in the capital city of Moscow, and in all the other cities, with fierce and incurable diseases? Was not the Tsar's heart panic-struck when the plague was in Moscow, and the Tsarita was there with the Tsarevich Alexis and with the princesses, and knew not what to do, or whither to fly? Were not the princes given to destruction; as when the prince Michael Pronskoy, with all his colleagues, died during the plague at Moscow? And of the whole population was not every hand made weak; as that of the prince Alexis Troubetzkoy,[1] with his colleagues, the prince Simeon Pojarsky, and the prince Lvoff, and the rest? And of all that were with the other Voivodes, with Basil Sheremetieff and the prince Ivan Khovianskoy, how many thousands perished by the plague in the cities, and in the villages, and in the hamlets, and in the army? Were not the messengers affrighted who were sent from the Tsar to Moscow into the plague, and from Moscow to the Tsar? Did not pangs come upon them as the pangs of a woman in childbirth? did they not shake with exceeding dread? were not their faces fiery red? Was it not then the day of the Lord, irremediable, full of fury and wrath? Did not the Lord make Moscow and the surrounding cities wastes? and did not he make the sinners in them to perish? Did not hell extend her ravening, and open wide her jaws? Did not the famous men, and the mighty men, the rich and the poor together, descend into them, a multitude on which we have not time here to dilate, whose number the Lord God above knoweth? Were not these all, as it is written, left for dogs and swine to tear, for the fowls of the air and the beasts of the earth to prey upon and devour? Who mourned for them? who buried them? No man. Did not the Lord God give them all over to destruction over all the kingdoms of the earth? so that one hears from all who come to us from those parts that there is not a house in the countries of the infidels in which there is not some Christian slave, that is, some captive. And all has been fulfilled against them that spoke, saying, 'Let us take to ourselves the sanctuary of God in possession,' to be our inheritance, according as it is written: 'O my God, make them to be as the stubble before the wind, as the fire that burneth up the wood, and as the flame that consumeth the mountains. Persecute them even so with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storm. Fill their faces with dishonour, that they may seek thy name, O Lord. Let them be confounded and troubled for ever and ever, yea, let them be put to shame and perish; that they may know that thou whose name is the Lord art the Most Highest in all the earth' (Ps. lxxxii. 12-18). And again, in another Psalm: 'The Lord is a God of vengeance; he has not hidden himself. Arise, thou Judge of the earth; reward the proud according to their deserving. Lord, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph? They utter and speak iniquity; all the workers of iniquity boast themselves. They oppress thy people, O Lord, and afflict thine heritage. They slay the widow and the fatherless, and murder the stranger. And they say, The Lord seeth it not, neither does the God of Jacob regard it. Understand, ye brutish among the people; O ye fools, when will ye be wise?' (Ps. xciii. 1-8.) 'For the Lord will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his inheritance' (Ps. 14). 'The Lord will judge his people, and will repent himself concerning his servants' (Ps. cxxxiv. 14). 'The Lord awaked as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine. And he smote his enemies in the hinder parts; he put them to a perpetual shame' (Ps. lxxvii. 65, 66). 'And the mean man shall be brought down, and the mighty man shall be humbled, and the eyes of the lofty shall be humbled' (Is. v. 15). 'Nevertheless for vengeance thou hast appointed unto them evil things; thou hast cast them down when they were towering with pride. How are they brought to desolation, as in a moment! They have vanished away and perished for their audacity' (Ps. lxxii. 14). 'For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still' (Is. v. 25, or ix. 12, 17, 21). So also against them that persist in doing evil the divine scripture threatens, saying, 'For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten, and they have added to the pain of my wounds. Add iniquity unto their iniquity, and let them not come into thy righteousness. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written among the righteous' (Ps. lxviii. 26-28).

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[1] Who lost his two colleagues in the plague of 1654-5.

But now we will turn to thee, thou forerunner of falsehood, thou compiler of injustice and lawlessness [*i.e.* to the Prince Nikita Odoefsky, the compiler of the Code]; and do thou answer! Thou writest in thy composition (fol. 63): 'By the command of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich. of all Russia, &c., the boyars, the prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, with his colleagues, wrote out from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and from the civil laws of the Greek emperors, and from the old soudebniks [*i.e.* statute-books or codes] of former Great Hossoudars,' &c. And what, pray, didst thou *write out* from the canons? From what canons? What thou writest in ch. i. sect. 1: 'Of Justice or Judgment:' 'The Judgment of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich of all Russia: how the boyars and okolniks, and people of the council, and secretaries, and all the people and judges of the public courts and offices, are to judge, and to decide all suits and causes for all the people of the Muscovite empire, from the highest rank to the lowest, for justice'? Answer! In what canons is that written, that judgment belongs to the Hossoudar the Tsar, and not to God? We have already above said, and now we say again, that judgment is God's: and of this we have written enough before. And kings and emperors are God's servants; as he who wrote Proverbs says: 'Hear, O ye kings, and consider; learn, ye that judge the ends of the earth; give ear, ye that rule the multitudes, and glory in the nations of the Gentiles. For empire is given you from the Lord, and power from the Most High; who will try your works, and search out your counsels. For ye are servants of his kingdom. And if ye shall have not judged rightly; if ye shall have not kept the law, nor walked according to the will of God' (then what follows. Wisd. vi. 1-8). So David also speaks: 'Now therefore, O ye kings, serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence.' But to serve the Lord implies servitude. And he says of himself thus: 'I am thy servant.' And elsewhere he says of himself, 'I am thine, O save me.'

But thou, how didst thou dare in thy lying and accursed compilation (at ch. x. sect. 25) to write thus: 'Causes are not to be judged nor any kind of business done (except important matters of state) on Sundays, nor on the day of Christ's Nativity, the day of the holy Theophany, and other festivals of the Lord, Cheese-week, the first week of the Great Fast, and the week of the Passion, and the seven days after Easter. Also on whatever day shall fall the Festival of the Birth of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich. &c., or of his orthodox Tsarita the Grand Princess Maria Ilichna, or of any of their noble children' [the like is to be the rule]? O thou most lawless and malicious man! How wert thou not ashamed, nor afraid? The devils confessed him to be the Son of God, and God. They said, 'Why art thou come, thou Son of God, to torment us before the time?' But thou, O thou man of evil passions, confessest him not to be Jesus Christ our God and Lord, but writest, as of a common man, 'on the day of the resurrection,' 'on the day of Christ's birth.' For there are many christs (and kings and priests also are christs, that is, are anointed ones); and false christs, as Christ also says to his Apostles: for many false christs have gone out into the world; and many antichrists; but Christ our God is one. Would not thy foul tongue have dried up [or thy hand withered] to say or to write 'the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'? or 'the holy Theophany of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ?' Nor didst thou even call it 'festival,' but only 'day.' But when it was of the Tsar, then 'on whatever day shall fall the *Festival* of the Birth of the Hossoudar the Tsar, &c. In like manner also of the Tsaritsa, and of their children.' What *festivals?* What *mystery* is there here, except merely of pleasure and worldly vanity? And not content with equalling men altogether with God, thou even preferrest them before God. But concerning the divine mysteries, those, that is, of the Nativity of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of his holy Theophany, and of his Resurrection, listen to the most theological

Gregory,[1] who, in his first homily for Easter (*στίχος ά*), writes of the resurrection of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ thus:

'It is the day of the Resurrection, and the auspicious beginning [of days]. Let us be bright with the festival, and embrace one another: let us say, Brethren! even to those who hate us; to say nothing of those who of affection have done to us or received from us good. Let us forgive all offences for the Resurrection: let us give pardon to one another.' The gloss: 'Come then, for this bright festival let us all keep spiritual holiday, and be bright with the festal garments of virtues, and welcome one another, showing to all spiritual brotherly affection, and in unison let us say, Brethren! even to them that hate us, and to our hired labourers. They are our brethren. The meaning of what is said is this: If any hate you, let us say to them also, Brethren! that is, let us call them by the name of brethren: for this shows good will: so by this we should address even our enemies.'

The Divine many times calls a festival a 'mystery,' because in these festivals were contained the mysterious miracles of the economy of our salvation. These are mysteries, because they are unknown to unbelievers: for it is not right to talk to unbelievers of the more secret meaning of the festivals; and according to the Lord's word, It is not fit to cast pearls before swine.

And in his Second Sermon for Easter[2] he says: 'The Passover, the Lord's Passover; and once more I will repeat, the Passover, in honour of the holy Trinity. This is our festival of festivals, and panegyry of panegyries, surpassing all other festivals and panegyries, not only such as are human, and come on the earth below, but even those of Christ himself, and those others which are celebrated on his account, even as the sun outshines the stars.' The gloss: 'He calls Easter the festival of festivals and panegyry of panegyries, as the most holy festival. For such was also the custom of the ancients; and they called those things which they most honoured by these names, as birthdays of youth, and anniversaries of weddings, and of foundations. They made a festival of the day on which a child was born to them, or on which they celebrated a marriage, or built a temple, and of the anniversary when it came round. "Festival of festivals" is like "holy of holies," or "song of songs." For if there had not been the Resurrection, neither would the Nativity, or the Baptism, or the other mysteries of Christ have been preached and believed. And some festivals there were to be explained and believed of the mysteries of Christ; and some were festivals of men; and of these some relating to the saints. But in truth those which relate to birthdays, and marriages, and foundations, and the like, crawl, as it were, on the earth below, and return to the earth; but those of the saints are referred to God, and go up to God. The Paschal festival not only surpasses and excels all human festivals and triumphs, but even those of Christ themselves it outshines as much as the sun outshines the stars. For in it the day of grace shines forth.'

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[1] Gregor. Naz. Opera, ed. 1690, p. 673, Serm. xli.

[2] Ib. p. 676, Serm. xlii.

But for what he writes in honour of the Nativity of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, hear from his fiftieth sermon:[1]

'Christ is born! give him glory. Christ from heaven! meet him. Christ on earth! be lifted up. Sing to the Lord, all the earth! and, that I may join both together, Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad, for him who is of heaven, and then also on earth. Christ is incarnate! let us rejoice with fear and trembling; with trembling on account of sin, but with joy for hope. Christ is born of a Virgin! Be virgins, that [your souls] may be mothers of Christ. Who worships not him who is from the beginning? Who glorifies not him who is the end?' &c.

'For this cause let us keep festival not noisily, with pomps, but divinely; not after the fashion of the world, but after a fashion above the world; not for any things of our own, but for the things of Him who is ours, or rather for the things of our Lord; not for things of infirmity, but for things of healing; not for the things of the old creation, but for the things of the new creation. And how is this to be done? Let us not crown with garlands our portals, let us not make dances, let us not adorn the streets, let us not feast the eye, nor entertain the ear; let us not enervate the nostrils with perfumes, nor adulterate the taste; let us not by touch indulge the roads ready for vice and the accesses of sin; let us not soften ourselves with garments soft and flowing, of which the least bad that can be said is that they are useless; nor [deck ourselves] with jewels of rare transparency, or with glittering gold, or with the artifice of colours imitating natural beauty, and invented against the image of God: nor with rioting and drunkenness, with which I know chamberings and wantonness to be joined; because from bad teachers there are learned bad lessons, or rather from evil seeds there are evil fruits.' The gloss: 'For this cause we keep holiday, he says, not as in popular festivities, with eating and entertaining, and with decorations at the same time, but in such wise as is pleasing to God, and after a more spiritual way; not with an appetite, he says, for the pleasures of this world, but as he that is merciful desires, in a very peaceful way, in an angelic way, not seeking what is to our own pleasure, but what is to the pleasure of Christ, our brother according to his humanity, but our Lord according to his deity; seeking not the things that belong to our own weakness, but those which belong to healing (for a festival should be kept in a manner suited to its nature). Not with drunkenness; for drunkenness and immoralities are of weakness; but whatever virtues are contrary to such vices, these we practise, and with these we celebrate the festival. And it behoves us to kill those vices in which we were once held by temperance; for temperance belongs to healing, to spiritual medicine; building up not any literal building, but edification and renewal. At our bodily birth all is bodily, both the building or creation itself, and the celebration or rejoicing which is on account of the same: but for that building or creation which is spiritual and divine, we should keep holiday in a spiritual and divine manner. But by "building" or creation here he means not that first creation when Christ, taking dust from the earth, formed man at the beginning, to perpetuate one another in succession by generation and birth, by which men are created naturally in the womb of their mothers. But how this is to be, and in what manner we are to do it, he teaches us by bidding us to keep holiday spiritually; that is, not with branches of trees from the gardens, as some were used to do on festivals, crowning their portals with greens, nor with dissolute and merry dances outside the church, nor by ornamenting the streets, and making a show of all kinds of valuable things for to strike them that come to the festival. Nor is it right to feed the eyes with terrible spectacles of cruelty (the excitement or wonder caused by the things done is the feeding and gratification of the eyes), the beholding of which is in no way fit for any body.

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[1] See p. 613 and 614 of ed. 1690, Serm. xxxviii. Εἰς τὰ Θεοφάνια, εἴτουν Γενέθλια τοῦ Σωτῆρος.

'The Divine, having begun to enumerate the five senses, puts first the most commanding sense of sight; next he bids us keep our ears from the hearing of such singing or music as overpowers the soul: for the soul will not be exempt from passion and hurt when subjected to such powerful influences. Some on hearing wild strains become even like madmen, and leap, and behave like men possessed. The smelling of sweet perfumes exhilarates and softens: we adulterate the taste when we provide meats to please the palate: the like is the pleasure of touch, say, the attraction caused by beauty to touch it: and what are we to say of things that are unseemly, or how sensual pleasures make those who give themselves up to them to live like brute beasts for their belly? And, in a word, the senses are accused well, since they are an abundant food for evil, and ingresses of sin: for by them we came to woe, and by them sin entered into the soul. We deck not ourselves with soft clothing, which enervates men, and induces them to follow the inclinations of the body by the two suggestions of a superfluous care of it and softness. Moreover, fine clothing, though it may be worn by any one who is idle, is not convenient for any active work; and if the best possible garment be possessed only to be laid up in a chest, it is useless. Nor let us disguise our faces, painting them with black lead and minium, and other adulterous compounds, so as to counterfeit natural beauty, imitating it hypocritically, and following some artificial device or model. For they use mirrors; and they conceal that appearance which God, the natural painter, marked on them. And thus let us walk reasonably and becomingly, as the Apostle enjoins, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness" (Rom. xiii. 13). He has well joined rioting or games, and drunkenness: chambering and sins of the flesh are occasioned by drunkenness. He who plays drinks; and he who is drunken looks to other sins; and thus he falls through wine into acts of unlawful lusts and pleasures. For, as bad teachers, play and drunkenness teach bad lessons of chambering and impurity. Or perhaps, to speak of teaching such things to living creatures gives a somewhat false impression; and it is more proper to say that drunkenness is as the seed whence there springs naturally, as the leaves and fruit, impurity.'

Sermon x. of Gregory the Divine on Baptism:[1] 'Again my Jesus! and again a mystery: a mystery not deceptive nor unbecoming, nor of heathenish error and drunkenness: for so I name what they call venerable: and I think every rational person agrees with me: but a mystery high and divine, and communicative of the brightness which is above. For the holy day of the Lights to which we are now come, and which it is vouchsafed to us to celebrate to-day,' &c. The gloss: 'The Divine calls the festival a "mystery," not once only, but many times, out of affection; just as in the opposite case, when persons or things are hated, one does not willingly even mention it at all. This mystery, he says, is not deceitful, false, or pernicious, as were the deceitful and false, or rather, one should say, the shameful and impure festivals of the heathen. Rather it is a mystery sublime and passionless, and a channel of illumination from above, &c. It is the time of regeneration: we are born from on high: we put off the first Adam; we put on the new. We shall not remain what we are, but we shall be what we have become. Birth comes to men from men, but the new birth is from God. Therefore, putting off the birth after the flesh, darkened by corruption, we are born again from on high, from heaven. For it is a heavenly thing to rise again by the Holy Ghost: and hereby we also fill up what was wanting in our former birth.

'The Greek or heathen mysteries were all rites and mysteries of devils, an invention of darkness, with both ideas and acts of evil device, aided by deception and fables,' &c.

From Sermon x. of the same Gregory the Divine on Baptism:[2] 'Having yesterday kept festival for the bright day of Illumination (for it was right to celebrate with joy our salvation far more than any weddings, or births, or namings, kept by such as live for the flesh, or tonsures, or inaugurations of dwellings or of cities, or whatever other like festivals or anniversaries men keep), we will say to-day a few words about baptism, and the benefits which we have from it. Though yesterday our address was short, as time pressed, and also from a desire to avoid satiety (for satiety of words is bad for the soul, as too much food is bad for the body),' &c.

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[1] Greg. Naz. Opera, ed. 1690, p. 624, Serm. xxxix. *Εἰς τὰ Ἅγια Φῶτα τῶν Ἐπιφανειῶν.*

[2] Ibid. p. 637, Serm. xl.

The gloss: 'Yesterday, he says, we celebrated as a festival the bright day of Illumination; for it was right so to celebrate our salvation, much more than men of family affection celebrate their birthdays, and those of their brethren, and the anniversaries of their weddings, and the like,' &c.

From Serm. xci. of Gregory the Divine[1] (στίχος β′): 'Three births are spoken of to us; viz. that from bodies, that from baptism, and that from the resurrection. Of these, the first is of the night, and of servitude and passion; the second is of the day, and free, and making free, from passion,' &c. The gloss: 'Observe that, as regards these different births, what the Divine says rightly of them the Preacher says also with him: There is one bodily, by which they are generated one from another; another by baptism, the new birth or regeneration; a third by the resurrection. And that which is bodily is of the night, and dark. What is associated with shame and the marriage contract belongs rather to the night, as being a sort of slavery, and in obedience to passion. For marriage and the marriage connection is from the appetite for pleasure. For behold I was conceived in transgressions, and in sins did my mother bear me.'

Consider, thou that fightest against God, what are the mysteries of the festivals of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of his Resurrection, his Nativity, and his holy Illumination, and what is the birth of the Tsar, of which David has witnessed just above? And what union is there of light with darkness, according to the divine Apostle, or of righteousness with iniquity, that thou, O thou vain pretender to wisdom, shouldest prefer in honour the birthdays of the Tsar, of the Tsaritsa, and of their children, above the days of the mysteries of Christ, I mean his holy Resurrection, and Nativity, and Theophany? and thou hast not even called them 'festivals' out of respect to the mystery, as above the most theological Gregory has explained to us, but sayest curtly 'the day of Christ's birth,' &c. But when thou art speaking of the Tsar's birth, then it is 'the festival.' But what festival is that? or what mystery? Consider attentively what we shall now farther add for thee:

'For these festivals of the Lord and divine solemnities' (so St. Gregory says, Serm. lxxv. fol. 615, Sunday Gosp.: On the Transfiguration) 'show forth mysteries, and represent the first coming in the flesh of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ; that is, how he was born, how he was baptised, how he was transfigured, how he was crucified, how he was buried, how he rose from the dead on the third day, and how he ascended into heaven. Every festival and solemnity of the Lord is a cultivation of spiritual joy, a means of obtaining for the soul brightness and beauty; it is for the Church's spiritual ornament and magnificence; for heaven and earth it is a fruit of ascent, a transition from low things to things high and divine, an ascent from the things of the world to things above the world, from things of the flesh to things spiritual, from things of sense to things intellectual, from the things of earth to the things of heaven. Therefore also we keep these festivals spiritually. By sanctification, by mortification of passions, and by peace, and by assembling of ourselves together, we please God; and abiding in prayers, and psalmody, and readings and discourses, and in just deeds and almsgiving, we pray to God that there may be given to us from him abundantly an ascent into that kingdom of heaven which is everlasting and altogether happy, where is the voice of them that keep holiday without ceasing, and inexpressible contentment of soul, and the enjoyment of immortal good. For spiritual festivals are divine solemnities, truly purchasing salvation for our souls. And they are as much greater than worldly festivals and solemnities, and than all earthly fairs, as the soul is greater than the body, and as heaven is greater than earth, and as the life to come is greater than this transitory life, as says the divine Apostle, "Which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things, that is, which God has prepared for them that love him."' Seest thou now how vast a distance there is between divine festivals and worldly; as great as that between heaven and earth? If thou art not yet content, we will add yet farther from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers:

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[1] From the same Sermon xl. of ed. 1690, p. 637.

'I Peter and Paul enjoin[1] that on five days in the week men work, but on the Sabbath and the Sunday they shall give themselves to the churches for the purpose of instruction unto sound faith: for the Sabbath has an image of the creation of all things, and the Sunday of the Resurrection. During the Great Week (that is, the week of the Passion), and during the week which follows it (*i. e.* Easter week), people are not to work, but are all to keep those days holy, both bond and free. For the first week of the two is the week of the Lord's Passion, and the second is that of his Resurrection: and it is meet that we should be instructed concerning him who suffered, and has risen again, to deliver us. The holy Ascension let us keep as a festival, because it is the completion of the economy which is in Christ. Pentecost we keep as a festival for the descent of the Holy Ghost, who is given to them that believe in Christ. The Nativity of Christ let us keep as a festival, because then that grace beyond all hope was given to men by the birth of the Divine Word of the Virgin Mary for the salvation of the world. The Theophany they shall keep as a festival, because on that day was the manifestation of Christ's divinity, when the Father bare witness to him in his baptism, and the Holy Ghost the Comforter in the form of a dove, showing to them that stood by him to whom the witness was borne. The days of the Apostles ye shall keep as festivals: for they were your teachers, who made you worthy to believe in Christ and in the Holy Ghost. Keep also as a festival the day of Stephen the Proto-martyr, and those of the other holy martyrs, who honoured Christ above their own lives.'

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[1] This is from the Clementine Constitutions. But in the margin of the MS. the reference marked is to the Book of Instructions for the Sunday Gospels, Feb. 2, Serm. lxx. fol. 435. Also 'fol. 27' [of the K.?] is marked in the text, and in the margin 'fol. 21.'

But thou, thou wicked compiler, sayest that 'on *whatever* day shall fall the festival of the birth of the Hossoudar the Tsar, [it shall be kept].' But knowest thou not that the Tsar's birthday is in the Great Fast? 'And in like manner the festivals of the birthdays of the Tsaritsa and Grand Princess, &c., and of the Tsarevich the Hossoudar, &c., and of the Tsarevnas,' &c. But the divine commandments do not allow us to break the holy Lenten fast, not only not for royal birthdays, but not even for the commemorations of martyrs. Listen! 'If any bishop, or priest, or deacon, or reader, or singer, during the Forty Days, that is, during the Great Fast, does not fast, and throughout the year on every Wednesday and Friday, he shall be degraded, except it be difficult for him to fast on account of some bodily infirmity. To him who is infirm dispensation is given, according as his strength may need, to take meat and wine. And if any lay person does not fast, he shall be excommunicated. If any one of the ascetics, without bodily necessity, be proud, and dispense with the fasts delivered by the Church for the community and for the cell, as having a strong confidence of that which has been wrought in him, let him be accursed. It is not right in the Forty Days to remit the fast on the Thursday of the last week, and so dishonour[1] the whole fast; but the whole of the Great Fast is to be fasted on dry food (*ξηροφαγίᾳ*); that is, the forty days of the Great Fast; likewise all the days of the Great Week of the saving sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is called Passion week, are to be passed in fasting and prayer, and in compunction of heart, not remitting the fast on the Great Thursday, but fasting, and eating only dry food, on it also. And commemoration of the martyrs is to be made only on the Sabbath and on the Sunday. During the forty days of the Great Fast, except on the Sabbath and the Sunday, neither any commemoration of martyrs nor of any other saints is to be made. It is not right, during the Great Fast, either to celebrate marriage or to make commemorations of the dead, nor any kind of festivity.' The like to this is written by Nicetas (a hieromonach of the Studium), surnamed Scythata, in his epistle to the Latins in the same book of the Kormchay (ch. 47 p. 386, 7). But thou, thou trampler [on all canons], how didst thou dare to equal in honour with the great festivals of our Lord the Tsar's birthday? whereas, farther, the laws of the Church forbid the Tsar's birthday to be kept on the Sunday and other divine festivals, ordering it to be transferred to some other day, and not to be kept together. But for the disposition to make the Tsar equal with God, the Lord himself has rebuked such sin as this by his reply to one who questioned him, saying, 'Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God.' And to the chief-priests when they asked him, 'Art thou the Son of God?' he replied, 'Ye say that I am.' So also when the devils cried out, and said, 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come to torment us before the time?' he rebuked them, and they were silent. And to the man that had been made whole, he said, 'Go to thy house, and tell what great things God hath done for thee.' 'Jesus asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am? They said unto him, Some say John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets. Jesus saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Then Jesus charged his disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ' (Matt. xvi. 13-16, 20). And elsewhere he said, 'But whom do ye say that I am? And Peter answering said, The Christ of God. And he straitly charged them and commanded them to tell no man this' (Luke ix. 20, 21). But before the Hossoudar the Tsar many voices say, 'Thou, Hossoudar, art a god upon earth.' And the Hossoudar forbids none of them to say this, or to tell this to others. And the patriarch Nicon spoke to the Hossoudar when he was at Moscow, and after he had left Moscow, that he should forbid for the future such fools to call him a god. But he was silent. He did not listen to him who spake such words as these of holy David, who says, 'Our God is in heaven; and upon earth he hath done whatsoever pleased him.' He did not emulate the princes of the Apostles, of whom it is written in the Acts, 'And when the people saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices, saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas Jupiter, and Paul Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people. Which when the apostles Barnabas and Paul heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, and saying, O men, what is this that ye are doing? We also are men of like passions with you, who preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein: who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he does good, and gives you rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness. And with these sayings scarce restrained they the people that they had not done sacrifice unto them' (Acts xiv. 11-18), but went away to their homes. See how they are everywhere pure from pride; and not only do not desire honour, but are disturbed when it is given to them. As also Peter says: 'Why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man to walk?' And to Cornelius he said, 'Stand up, for we also are men.' So Joseph said of the dreams which he interpreted, 'It is not in me: is not the interpretation of them from God?' And Daniel said the like: 'But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have' (Dan. ii. 30). And Paul: 'Not as if we were sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God' (2 Cor. iii. 5). 'What fellowship hath light with darkness, or justice with transgression?' &c., as says the Apostle (ib. vi. 14). And what union or equality is there between the Tsar and the Lord God? Hear, thou new Arius! What is a Tsar? It is even as a certain wise man has said: 'He is a king to-day, and to-morrow he dies: and when a man dies he is the inheritance of creeping things, beasts, and worms. The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and when his heart is turned away from his Maker. For pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it shall pour out abomination.' For this cause the Lord disgraces him by bringing upon him evils, 'and destroys them altogether' (Ecclus. x. 12-17). And again another prophet says: 'Thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, and I will set my throne above the stars of heaven; I will sit also on the high mountain, which is in the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High' (Is. xiv. 13, 14). This the prophet said of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who made himself like unto God. To him God showed what should come of his pride in a dream, which Daniel interpreted, and it was fulfilled upon him. 'He was driven out, and did eat grass like the ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, until his hair grew like the mane of a lion, and his nails like bird's claws, till he came to himself, and confessed, saying: I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and my understanding returned to me, and I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever; for his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation. And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? At the same time my reason returned to me, and for the glory of my kingdom mine honour and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment; and those that walk in pride he is able to abase' (Dan. iv. 33-37). And by the prophet Ezekiel the Lord says: 'And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God: Because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thy heart as the heart of God. Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; the wise men have added nothing unto thee by their wisdom. By thy wisdom and thine understanding thou hast gotten thee power, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom and by thy traffic thou hast increased thy strength, and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches: Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Because thou hast set thy heart, as the heart of God, in his place; behold I will bring strangers upon thee, destroyers from the nations, and I will draw their sword against thee, and against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness to destruction. . . . Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? but thou shalt be a man, and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee' (Ez. xxviii. 1-9). And in the Acts of the holy Apostles it is written: 'Upon a set day [when Herod's birthday was kept] Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration with pride unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost' (Acts xii. 21-23).

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[1] Words borrowed from canon l. and li. of the C. of Laodicea.

And the divine apostle Paul, prophesying of them that should apostatise from the law of Christ, whom he also calls adversaries, says: 'Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come except there come first *the apostasy*, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, the adversary, who exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God' (2 Thess. ii. 3). The gloss: 'It is of

Antichrist that he here speaks, and reveals great mysteries; viz. that there is an *apostasy:* and that Antichrist himself he calls by the name of "the apostasy," because he will destroy and pervert many souls, so as (the Lord says), if it were possible, to deceive even the very elect. And he calls it "the man of sin," because he commits innumerable sins, and disposes others to commit them, deceiving themselves. He calls him also "the son of perdition," because he will destroy and be destroyed. But who is he? Is he Satan? No, by no means; but a certain man, who shall receive from Satan all his power of action. And the man, he says, shall be revealed who exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; and he shall be a sort of adversary of God, and he shall destroy all gods, and shall order himself to be worshipped instead of God; and he shall sit in the temple of God, not in that at Jerusalem, but in the churches, showing himself as God. And he says not "pretending, or attempting to show himself," because he doeth great wonders, and shows strange signs.' 'Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things?' The gloss: 'Seest thou how he thinks it to be necessary to say this, and to remind them of his words? For when he was present with them they had heard him say the same things; but now they needed to be reminded of them in the same way as they needed to be reminded of what they had heard of suffering persecution. For he says, When I was with you, I told you before that we should suffer tribulation [1 Thess. iii. 4]. However, they had forgotten; and he now again assures them of it by his epistle. So also, when they had heard before of the coming of Antichrist, they needed to be again reminded of it: and so, correcting them, he reminds them, and shows that he is saying nothing strange, but what he had ever said.'

'And now ye know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that lawless one be revealed whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his lips, and destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan' (ib. 6-9). The gloss: 'One might inquire, first, what is that which letteth; and might then wish to learn why Paul indicates it thus obscurely. What then is that which letteth; that is, which hindereth him from being revealed? Some say that it is the grace of the Spirit; others the Roman power; with whom I rather incline to agree. Why? Because if he had meant the Spirit, he would not have spoken obscurely, but would have said plainly that now the grace—that is, the gift—of the Spirit letteth, else he would already come. For if he had been to come when the gifts of the Spirit became scanty, they have become scanty long ago. But if he say this of the Roman power, he had good reason for only indicating it, and speaking at the time covertly, as he would not wish to draw upon the Christians greater jealousy and needless persecutions. For if he had said that before long the Roman power should be overthrown, the laws of this empire would straightway have enacted the persecution of all the Christians, as of people who were living and contending for this end, *i. e.* for its destruction. For this cause he did not speak so, nor as if it were to be soon; though he mentions openly why this is, viz. in order "that he may be revealed *in his due time.*" "For the mystery of iniquity," he says, "doth already work." Here he means Nero, as being an image of Antichrist; for he wished to be reputed as God. And he said well "the mystery;" for it is not open, like him [Nero], nor impudent. For if before that time there was found already, as he says there was, one who differed not much from Antichrist, and if there was already a sort of monster of cruelty and tyranny, such as is to be hereafter, he spoke of this so covertly, and would not exhibit it plainly, not from fear, but to teach us not to make to ourselves enemies unnecessarily, when there is nothing to force us to it. So also here he says, "Only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way:" that is, when the Roman power shall be taken out of the way, he shall then come appropriately; since as long as there is the fear of this power, no one would easily submit to him; but when it shall be destroyed, he will come upon anarchy, and will seek to seize to himself all power, both human and divine. For as before this empires were destroyed—that is, the Median [the Assyrian] by the Babylonian, the Babylonian by the Persian, the Persian by the Macedonian, and the Macedonian by the Roman—so this last also is to be destroyed by Antichrist, and he by Christ, and is no more to hold together. And these things Daniel delivers to us with much explanation. "And then," St. Paul says, "shall appear that lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus Christ shall slay with the breath of his lips, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan." For as fire coming upon them devours small insects, and before it actually comes paralyses and scorches them, while they are yet far from it, so also Christ by his mere command and advent will slay Antichrist. It will be enough for him to be here, and to command all these deceits to perish. And it is only when he appears that it will be manifest who he is, "whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and lying wonders." That is, he shall show the greatest power, yet nothing true. But he foretold all these deceptions, that they who shall be living then may not be deceived; also his lying wonders, which by deception shall lead into falsehood, and into all manner of errors and wickedness, them that perish. But why, one asks perhaps, does God allow him to be? and what kind of providence or economy is this; or what advantage is there in that coming of Antichrist for our destruction? Fear him not, my beloved! but hear Him who says, "In them only that perish he has power; who, even if he had not come, would not have believed." But what advantage is it? you ask. Because thus those who perish, even though saints [if that were possible], are rendered speechless. How? Because if he, that is Antichrist, did not come, they would not have believed in Christ: and he will come to convict them, that they may not be able to say that it was because Christ affirmed himself to be God (though he nowhere said this openly; nevertheless, since they who came afterwards preached this doctrine), they did not believe, objecting and saying, We had heard that there is one God, from whom are all things; and on this account we did not believe. This their excuse is done away by Antichrist, since when he comes, though he teach nothing sound, but teaches only transgression, he will be believed in for his lying wonders alone. He will close their lips. For it may be said to them: "If thou believest not in Christ, much less oughtest thou to believe in Antichrist." For Christ said that he was sent by his Father; but he on the contrary. For this cause Christ said: I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. "I saw miracles," one may say. But there were many and great miracles done also by Christ: therefore thou oughtest much more to have believed in him. But though many characteristics had been foretold in warning of Antichrist, viz. that he is lawless, the son of perdition, that his coming is with the working of Satan, while of Christ the contrary is true, viz. that he is the Saviour, that he brings to us innumerable blessings, still, "because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all may receive judgment who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness" (ib. 10-12). The gloss: '"That they may receive judgment:" He says not "that they may receive punishment;" for even without that (that is, without the coming of Antichrist), they would have had to receive punishment; but "that they may receive *judgment;*" that is, may be condemned at the terrible judgment-seat, so that they may be without excuse. But what this judgment is he himself declares by adding, "who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." By "the love of the truth" he means Christ; "because," he says, "they received not the love of the truth." For he was both [that is, both love and truth], and came for the sake of both, both of love towards mankind, and for those things that be true. "But had pleasure," he says, "in unrighteousness." For Antichrist comes for the destruction of men, and is to injure them. And whoever does not then coöperate with him, he will forcibly subject all, and amaze all; and for his commands, and for men's fear of him, he shall be terrible on all sides, by his power, his fierceness, and his lawless commands. Fear ye not! "It is in them only that perish," he says, "that he will have power."'

Seest thou, O thou compiler of falsehood, that the divine Apostle forewarned us of the things which should be in times to come, but which for us now are present through you and your malice? Has there not now come an *apostasy* from the holy and sacred gospel, and from the traditions of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers? Has not the man of sin been manifested, the son of perdition, who opposes himself, and exalts himself above every thing that is called God, or that is worshipped? He says 'apostasy,' because he will destroy many. And what can be more destructive than this, that, leaving the law of God and his commandments, they have preferred the traditions of men, that is, the book of their Code, which is all full of bitterness and guile? But who, one will ask, is this? Is it Satan? By no means. It is a certain man who has received all the working of Satan, and who has prepared and formed many others also in conjunction with himself, such as thee, thou compiler of falsehood, and thy fellows who are like thee. But for the sitting in the temple of God, it means not in the temple at Jerusalem, but everywhere in the churches. And the sitting is not a literal sitting in all the churches, but having power over all churches. And the church is not stone walls, but the ecclesiastical laws and pastors, against which thou, O thou apostate, having lifted up thyself according to the working of Satan, hast written in the Code, so as to give jurisdiction over the patriarch and the metropolitans, and the archbishops and bishops, and over all the rest of the clergy, to lay people, not having any thought according to God; as the Lord said on a certain occasion, 'Get thee behind me, Satan! thou thinkest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.' And elsewhere again he said: 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.' Of such churches it is that Christ said, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it into a den of thieves.' As also the prophet Jeremiah says: 'Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these' (Jer. vii. 4). How is that the temple of the Lord which is under the power of the Tsar and of his subordinates, and in which they do and command whatsoever they please? Such a church is no longer the temple of God, but the house of them who have power over it. For if it were the temple of the Lord, no one, for the fear of God, would be able to usurp dominion over it, or to take anything away from it. But as touching the persecution against the Church, the Lord revealed it to his most theological and beloved disciple John.

Of the persecution of the first Churches, and of that which is not to be in the time of Antichrist.

'And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament, and there were lightnings and voices and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail' (Rev. xi. 19). The gloss: 'By the opening of heaven and the appearance of the ark is signified the revelation of the good things prepared for the saints which are in Christ, in whom dwells all the fulness of the godhead bodily, in whom all things are treasured up and hidden, according to the Apostle. Then he is opened or revealed to the wicked by voices of horror, and lightnings and thunderings and hail, sending down upon them the torments of hell in the earthquake, by the change of things now existing.'

Chap. xii. 'And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.' The gloss: 'The woman clothed with the sun some would understand to be the M. H. Mother of God, who suffers the things which here follow in succession before her divine Son was known. But the great Methodius explains her to be the holy Church; which does not suit for the birth of the Lord, according to the view which he took of it, because our Lord was already born a long time before. It will be well to recite the very words of St. Methodius, which are these: "The woman clothed with the sun is the Church; what for us is clothing, that for her is light; what for us is gold and lucid gems, that for her are the twelve stars floating and shining most brightly. She stands on the moon. The moon, I think, typifies the faith of those who are cleansed and made free by the laver of baptism, because all the material or false nature hangs from, *i. e.* is below, the moon. And she is in pain, and travailing in soul and spirit, and is fashioning them that she bears in form and expression to the likeness of Christ." And again he says: "We ought not to think that the man-child then born is Christ, since the mystery of the incarnation of the divine Word had been accomplished long before the Revelation was given to John. But John prophesies and teaches of things present and future." And, after other words, he says: "So that it is necessary to admit that the Church is the woman which is in pain and travail, and is redeemed, as the Spirit of God saith. Before bringing forth she was in pain, and fled, and brought forth a man-child. From whom did she fly but from the serpent? (From the serpent certainly it was): that she might bring forth a people of wise men of the male sex," &c. "So in every one Christ is born intellectually; and for this cause the Church wraps him in swaddling-clothes, and there are labour-pains, until Christ be formed in us by being born; so that each one of us, by partaking of Christ, is made into the Church of Christ, which is clothed with Christ the Sun of Righteousness (for the light of the law is as that of the moon shining in the night), and has the life of this world with its changes, as the moon, under her feet. And on her head she has a crown, being crowned with the doctrines and virtues of the Apostles." And he, that is, Methodius, speaking as if the moist element depended on the moon, says that by the moon is figured baptism, which is typically also called the sea, bringing salvation to them that are born from it, but to the devil destruction.'

'And the woman being with child, cried out, being in pain, and travailing to bring forth.' The gloss: 'Moreover he says that the Church is in pain for every one of them that are regenerated, and groaneth in spirit until Christ be formed in them, as says the divine Apostle. Because they are rejected as abortions who fall away from Christ, the true light, the conductor of life, and from conformity with his life, and through unbelief await and suffer death.'

'And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.' The gloss: '"And there appeared another wonder in heaven:" not in this lower heaven, as heaven may be understood of the sky. The snake is black which was created [on earth], and cursed by the angels of God, as is written in Genesis. But this is red, either for his murderous nature and delight in blood, or for the fiery nature of his angelic substance, though he be a fallen angel. But the seven heads are his seven operations, most evil, and full of spiritual energy, or seven spirits, of which Christ spake in the gospel, saying that they enter into the heart of a man which has been swept, and is empty of good thoughts and actions; or seven forms of malice, which, as Solomon says (Prov. xxvi. 25), are in the heart of the enemy; of the enemy who, with a loud voice, hypocritically entreats them that submit [to him]. The ten horns signify ten sins contrary to the ten commandments of the law, or divisions into separate kingdoms, that empire [of the beast] not having beauty, as rejoicing in divisions and disturbances.'

'And seven crowns upon his heads.' The gloss: 'For these they [the Christians] gain victories. Whence? By labours and fastings. Of these also the blessed Methodius gives thus the explanation: "The great red dragon, with seven heads, which drew after him the third part of the stars of heaven, and stood before the woman who was ready to be delivered, watching to devour her child as soon as it was born, is the devil, who afterwards does not obtain his end, but misses his prey, which was caught up on high and secured." And a little farther on: "The third part of the stars are those who sinned about one [of the persons] in the holy Trinity. The wilderness into which the Church flies, and where she is fed, is her being free from evils, and outside of all corruption." The thousand days, he says, "represents the perfect number into which the saints are multiplied, and their fulness." And after this he speaks in order of his crowns. For the Church contending against the devil, having first killed his seven heads, by the seven virtuous [operations of the Holy Spirit], takes and inherits the seven crowns.'

'And his tail drew the third part of the stars from heaven, and they were cast to the earth.' The gloss: '"And his tail drew the third part of the stars:" Considering this we think that it signifies in some way two things; either, first, his first fall from heaven, when he drew to earth with him the rebel angels by the last act of envy (for the first was exaltation of self); or movement of the tail, after the bruising of his unstable head, bringing down others from heavenly wisdom and continuance in their abode. The stars are figuratively named for the brightness of holy baptism. For thus Daniel also in Antioch [in Shushan] prophesied of him who was to be a type of the coming of Antichrist (Dan. viii. 10).'

'And the dragon stood before the woman who was ready to be delivered, watching to devour her child as soon as he should be born.' The gloss: '"And the dragon stood before the woman:" For the adversary is ever in arms against the Church, seeking with eagerness to make them that are successively born of her his prey; or rather, through the Church he persecutes Christ himself, as her head, who takes to himself what belongs to the faithful. Therefore also Christ said: "Saul, why persecutest thou *me?*"'

'And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron.' The gloss: '"And she brought forth a man-child:" The Church is ever by the baptismal fonts bringing forth Christ, who is as it were formed in them, to the completion of the spiritual stature of Christ, according to the Apostle. But it is a man-child, a son; that is, the people of the Church manfully contending, and not enervated by pleasure; through whom already by the hands, strong as iron, of the powerful Romans Christ our God was feeding the Gentiles. For he feeds them after his resurrection from the dead by appointing judges strong in the faith, as iron, to break in pieces the earthen jars of heathenism, which for unbelief would not hold the mystical new wine.'

'And her child was caught up to God, and to his throne.' The gloss: '"And her child was caught up:" The saints are caught up here in temptations, that they may not be overpowered by trials too hard for their strength. And they shall be caught up also at the end on clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and will be with God and with his throne, that is, with the highest angelic powers.'

'And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared for her of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three score days.' The gloss: '"And the woman fled into the wilderness: "When," he says, "the devil, working in Antichrist, makes war against the Church, the elect and the most excellent, despising the tumults and disturbances of cities, and secular powers, flee into the wilderness, that is, to a dwelling-place desert of all malice, but fruitful of every virtue." Thither they fly, according to the great Methodius; and there escape the attacks of their enemies, the devils and wicked men. And we may well believe that the actual natural desert also will save, in rocks and caves and pits of the earth, the servants of Christ who fly from the attacks of the apostasy, as they before saved the martyrs, during three years and a half, expressed in days, the time of the reign of the apostasy; from which our great Agonothete will deliver us, not allowing any one to be tempted above that he is able, and will give us a steadfast mind not to be broken by the assaults of the adversaries, but invincible; that having contended lawfully with suffering against the rulers of darkness, and against powers, we may be adorned with crowns of righteousness, and may receive the honours and prizes of victory: for which therefore to him, who by them that are weak puts to flight the strong princes of the air, is due the victory and the empire, together with the Father, and the life-giving Spirit, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.'

Sermon xii. (Of the war of the angels and the devils, and of the fall of Satan from heaven.) 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.' The gloss: 'This also may be accommodated both to the first fall of the devil from the angelic order by reason of pride and envy, and to the slaying of our Lord by the Cross, when, as the Lord says, the prince of this world is judged, and is cast out from his old power of hurting: whose pride and arrogance the angels of God, together with their chief captain Michael, not enduring, cast them out first from the beauty of that their abode, as says Ezechiel that he was cast out from the cherubim from the midst of the fiery stones, *i.e.* from the heavenly orders, because there were found in him transgression and iniquity. But at the coming of Christ the angels which served him after the temptation abhorred him as a disgraced servant. But let this be known, that it is the opinion of the fathers that it was after the creation of the sensible world that he was thus by pride and envy cast down; and that in the first instance he was intrusted with the dominion of the air, as the Apostle speaks of him. And Papias likewise says thus: "To some of them, that is, to some of those who were anciently the angels of God, he gave appointment to have dominion and government over the economy around the earth, and enjoined them to govern well." And afterwards he says: "But when they were not improved, their order was put an end to."'

'And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.' The gloss: 'And they were cast out: and the great dragon was cast out into the earth, with propriety: for heaven endured not earthly wisdom, because light has no communion with darkness. But if, with Arar, we suppose that the name Satan (*ὁ Σατανᾶς*) is not different from devil, though it be put of one preëminently when it is said "called the devil and Satan," but being one he is named as it were with two names, then he is called by the one "devil" (*διάβολος*), *i.e.* slanderer, because he slanders virtues and those who follow them, and slanders even God himself to men (as when he lyingly suggested to Adam that he was envious), but by the other "Satan" (Σατανᾶς), *i.e.* adversary, as being the adversary of the Lord and his servants. And you should know that the fall of the devil after the Cross is not so incomplete as was his fall before, owing to the weakness of our ancestors, but it was a complete destruction; as the devil himself confessed to St. Antony the Great, that "that lying word" [so he called it] was fulfilled of him: "The arms of the enemy have failed altogether." And his fall is the defeat and destruction of his malicious purposes and attempts, together with his expulsion from heaven, and the overthrow of all his power, as it is written. It is said by blessed Justin the philosopher and martyr, that the devil after the coming of Christ, and Christ's answer to him, will be more violent in blaspheming him, though at the first he did not blaspheme God so shamelessly. Therefore it is said: He hath made his heart firm as a stone; because malice is weak, and not firm. But if even the expectation of torments made him most malicious, then how, when he is actually tormented with his confederates in hell, can they by those racking flames be washed from their foulness? And this not being possible for them, how can they have an end of their torments, as some heretics vainly speculate?'

'And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.' The gloss: '"For the accuser of our brethren is cast down:" Accusation and slander against men are of the devil [this is the sense of the word itself devil]; so [in naming him the accuser] he has named the devil what he is, as has been said. And the angels rejoice at his being cast down; for the faithful have no part with the unfaithful.'

'And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and the sea! for the devil is come down to you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.' The gloss: '"And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb:" And the saints who were accused by him, and slandered like Job, together with all who obey and believe, have nevertheless overcome him, having suffered after the example of Christ, and with him. And that the powers on high rejoice for his fall, and grieve for his attack on them that delight in and that cleave to earthly things, is reasonably to be believed: for this is to imitate God. "But woe to them that live in the earth and on the sea!" that is, who have not their habitation in heaven, but on earth. For many of these the enemies overcome, and will overcome. And if now, on account of the near approach of his torment, he is greatly enraged against those who exert themselves, it follows of necessity that those who think earthly thoughts, and are tossed to and fro on the sea of a secular life, must be in a terribly evil and wretched and abject plight.'

(How the dragon ceases not to persecute the Church.) 'And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child. And there were given to the woman two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place, where she is nourished for a time and times and half a time, from the face of the serpent.' The gloss: '"When," he says, "the devil, having encountered Christ after his baptism, was vanquished, and having risen up in arms against the holy Apostles was put to shame, seeing them obtaining life by their deaths, and was already condemned, as it were, to betake himself to the earth, and to wriggle upon it, and to eat dust, that is, earthly devices and thoughts, he then again began to persecute the Church that has brought forth and brings forth the man-child of God, the people not enervated by pleasures. But from the beginning the love of God and our neighbour, and the protecting and assisting providence of Him who was crucified for us, has been given to her, and the two Testaments, by which doubtless are represented the two wings of the eagle, that by these flying on high into the wilderness she may be fed with the food of all-refreshing sweetness at all times, but more especially during the coming of Antichrist, for whose dominion there is a time set of three years and a half," of which he writes at much length. During that time then it will be possible in the material wilderness also to hide in the mountains, and in the dens and caves of the earth, in order to escape from him.'

'And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood. And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.' The gloss: '"The serpent cast out water as a flood:" "The Church being now in flight," he says, "into places impassable, and without water, the deceiver going forth vomits out after her from his mouth, as it were from his abode, water as a flood: that is, a vast quantity of godless men, or of evil spirits, or of divers temptations, rush upon her, in order to subdue her. But the earth (he says) helps her; either by the length of the way, and by want of water and aridity, exhausting the force of the evil host of pursuers, and thus swallowing up the flood which is from temptations, or by holy humility of those that say truly and rightly, I am earth and ashes, and so destroy all the snares of the devil. For nothing, as was shown to St. Antony by the angel of the devil, so destroys and baffles his forces as humility."'

'And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.' The gloss: '"And the dragon went to make war with the rest:" "The most excellent and elect teachers," he says, "despising earth, fled to hardships in the desert. Though Antichrist misses these, he makes war (he says) on those other soldiers of Christ who are in the world: and as it were the dust of the earth in agitation dissipates his ferocity, by the accidents of life, and by things not falling out to his purpose. And many of these also, inasmuch as they have sincerely loved Christ, overcome him."'

(Of the angel which preaches the approach of the judgment.) 'And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea and the fountains of waters' (Rev. xiv. 6, 7). The gloss: 'In the *midst* of heaven a wonder appears on high; and what appears to be a heavenly angel, sent from on high to proclaim to men through his *mediation*, through his intercession in heaven in imitation of God, in such wise that the body of the Church should be united to Christ our head. But the everlasting gospel is that which has been ordained and foreshown from the beginning. And he says these words, Fear God: fear not Antichrist, who cannot kill the soul together with the body; but stand and fight against him with a good heart during his dominion, which is only for a short time, for the judgment that is nigh at hand, and for the recompense of the dead.'

Hast thou enough, O thou opposer of God, and blasphemer of the gospel, in these predictions of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy Prophets and Apostles concerning the things which were to come to pass; of which part has already come to pass, part is now being wrought out, and the rest will be; and concerning them that make themselves into gods, and are not content to be only likened unto God by good works; and what is the persecution of the churches, and who it is that is persecutor, and who that is persecuted? Listen to what is written above of the second angel flying in the midst of the heaven, holding the everlasting gospel, going to preach to them that sit on the earth, and to every nation and tribe and tongue and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give him the glory, for his hour is come for his judgment, and worship him who made the heaven and the earth, and the sea and the fountains of the waters: which is quite another thing from obeying thy foul and thrice-accursed code of judgment. And the Lord himself testifies and affirms, that 'if any man hear my word and keep it not, I judge him not: for I came not into the world to judge the world, but to save the world: he that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day' (John xii. 47, 48). 'My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me' (ib. vii. 16). And to the Jews that came to him he said, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life' (ib. v. 24). 'But he that believeth not is condemned already' (ib. iii. 18). And again elsewhere he says, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: but he that loveth me not keepeth not my sayings' (ib. xiv. 21, 24). 'And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar' (1 John ii. 3, 4). 'He that is of

God heareth God's words: for this cause ye hear them not, because ye are not of God' (John viii. 47). 'Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God' (1 John iii. 10). 'Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds' (2 John 9-11).

But thou, thou rejecter of Christ, from what commandments of Christ or of the holy Apostles, didst thou write anything in thy Code? Was it not of such false prophets that Christ himself prophesied, and his holy Prophets and Apostles, as has been shown above by what we have written? And St. John the Divine still prophesies, saying, 'Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time' (1 John ii. 18). And that no liar is of the truth: 'Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? he is antichrist' (ib. 21, 22). Hear too another Apostle, who tells thee what is faith in Christ: 'Thou believest that there is one God: thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble. Wilt thou understand, O thou vain man, that faith without works is dead? Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness: and he was called the friend of God. Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only. Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent them out another way? For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also' (Jas. ii. 20-26). 'But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves. For if any be a hearer of the word and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass: for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was. But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the word, this man shall be blessed in his deed' (ib. i. 22-25). 'But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish' (ib. iii. 14, 15). Listen, thou writer of falsehood, how neither the Son doeth anything without the Father; as the Lord himself testifies: 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his father, making himself equal with God. Then answered Jesus, and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself' (But thou, thou transgressor, how daredst thou to do what thou hast done of thyself?), 'but only what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth: and he will show him greater works than these, that ye may marvel' (John v. 17-20). But thou, thou fighter against God, with whom hast thou seen, and from whom hast thou learned to work thine iniquity? The Lord says, 'For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will' (ib. 21). But thou, thou legislator of lawlessness, hast thou power to raise, and to quicken to life? The Lord says, 'The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him' (ib. 22, 23). But to thee, thou wicked knave, who gave authority to write judgment of thine own head, and to call it 'The Judgment of the Hossoudar the Tsar'? The Lord says, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life' (ib. v. 24). But thou, why hearest thou not the word of God, and believest not on him that sent him, but refusest to have eternal life, and at the judgment wilt pass from everlasting life to everlasting death? The Lord says, 'For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this' (ib. 26). But thou, whence hast thou life within thyself? And who gave thee this office and authority to make judgment? The Lord says, 'For the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation' (ib. 28, 29). Hast thou any such power, that he who hears thy voice shall have everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation? If thou hast *not*, why dost thou not thyself tremble at the judgment of God, writing lawlessly of judging the patriarch, and the metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and all the rest of the sacred order, as thou dost in chapter x. sect. 30? The Lord says, 'I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear I judge: and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me' (ib. 30). But thou, thou rebel, how daredst thou, of thyself, to forge judgment? From whom didst thou hear how to judge of judgment? And who knows that thy judgment is righteous, and that thou hast not written of thine own arbitrary will, but according to the will of God? And where is such a will of God? Show us! The Lord says, 'If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me, and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true' (ib. 31, 32). But who is thy witness that thy tradition and judgment is true? The Lord says, 'Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. But I receive not witness from man: but these things I say, that ye may be saved. He was a burning and a shining light: and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light. I have greater witness than that of John: for the works that the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me. And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape. And ye have not his word abiding in you: for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not' (ib. 31-38). But thou, whose testimony in thine own favour dost thou adduce, that thy works are acceptable? and what testimony do thy works witness of thee, which are all foul and full of all manner of filthiness and of apostasy from God? Of the Son of God the Father bore witness. But of thee, who hath borne witness? And wherefore hast thou not been willing to be saved? as the

Lord hath said, 'But these things say I unto you, that ye may be saved.' And who sent thee? And why hast thou not faith in the word of God? Is it not of thee that it is said, 'The strange children have lied unto me'? The Lord says, 'But I said unto you, That ye also have seen me, and believe not. All that the Father giveth me shall come to me' (ib. vi. 36, 37). But thou, wherefore comest thou not to our Lord Jesus Christ, but walkest by thine own way? Hast thou not heard the scripture, 'The sheep hear my voice'? But thou art not one of the sheep of Christ. 'Woe unto the sinner that walketh by two ways!' And elsewhere: 'They that depart from thee shall perish.' The Lord says, 'I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of the Father that sent me' (ib. vi. 38). 'My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory; but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him' (ib. vii. 16-18). But for thee, thou lover of words! who has sent thee? and whose will doest thou? and who commanded thee to make laws? and how are we to know that thy tradition and doctrine and commandments are from God, and that there is no unrighteousness in them? Show us this! Again the Lord says, 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life. But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him. And he said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given unto him from above of my Father. From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. And they said, This is a hard saying; who can hear it?' (ib. vi. 63-66, 60.) Art not thou also, O thou apostate, one of such apostates, who turned back? of whom it is written, 'The latter end is worse with them than the beginning. For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them. But it has happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire' (2 Pet. ii. 21, 22). Again the Lord saith, 'I am come in my

Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive' (John v. 43). And again in another place he says thus, 'I speak that which I have seen with my Father; and ye do that which ye have seen with your father.' 'If God were your father, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me. Why do ye not understand my speech? Even because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it. And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not. Which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me? He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God' (ib. viii. 38, 42-47). Seest thou the above-cited words, spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ, how he came not in his own name, but in the name of his Father? and who receiveth him not, and who receiveth another that cometh in his own name, that is Antichrist; as also has been written repeatedly above? and who is of God, and who is of the devil? and who it is that doeth the will of God, and who it is that doeth the will of the devil? and who is true, and who is a liar? and who it is that heareth God's commandments, and who heareth them not? Again the Lord saith, 'Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me, that ye may have eternal life. I receive not honour from men; but I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you. How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only? Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?' (ib. v. 39-47.)

Seest thou, thou unbeliever, that our Lord Jesus Christ everywhere testifies of himself from the scriptures, and bids them that believe not search the scriptures. 'Search,' he says, 'the scriptures.' And so everywhere he testified of himself from the Law and the Prophets, as the sacred gospel bears witness of the lineage and birth of Christ, and of all the rest of his saving economy.

If thou wishest to read testimonies written out from the holy gospel and from the holy Apostles respecting Christ Jesus our God and Saviour, and respecting his saving economy, read on from this place, that thou mayest understand that there is nowhere done anything without the Law and the Prophets. But if this is too much trouble for thee, pass on to the place where you will find another cross marked thus:

and begin again to read there.

[*Testimonies collected from the Scriptures of the New Testament to show that if in the Divine economy itself nothing is done without reference to the Law and the Prophets, much less should anything be done now by us Christians, or by Christian rulers and legislators, without reference to the holy Scriptures, that is, to the laws of Christ and his Church.*]

The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: The angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, 'Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us' (Matt. i. 23). And elsewhere it is said, For thus it is written by the prophet: 'And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda, for out of thee shall come the governor that shall rule my people Israel' (ib. ii. 5, 6). And again elsewhere it is said, That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son' (ib. 15). And again: Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'In Rama there was a voice heard, &c. [lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not]' (ib. 18). Many of the people therefore, when they heard this saying, said, Of a truth this is the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem where David was? (John vii. 40-42.) And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth to Galilee, and was baptised by John in Jordan. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon him; and there came a voice from heaven saying, 'Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased' (Mark i. 9-11).

So also John the Baptist testified, not of himself, saying: Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight' (Matt. iii. 2, 3). So also the Lord himself said to the tempter, It is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' (ib. iv. 4). And again the second time: It is written, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' And the third time: Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.' Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, 'The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles,' &c. So also of John Christ testified, For this is he of whom it is written, 'Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee' (ib. xi. 10). And again: Certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee. But he answered, and said, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and behold a greater than Jonas is here. The Queen of the South shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold a greater than Solomon is here (ib. xii. 38-42).

And again he said to his disciples: Therefore speak I unto them in parables, because they seeing see not; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, 'By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive: for this people's heart is waxed gross; and their ears are dull of hearing; and their eyes they have closed' (ib. xiii. 13). Again, the scribes and the Pharisees asked him, saying, Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread. But he answered, and said unto them, Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition? For God commanded saying, 'Honour thy father and mother;' and, 'He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.' And a little afterwards, he said, Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, 'This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (ib. xv. 1-9).

The Pharisees also came unto him tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered, and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female; and said, 'For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh' (ib. xix. 1-5). And behold one came and said unto him, Good master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one; that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, 'Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; [thou shalt not bear false witness],' &c. (ib. xix. 16-18). And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her; loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man say aught unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them: and straightway he will send them. All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, 'Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy king cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass' (ib. xxi. 1-5). And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves. And said unto them, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves' (ib. 12, 13). And when the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the son of David, they were sore displeased, and said unto him, Hearest thou what these say? And

Jesus saith unto them, Yea; have ye never read, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise'? (ib. 15, 16.) And after six days, Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart; and was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with Jesus. And a little afterwards, a bright cloud overshadowed them; and, behold, a voice out of the cloud which said, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;' hear ye him (ib. xvii. 1-5). Jesus said unto them, Have ye never read in the scriptures, 'The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes'? (ib. xxi. 42.) Jesus answered, and said unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. And a little afterwards: But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.' God is not [God] of dead men, but he is God of the living. But when the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to silence, they were gathered together. Then one of them, which was a lawyer, asked him a question, tempting him and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind.' And the second is like unto it, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool'? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions (ib. xxii. 29-46).

At that time Jesus went on the Sabbath-day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungered, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat. And the Pharisees said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath-day. But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him? how he entered into the house of God, in the time of Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the show-bread, which was not lawful for him to eat [neither for them which were with him], but only for the priests; and gave also to them that were with him? (ib. xii. 1-4.) But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with power and great glory. And as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be in the day of the Son of Man: they were eating, and drinking, &c. (ib. xxiv. 29, 37, 38; Mark xiii. 24-26). Remember Lot's wife. Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it (Luke xvii. 32, 33). Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, We have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph. And Nathanael said unto him, Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip saith unto him, Come and see (John i. 45, 46). No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man, which is in heaven. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. He that cometh from heaven is above all. And what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth; and no man receiveth his testimony. He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true. For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God (ib. iii. 13-16, 31-34).

They said, therefore, unto him, What sign showest thou then, that we may see, and believe thee? what dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, 'He gave them bread from heaven to eat.' Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven, &c. (ib. vi. 30-32). It is written in the Prophets, 'And they shall be all taught of God.' Every man therefore that hath heard and hath learned of the Father cometh unto me (ib. 45).

Now, about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple and taught. And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned? Jesus answered them and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. Did not Moses give you the Law, and yet none of you keepeth the Law? Why go ye about to kill me? (ib. xvii. 14-17, 19.) He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, 'Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' This he spake of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified (ib. vii. 38, 39). Nicodemus saith unto them (he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them), Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doeth? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search and look: for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet (ib. 50-52).

And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act. Now Moses in the Law commanded us that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou? This they said tempting him, that they might have to accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, without speaking to them. So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her (ib. viii. 3-7). Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. The Pharisees therefore said of him, Thou bearest record of thyself; thy record is not true. Jesus answered and said unto them, Though I bear record of myself, yet my record is true; for I know whence I came, and whither I go. Ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man. And yet if I judge, my judgment is true: for I am not alone, but I and the Father which sent me. It is also written in your Law that 'the testimony of two men is true.' I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me. Then said they unto him, Where is thy father? Jesus answered, Ye neither know me, nor my Father. If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also.' These words he spake as he taught in the temple, and no man laid hands on him: for his hour was not yet come. Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek me; and ye shall die in your sins. Whither I go ye cannot come. Then said the Jews, Will he kill himself? because he saith, Whither I go ye cannot come. And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world. I said therefore unto you that ye shall die in your sins: If ye believe not that I am *he*, ye shall die in your sins. Then said they unto him, Who art thou? And Jesus saith unto them, Even the same that I said unto you from the beginning. I have many things to say and to judge of you; but he that sent me is true: and I speak in the world those things which I have heard of him. They understood not that he spake to them of the Father. Then said Jesus unto them, When ye shall have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am *he*, and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things. He that sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him. As he spake these words, many believed on him. Then said he to those Jews that believed on him, If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. . . Which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me? He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God. Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death. Then said the Jews unto him, Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, If a man keep my saying, he shall never taste of death. Art thou greater than our father Abraham, which is dead? and the prophets are dead: whom makest thou thyself? Jesus answered, If I honour myself, my honour is nothing: there is one that honoureth me, of whom ye say that he is your God. Yet ye have not known him; but I know him; and if I should say I know him not, I should be a liar like unto you; but I know him, and keep his saying (John viii.). . . . Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. The people therefore that stood by said, An angel spake to him. Jesus answered and said, This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes. Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. This he said, signifying what death he should die. The people answered him, We have heard out of the Law that Christ abideth for ever: [and how sayest thou, The Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man?] But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, 'Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?' Therefore they could not believe because that Esaias saith again, 'He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.' These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him (ib. xii. 31-9).

The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world: I ever taught in the synagogues, and in the temple whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? Ask them which heard me what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said. And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me? (ib. xviii. 19-22.)

Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above (ib. xix. 10, 11.)

Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat. Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout: they said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith: 'They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they did cast lots' (ib. 23, 24).

After this Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst. Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth. When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished. . . . For these things were done that the scripture should be fulfilled, 'A bone of him shall not be broken.' And again another scripture saith, 'They shall look on him whom they pierced' (ib. 28-30, 36, 37).

Then went in also that other disciple which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead (ib. xx. 8, 9). Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni, which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father: and to my God and your God' (ib. 16, 17).

And certain of them that were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even as the women had said: but him they saw not. Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself (Luke xxiv. 24-27). And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things. And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high (ib. 44-49).

And in those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said (the number of names together were about a hundred and twenty), Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry. Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood. For it is written in the book of Psalms, 'Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his bishoprick let another take' (Acts i. 15-20).

But Peter standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice and said unto them, Ye men of Judea, and all they that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken unto my words: for these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy: and I will show wonders in the heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood and fire, and vapour of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come: and it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.' Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know; him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain: whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. For David speaketh concerning him, 'I foresaw the Lord alway before my face, for he is on my right hand that I should not be moved: therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance.' Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried; and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne, he, seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the heavens: but he saith himself, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool.' Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ. Now when they heard this, they were pricked in the heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the Apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord your God shall call. And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, Save yourselves from this untoward generation (ib. ii. 14-40).

And being let go, they went unto their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and the elders had said unto them. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: who by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of thy servant the prophet David, hast said, 'Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ' (ib. iv. 23-26).

And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. Then there arose certain of the synagogue which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen; and they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit with which he spake. Then they suborned men, which said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him, and caught him, and brought him to the council, and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law: for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us. And all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. Then said the high priest, Are these things so? And he said, Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken; the God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charran: and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land wherein ye now dwell. And he gave him none inheritance in it, no not so much as to set his foot on: yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him, when as yet he had no child. And God spake on this wise, that his seed should sojourn in a strange land; and they should bring them into bondage and entreat them evil four hundred years. 'And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge,' said God: 'and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place.' And he gave him the covenant of circumcision: and so Abraham begat Isaac, and circumcised him the eighth day; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat the twelve patriarchs; and the patriarchs, moved with envy, sold Joseph into Egypt: but God was with him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt; and he made him governor over Egypt and all his house. Now there came a dearth over all the land of Egypt and Chanaan, and great affliction: and our fathers found no sustenance. But when Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt, he sent out our fathers first. And at the second time Joseph was made known to his brethren; and Joseph's kindred was made known to Pharaoh. Then sent Joseph and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls. So Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he and our fathers, and were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor the father of Sychem. But when the time of the promise drew nigh, which God had sworn to Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt, till another king arose, which knew not Joseph. The same dealt subtilly with our kindred, and evil-entreated our fathers, so that they cast out their young children, to the end they might not live. In which time Moses was born, and was exceeding fair, and was nourished up in his father's house three months. And when he was cast out, Pharaoh's daughter took him up, and nourished him for her own son. And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds. And when he was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel. And seeing one of them suffer wrong, he defended him, and smote the Egyptian: for he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them: but they understood not. And the next day he showed himself unto them as they strove, and would have set them at one again, saying, Sirs, ye are brethren: why do ye wrong one to another? But he that did his neighbour wrong thrust him away, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us? Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday? Then fled Moses at this saying, and was a stranger in the land of Madian, where he begat two sons. And when forty years were expired, there appeared to him in the wilderness of Mount Sina an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush. When Moses saw it, he wondered at the sight: and as he drew near to behold it the voice of the Lord came unto him, saying, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Then Moses trembled, and durst not behold. Then said the Lord to him, Put off thy shoes from thy feet: for the place where thou standest is holy ground. I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their groaning, and am come down to deliver them. And now come, I will send thee into Egypt. This Moses whom they refused, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge? the same did God send to be a ruler and a deliverer by the hand of the angel which appeared to him in the bush. He brought them out, after that he had showed wonders and signs in the land of Egypt, and in the Red Sea, and in the wilderness forty years. This is that Moses which said unto the children of Israel, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear.' This is he that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the Mount Sina, and with our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us: to whom our fathers would not obey, but thrust him from them, and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods to go before us: for as for this Moses, which brought us out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And they made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their own hands. Then God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven; as it is written in the book of the prophets, 'O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them: and I will carry you away beyond Babylon.' Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as he had appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should make it according to the fashion that he had seen. Which also our fathers that came after brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, whom God drave out before the face of our fathers, unto the days of David; who found favour before God, and desired to find a tabernacle for the God of Jacob. But Solomon built him a house. Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the prophet, 'Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?' Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers: who have received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not kept it. When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed upon him with their teeth. But he being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul. And they stoned Stephen calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep (Acts vi. 8 to vii. 60).

And the eunuch desired Philip that he would come up and sit with him. The place of the scripture which he read was this, 'He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so he opened not his mouth: in his humiliation his judgment was taken away: and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth.' And the eunuch answered Philip, and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other man? Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus (ib. viii. 31-35).

Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God. Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that 'God is no respecter of persons:' but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all): that word, I say, ye know, which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee after the baptism which John preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom they slew and hanged on a tree: him God raised up on the third day, and showed him openly; not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead. To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins (ib. x. 33-43).

And, after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience. The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm brought he them out of it. And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, he divided their land to them by lot. And after that he gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years. And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king; to whom also he gave testimony, and said, 'I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.' Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus; when John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John fulfilled his course he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not *he*. But, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose. Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. For they that dwell at Jerusalem and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him. And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre. But God raised him from the dead: and he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people. And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise, 'I will give you the sure mercies of David.' Wherefore he saith also in another psalm, 'Thou shalt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.' For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption: but he, whom God raised again, saw no corruption. Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses. Beware therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets, 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.' And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next Sabbath. Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas; who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God. And the next Sabbath-day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God. But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing that ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, 'I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth' (ib. xiii. 15-47).

Which when the Apostles Barnabas and Paul heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, and saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein; who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, he left himself not without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness (ib. xiv. 14-17).

And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me. Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written, 'After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up: that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.' Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world (ib. xv. 13-18).

Then Paul stood in the middle of Mars' hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are very ready worshippers. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To the unknown God. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things (ib. xvii. 22-25).

Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high-priest? Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest: for it is written, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people' (ib. xxiii. 3-5).

But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this heresy we know that everywhere it is spoken against. And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him, into his lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets, from morning till evening. And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not. And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, saying, 'Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive;' &c. (ib. xxviii. 22-26.)

If ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors. For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all. For he that said, 'Do not commit adultery,' said also, 'Do not kill.' Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law. So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty. For he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgment (Jas. ii. 8-13).

But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered

Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, 'Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness:' and he was called the Friend of God. Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only (ib. 20-24).

He that speaketh evil of his brother, and judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law, and judgeth the law; but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge. There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy (ib. iv. 11, 12).

Peter, apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, be multiplied. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations. That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ: whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory: receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls. Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into. Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ; as obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance: but as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written, 'Be ye holy; for I am holy.' And if ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear: forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot: who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you, who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God. Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently: being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever. For 'all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away: but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.' And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you. Wherefore, laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings, as new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby: if so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious. To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious, ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. Wherefore also it is contained in the scripture, 'Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.' Unto you therefore which believe he is precious: but unto them which be disobedient, 'the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner,' and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed. But ye are 'a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people;' that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light: which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy (1 Pet. i. 1 to ii. 10). Because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live to righteousness: 'by whose stripes ye were healed' (ib. 21-24). Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf. For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall be the end of them that obey not the gospel of God? And 'if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?' (ib. iv. 17, 18.)

This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you; in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance: that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour: knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water: whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished: but the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.' The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat? Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless. And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; wherein are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction. Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness. But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. To him be glory both now and for ever, Amen (2 Pet. iii.).

Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the gospel of God (which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures), concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead: by whom we have received grace and apostleship, for obedience to the faith among all nations, for his name: among whom are ye also, the called of Jesus Christ: to all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints (Rom. i. 1-7). Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (but was let hitherto), that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles. I am a debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, 'The just shall live by faith.' For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse. Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and fourfooted beasts and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves: who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen. . . . And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, &c. Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them (ib. 13-25, 28-32. Then all chap. ii.). Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things. But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile: but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law (for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified. For when the Gentiles which have not the law do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another), in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel. Behold, thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will, and approvest the things which are more excellent, being instructed out of the law; and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them that are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law. Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God? For 'the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you,' as it is written. For circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law; but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision. Therefore, if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law? For he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God (Then all chap. iii.). What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there in circumcision?

Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God. For what if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, 'That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and clear when thou art judged.' But if our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? (I speak as a man): God forbid: for how then shall God judge the world? For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory, why yet am I also judged as a sinner? and not rather (as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say), Let us do evil, that good may come? whose damnation is just. What then? are we better than they? No, in no wise: for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin; as it is written, 'There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God: they are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one: their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood: destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes.' Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe: for there is no difference: for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay: but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. Is he the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith. Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law (then chap. iv.). What shall we say then that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the flesh, hath found? For if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not before God. For what saith the scripture? 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.' Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, 'Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.' Cometh this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? for we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, being yet uncircumcised. For the promise, that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham or to his seed through the law, but through the righteousness of faith. For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect: because the law worketh wrath; for where no law is, there is no transgression. Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham; who is the father of us all (as it is written, 'I have made thee a father of many nations'), before him whom he believed, even God, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not as though they were. Who against hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was spoken, 'So shall thy seed be.' And being not weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead, when he was about a hundred years old, neither yet the deadness of Sarah's womb: he staggered not at the promise through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God; and being fully persuaded that what he had promised he was able also to perform. And therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness. Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him; but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.

What then shall we say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, 'For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter' (ib. viii. 31-36. Then all chap. ix.).

I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness, and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that I were myself accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen. Not as though the word of God hath taken none effect. For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel: neither because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but 'In Isaac shall thy seed be called.' That is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. For this is the word of promise, 'At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son.' And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac (for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth), it was said unto her, 'The elder shall serve the younger.' As it is written, 'Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.' What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses, 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.' So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, 'Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.' Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. Thou wilt then say unto me, Why doth he yet find fault? For who hath resisted his will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? What if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction; and that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory, even us, whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles? As he saith also in Osee, 'I will call them my people which were not my people; and her beloved which was not beloved. And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people; there shall they be called the children of the living God.' Esaias also crieth concerning Israel, 'Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved: for he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.' And as Esaias said before, 'Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodom, and been made like unto Gomorrha.' What shall we say then? That the Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith. But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. For they stumbled at that stumbling-stone; as it is written, 'Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone and rock of offence: and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.'

Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. For they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness, to every one that believeth. For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that 'the man which doeth those things shall live by them.' But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, 'Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven?' (that is, to bring down Christ from above:) 'or, Who shall descend into the deep?' (that is, to bring up Christ from the dead.) But what saith it? 'The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart:' that is, the word of faith, which we preach; that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. How then shall they call on him on whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent? as it is written, 'How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!' But they have not all obeyed the gospel. For Esaias saith, 'Lord, who hath believed our report?' So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But I say, have they not heard? Yes, verily, 'their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.' But I say, did not Israel know? First Moses saith, 'I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you.' But Esaias is very bold, and saith, 'I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.' But to Israel he saith, 'All the day long I have stretched out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people' (ib. x.).

Wot ye not what the scripture saith of Elias? how he maketh intercession to God against Israel, saying, 'Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.' But what saith the answer of God unto him? 'I have reserved to myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal.' Even so then, at this present time also, there is a remnant according to the election of grace. And if by grace, then it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work. What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded (according as it is written, 'God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear'), unto this day. And David saith, 'Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them; let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back alway.' . . . For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, 'There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. For this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins' (ib. xi.).

Owe no man anything but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet;' and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law (ib. xiii. 8-10).

Now to him that is of power to stablish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith, to God only wise, be glory through Jesus Christ for ever, Amen (ib. xvi. 25-27).

For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at naught thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, 'As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.' So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God (ib. xiv. 9-12).

For even Christ pleased not himself; but, as it is written, 'The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me.' For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope. Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like-minded one toward another according to Christ Jesus: that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God. Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers: and that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy; as it is written, 'For this cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.' And again he saith, 'Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.' And again, 'Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.' And again Esaias saith, 'There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust' (ib. xv. 3-12).

And again elsewhere it is said: 'They to whom he had not been announced shall hear, and they who had not heard shall understand.'

Let no man deceive himself. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.' And again, 'The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.' Therefore let no man glory in men (1 Cor. iii. 18-21).

Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid. What? Know ye not that he which is joined to a harlot is one body? (ib. vi. 15.) And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband: but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife (ib. vii. 10). For 'two,' he says, 'shall be one flesh' (ib. vi. 16, and Eph. v. 31).

My answer to them that do examine me is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? [Have we not power to lead about a woman a sister, as the other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?] or I only, and Barnabas, have we not the power to forbear working? Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Say I these things as a man? or saith not the law the same also? For it is written in the law of Moses, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.' Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written. . . . Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel (1 Cor. ix. 3-10, 13, 14).

Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptised unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ. But with many of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things, as some of them also lusted. Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, 'The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.' Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand. Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents. Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer. Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come (ib. x. 1-11).

All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth. Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no questions for conscience' sake . . . For 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' . . . Conscience, I say, not thine own, but of the others (ib. 23-26, 29).

If the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man (ib. xi. 6-9). . . . Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men. In the law it is written, 'With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord.' . . . How is it then, brethren? when ye come together every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying. . . . Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church (ib. xiv. 20, 21, 26, 34, 35).

I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures; . . . But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming. Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him . . . . If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived: 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' . . . There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, 'The first man Adam was made a living soul;' the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. . . . For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' (ib. xv. 3, 20-27, 32, 33, 44-46, 53-55).

But if our gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost; in whom the god of this world hath blinded the eyes of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them. For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.

For God, *who commanded the light to shine out of darkness,* hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. iv. 3-6).

We having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, 'I believed, and therefore have I spoken;' we also believe, and therefore speak; knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you (ib. 13, 14).

We then, as workers together with him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. For he saith, 'I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee:' behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation (ib. vi. 1, 2).

For I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened; but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply to their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality: as it is written, 'He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack' (ib. viii. 13-15). But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. And God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work: as it is written, 'He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor: his righteousness remaineth for ever' (ib. ix. 6-9).

Would to God ye could bear with me a little in my folly: and indeed bear with me. For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, *as the serpent beguiled Eve* by his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ (ib. xi. 1-3).

But of these who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me: God *accepteth no man's person*): for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me (Gal. ii. 6).

O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh? Have ye suffered so many things in vain? if it be yet in vain. He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Even as 'Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness.' Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, 'In thy seed shall all nations be blessed.' So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham. For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, 'Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law, to do them.' But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident; for, 'The just shall live by faith.' And the law is not of faith: but, 'The man that doeth them shall live in them.' Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, 'Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:' that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith. Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, 'And to thy seed,' which is Christ (ib. iii. 1-16).

I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of you. Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, 'Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath a husband.' Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then, he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless, what saith the scripture? 'Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman.' So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage (ib. iv. 20 to v. 1).

For ye, brethren, have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another (ib. v. 13-15).

There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore he saith, 'When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men' (Eph. iv. 4-8).

See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in *psalms* and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord (ib. v. 15-19).

So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church. For we are 'members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh' (ib. 25-31).

Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. 'Honour thy father and mother;' which is the first commandment with promise; 'that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth.' And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh . . . with good will doing service, as to the Lord and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; 'neither is there respect of persons with him' (ib. vi. 1-5, 7-9).

'Lie not one to another,' seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all and in all (Col. iii. 9-11).

But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that 'the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night.' . . . Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober. For 'they that sleep sleep in the night; and they that be drunken are drunken in the night' (1 Thess. v. 1, 2, 6, 7).

Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come except there come first the apostasy, and there be revealed the man of lawlessness and son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall appear the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth (2 Thess. ii. 3-8).

I exhort, therefore, that first of all there be made supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth (1 Tim. ii. 1-4).

But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived; but the woman being deceived was in the transgression (ib. 12-14).

Paul, a servant of God, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness; in hope of eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began; but hath in due time manifested his word through preaching, which is committed unto me, according to the commandment of God our Saviour (Tit. i. 1).

God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of the glory of the Father, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels said he at any time, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' And again: 'I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son.' And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, 'And let all the angels of God worship him.'

And of the angels he saith, 'Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.' But unto the Son he saith, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' And, 'Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands: they shall perish; but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment: and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.' But to which of the angels said he at any time, 'Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool'? (Heb. i. 1-13.) Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak. But one in a certain place testified, saying, 'What is man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.' For in that he put all in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him. But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man. For it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the church I will sing praise unto thee.' And again, 'I will put my trust in him.' And again, 'Behold I and the children which God hath given me' (ib. ii. 1-13). Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus; who was faithful to him that appointed him, as also Moses 'was faithful in all his house.' For this man was counted worthy of more glory than Moses. . . . And a little farther on: And Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ as a son over his own house; whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end. Wherefore as the Holy Ghost saith, 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years; wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do always err in their heart, and they have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest' (ib. iii. 1-11). For some when they had heard did provoke: howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses. But with whom was he grieved forty years? was it not with them that had sinned, whose carcasses fell in the wilderness? And to whom sware he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that rebelled? So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief. . . . For we which have believed do enter into rest, as he said, 'As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest:' although the works were finished from the foundation of the world. For he spake in a certain place of the seventh day on this wise, 'And God did rest the seventh day from all his works.' And in this place again, 'If they shall enter into my rest.' Seeing, therefore, it remaineth that some must enter therein, and they to whom it was first preached entered not in because of unbelief. Again he limiteth a certain day, saying in David, 'To-day,' after so long a time: as it is said, 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' Seeing then that we have a great high-priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession (ib. iii. 16-19, and iv. 3-7, 14).

But no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made a high-priest; but he that said unto him, 'Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee.' As he saith also in another place, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec' (ib. v. 4-6).

But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak. For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have showed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. And we desire that every one of you do show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end: that ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises. For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater he sware by himself, saying, 'Surely, blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee.' And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promise. For men verily swear by the greater: and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife. Wherein God, willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath: that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us: which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil; whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made a high-priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec (ib. vi. 9-20).

What farther need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law. For he of whom these things are spoken pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar. For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood. And it is yet far more evident; for that after the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest, who is made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life. For he testifieth, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.' For there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof. For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did; by the which we draw nigh unto God. And inasmuch as not without an oath he was made priest (for those priests were made without an oath; but this with an oath by him that said unto him, 'The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec'): by so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament. And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death: but this man because he continueth ever hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such a high-priest became us who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens: who needeth not daily, as those high-priests, to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself. For the law maketh men high-priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for ever more (ib. vii. 11-28).

For every high-priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer. For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law: who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, 'See,' saith he, 'that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount.' But now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much also he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises. For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second. For finding fault with them, he saith, 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every one his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more' (ib. viii. 3-12).

Then verily the first covenant had also ordinances of divine service, and a worldly sanctuary. For there was a tabernacle made; the first, wherein was the candlestick, and the table, and the show-bread; which is called the sanctuary: and after the second veil the tabernacle, which is called the Holiest of all; which had the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold, wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant; and over it the cherubims of glory shadowing the mercy-seat, of which we cannot now speak particularly. Now when these things were thus ordained, the priests went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God. But into the second went the high-priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people: the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the Holiest was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing: which was a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience: which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed on them until the time of reformation. But Christ being come a high-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God? (ib. ix. 1-14.) . . . For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect. For then would they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins. . . . For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins. Wherefore when he cometh into the world he saith, 'Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.' Above when he said, 'Sacrifice and offering and burnt-offerings and offerings for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein;' which are offered by the law; then said he, 'Lo, I come to do thy will, O God.' He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second. By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest standeth daily ministering, and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God; from thenceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us: for after that he had said before, 'This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them; and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more.' But where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin (ib. x. 1-18).

He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the Spirit of grace? For we know him that hath said, 'Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord.' And again, 'The Lord shall judge his people.' It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God (ib. 28-31).

Cast not away, therefore, your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward. For ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promise. For 'yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry.' Now 'the just shall live by faith: and if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.' But we, brethren, are not of them that draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul (ib. 35-39).

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen; for by it the elders obtained a good report. By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear. By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it he being dead yet speaketh. By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death, and was not found because God had translated him; for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God. But without faith it is impossible to please him; for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith. By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise; for he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Through faith also Sara herself received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a child when she was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised. Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the seashore innumerable. These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth; for they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country. And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desire a better country—that is, a heavenly. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for he hath prepared for them a city. By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only-begotten son, of whom it was said, that 'in Isaac shall thy seed be called,' accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure. By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau concerning things to come. By faith Jacob, when he was a-dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph, and worshipped leaning upon the top of his staff. By faith Joseph, when he died, made mention of the departing of the children of Israel, and gave commandment concerning his bones. By faith Moses, when he was born, was hid three months of his parents, because they saw he was a proper child, and they were not afraid of the king's commandment. By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt; for he had respect to the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king; for he endured as seeing him that is invisible. Through faith he kept the passover and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the firstborn should touch them. By faith they passed through the Red Sea as by dry land; which the Egyptians assaying to do were drowned. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days. By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace. And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthah, of David also, and Samuel, and of the prophets, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, &c. (ib. xi. 1-33.) Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, &c. . . . See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven, whose voice then shook the earth; but now he hath promised, saying, 'Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.' And this word, 'Yet once more,' signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things that cannot be shaken may remain. Wherefore, we receiving a kingdom that cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear: 'For our God is a consuming fire' (ib. xii. 1, 25-29).

Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines; for it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein. We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle; for the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest for sin are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach; for here have we no continuing city; but we seek one to come. By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually; that is, the fruit of our lips; giving thanks to his name. But to do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased (ib. xiii. 7-16).

And, lo, here, by God's help, all the testimonies [which we think it needful to write out] are complete. Though they have not here been digested into order, he who has understanding will make out what they mean.

Here the testimonies end. Here he who has passed on from the former cross is to recommence reading.

See, thou fighter against God and against the truth! how the holy scripture itself is everywhere written with testimonies, and not without testimony, as thou hast written that book of the Code (the Oulojenie) of thine own head, without any manner of testimony.

St. Matthew has written of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, speaking not of his own head, not without testimony; but thus he says, 'The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ,' &c. So also the other Evangelists. The narrative both of the Annunciation to the B. Virgin, and of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the flight from the murderous Herod into Egypt, and again of the return from Egypt into the land of Israel, and of the slaughter of the Innocents on account of Christ by Herod, and the account of John the Baptist and of his prophesying concerning Christ, and of Christ's baptism, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon him, and of the temptation of Christ by the devil, [and of Christ's witness concerning John the Baptist,] and of Christ's witness concerning himself, that he came down from heaven, and of the envy of the Jews against Christ, and of their false witness, and of the unjust judgment of Herod and of Pilate, and of the mockery of Christ by the Jews and by the servants, and of his being delivered to be crucified, and of Christ's crucifixion, and of his burial, and of his resurrection, and of his appearance after his resurrection to the disciples, and of his ascension, and of the promise of sending the Holy Ghost from the Father, and of Christ's second coming, [have all testimony from the old scriptures]. And Christ himself in his teaching and commandments to his holy disciples and apostles confirmed everything from the scripture, as in these words, Is it not thus written, that so it behoves Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day?

Who was there more just among the prophets than John the Baptist? of whom Christ himself bare witness, 'What went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet. For this is he of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thy face. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Among them that be born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.' And a little farther on, 'And if ye will receive it, this is Elias that was to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear' (Matt. xi. 9-15, and Malachi iv. 5). As St. John the Divine also says of him: 'John bears witness of him, and cries, saying, This is he who coming after me is before me; for he was before me: and of his fulness have we all received grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth are by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou? And he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ.' And a little farther on he says: 'I am a voice crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as saith the prophet Esaias' (Is. xl., John i. 15-23). And again: 'On the morrow John seeth Jesus coming to him, and' (taking his testimony from the prophet Isaiah) 'he saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. This is he of whom I said,' &c. (ib. 29.)

Who, again, was more faithful and more strenuous than Peter, the chief of the Apostles, who before all confessed Christ to be the Son of God? of whom Christ himself testifies, as it is written, 'Jesus, looking on him, said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation Peter, *i.e.* a stone or rock' (ib. i. 42). And again elsewhere he said, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 17-19). Well; neither could he write any thing without testimony: but he says to the Jews, 'For it is written in the scripture, Behold, I lay in Sion a corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded,' &c. And again he says, 'For it is written, Be ye holy, even as I am holy,' &c.

Or who is more wise than Paul, the prince of the Apostles? whom the Lord himself chose to be the teacher of the Gentiles, and testified of him, saying, 'He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings, and before the children of Israel; and I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake' (Acts ix. 15); as he himself also writes in the epistle to the Romans (i. 1), 'Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, chosen unto the gospel of God,' &c.; and elsewhere he says, 'And I think that I have the Holy Spirit.' Yet neither does he without the scriptures testify anything of our Lord Jesus Christ, but says, 'What he promised before by his prophets in the holy scriptures of his Son, who was of the seed of David after the flesh, called the Son of God according to the Spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead of our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c.

Or who was more beloved than St. John, the beloved disciple, who even lay on the breast of Christ, and was called the brother and friend of Christ? of whom Christ himself testified, as it is written, 'Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother and his mother's sister, &c. When Jesus therefore saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother' (John xix. 25-27). And again in another place, 'Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following (which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?). Peter, seeing him, saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry until I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. Then went abroad the saying among the disciples, that that disciple should not die' (ib. xxi. 20-23). And a little farther on the same John says, 'This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things. . . . And we know that his testimony is true' (ib. 24): who also has written sublimer things than all the rest of the Word of God, saying, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God,' &c. Yet neither did this disciple deliver or write anything without testimony.

So also all the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers neither delivered nor taught anything of themselves; but all out of the divine scriptures. But now thou alone, of thyself, hast delivered a law inconsistent with the Old and New Testaments, and with all the divine scripture. But the Lord says, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, until all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men to do so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. v. 17-19). But thou, O thou fighter against God, art not ashamed to destroy not only the law and the prophets, but also the holy and sacred gospel itself, and all the sacred canons. The Lord testifies and says, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but of the law not one tittle nor one jot shall pass away.' But thou hast set aside all at once; nor hast thou shown any fear whatever of God. 'He who shall break,' the Lord says, 'any one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men to do so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven:' that is, he shall not be called a sharer in it at all. But thou both thyself hast broken all the holy commandments, and hast written thine own lawlessness as a law for all the people.

'Christ does not say that any of the commandments of the law are small; but he calls those which he is about to deliver small for humility, that he may teach thee also to be humble-minded. And he is called small who himself does not according to the commandments, and teaches others to do likewise, when he is not acting himself, and he is called the least in the kingdom of heaven, and is cast out into hell fire. For such a one who teaches others, but himself despises and tramples under foot the commandments, and accounts them as nothing, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. For how can any man direct another in the way by which he has not gone himself?' (Comment on the Gospels, sect. 14.) But thou, O thou fighter against God, who rejectest the commandments of God, and abidest not in the doctrine of Christ, how shalt thou enter into the kingdom of heaven? Hast thou not heard the Lord saying, 'But the people which knoweth not the law are cursed'?[1] And holy David says, 'Cursed are they that do swerve from thy commandments.' And St. John the Divine says, 'Every one who transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God.'

St. Basil the Great, canon lxxiii.: 'He that hath denied Christ shall pass all his life in penance.' The gloss: 'He that hath denied Christ is to weep as a penitent all his life; but at the hour of death he is to receive the holy communion' (K. fol. 96). Canon xlv. of the same St. Basil: 'A Christian who blasphemes Christ has no benefit from the name [of a Christian].' The gloss: 'Faith without works is dead; and there is no profit from the mere name, if any one be called a Christian but rejects the commandments of Christ, and tramples under foot his divine laws, and practically blasphemes him'[2] (K. fol. 94). Canon lxiv. of the Sixth Ecumenical Council: 'Let not a layman teach: for are all prophets? are all apostles?' The gloss: 'Every one must know his own order; and not make himself a shepherd when he is a sheep; nor head, when he is a foot: but he must submit to the order delivered by the Lord, and open his ears to them that have received the grace of teaching. For all are not prophets, nor are all apostles. Wherefore laymen are neither to teach, nor to move questions of doctrine, as if taking to themselves the office of teachers'[1] (K. fol. 77). And St. Paul confirms the same, saying, 'Though an angel preach to you any other thing beside what ye have received, let him be anathema.' And the Seventh holy Ecumenical Council, canon i.: 'If any man adds or takes away anything from the divine commandments and canons, let him be accursed.'[2]

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[1] The Jews say this. John vii. 49.

[2] Bever. ii. p. 103 (and for canon lxxiii. above, p. 126), Aristin.

In the Code of thy compilation, ch. i. sect. 1, headed, 'Of Blasphemies,' it is written, 'If aliens in creed, of whatever form of religious profession, or if a Russian, blasphemes the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, or his mother our most pure Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, or the venerable cross, or his saints, there shall be strict inquest made; and the blasphemer, on conviction, shall be punished by being burned at the stake.' But what reviling or blasphemy can be greater than thine own, in that thou discardest all Christ's commandments, and all the commandments and canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and liest against the Lord and against his saints? Of this we shall speak by and by.

Also in ch. ii. sect. 1 of the Code, thou hast written: 'If any man with any evil intent shall devise any evil practice against the Tsar's health, there shall be strict inquest made as to that evil intent, and as to the hurt which he was devising against the Tsar's majesty: and such a one, after examination, being found guilty, shall be punished with death.'

Ch. i. sect. 2: 'Likewise, if any one during the reign of the Tsar's majesty, seeking to become master and sovereign of the Muscovite Empire, for this his evil purpose begins to collect troops, or if any one makes friendship with the enemies of the Tsar's majesty, or corresponds with them by letters of counsel, or gives them any assistance, in order that such enemies of the Tsar, after dethroning him, may become masters of the Muscovite Empire, or cause it any harm, and any one gives information against him, strict inquest shall be made upon that information as to that his treason, till the truth be proved; and such a traitor on conviction shall in like manner be punished with death.'

And in the same book, ch. ii. sect. 20: 'Also no man of his own arbitrary will, or in a body with others, or with any league or concert, shall approach the Tsar's majesty, or his imperial boyars and okolniks, and people of the council, or such as are about the Tsar's person (blijnie): nor in the cities and in the armies shall any so approach the voivodes, or the officials: none shall approach any of them, nor plunder or strike any of them. But if any man [with design against the Tsar's majesty] presume to go to the Tsar's majesty, or to his imperial boyars and okolniks and people of the council, and such as are about the Tsar's person, or in the cities and armies to the voivodes and officials, with design and concert, and shall attempt to plunder or to kill any of them, such people shall be punished with death without any kind of mercy.'

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[1] Bever. I. p. 234, Aristin.

[2] See above, p. 8.

Sect. 21: 'And if any man go about to devise any treason against the Tsar's majesty, or shall aspire to become master of the Muscovite Empire, or if any one shall begin to go to the Tsar's majesty, or to go against his imperial boyars and okolniks and people of the council, and such as are about the Tsar's person, or in the cities and armies against the voivodes and the officials, or against any one whatsoever [of the Tsar's loyal subjects] in a body, and with a league or concert, and shall attempt to plunder or to kill, such people shall be punished with death without any sort of mercy.'

Also thou writest in ch. iv. s. 1: 'If any one shall of his own will feloniously write and forge a letter from the Tsar to himself, or in any genuine letter of the Tsar or other official writing shall of his own device suppress or alter anything so as to stand otherwise than it was by the Tsar's order and by the counsel of the boyars, or shall forge the signatures of people of the council, or of officials of the public offices (the prikazes), or of secretaries, or shall make privily to himself a seal like that of the Tsar, such traitors also for such crimes shall be punished with death.'

Sect. 2: 'And if any one feloniously attempt to detach the Tsar's seals from the Tsar's letters, or from any other official writings, or attempt to affix the same seals of the Tsar to any other forged writings; or if any one dare feloniously to tamper with and to corrupt any letters of the Tsar, or other official writings, contrary to the Tsar's order, he also shall be punished with death: and no respect whatever is to be paid to his spurious writings.'

Sect. 3: 'And if any one, after having so forged or corrupted letters [of the Tsar, or other official documents] die, and after his death those writings are discovered with his family, or with his agents or subordinates (his prikashchiks), and they, that is, any members of his family, or his prikashchiks, begin on the strength of those writings to petition the Tsar or to sue concerning any matter, inquisition shall be made as to the way in which those writings came to them, and where they got them, and whether they knew that those writings were forged or corrupted: and if it be proved against them on the trial, or if they shall confess of themselves, that they were aware that those writings were felonious, and forged or corrupted, but still kept them for their own interested and disloyal purposes, these also in like manner are to be punished with death.'

Hear, thou unjust man, what the Lord says to such hypocrites: 'Thou wicked servant! out of thine own mouth will I judge thee.' So here also he shall not err from the truth who says to thee the same. 'If any one,' thou sayest, 'for any purpose of his own, shall feloniously corrupt letters of the Tsar, ordinances, and official documents, contrary to the order of the Hossoudar and the counsel of the boyars, or shall forge the signatures of people of the council, or of officials of the public offices, or of secretaries, or if any one shall dare feloniously to tamper with and to corrupt any letters of the Tsar, or other official documents, contrary to the Tsar's order, or if any such corrupted or felonious writings remain after the death of the parties who forged or corrupted them [and are used by others], or if any one imitates a seal, for that also he is to be put to death.'

What then shall be done to him who, raging madly against God himself, derogates from the divine authority, like Lucifer, and transfers by corrupting a written document God's property and God's jurisdiction to the name of the Tsar, [writing,] 'The Judgment of the Hossoudar the Tsar,' &c., and dishonours the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers and our teachers and legislators who have received power from our incomparable king (Tsar) and God the Lord Jesus Christ; who have power to bind and to loose in earth and in heaven; and who are to judge not men only, but angels; and destroys their power and honour, and sets them altogether at naught? Of what tortures, or of what death, shall not he be worthy? The Lord testifies, 'He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God.' And elsewhere he says, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.'

Also thou writest in ch. x. [xviii.] sect. 141: 'If any one [apprehended at the suit of another] resist, and abscond from the officer in charge of him, there shalt be sent after such a defaulter a second time another officer: and letters from the Tsar shall be sent to the voivode of that city [and province] where that defaulter may be living, in order that the voivode may give the officer as many streltzes and poushkars and zashinshiks as may be needed to enable him to take the defaulter; and when the officer shall have taken him and brought him to Moscow, he shall be punished for his default and misdemeanour by being beaten with rods; and he shall be made to pay to the plaintiff the expenses of his journeys, and of his time, as may be decreed [by the court], and the expenses of the sheriff's officer for his journeys, without farther process of law, and shall be given up to the plaintiff as before.

'And if any one do the same a third time, he shall be punished in the same way, and in addition he shall be imprisoned for a month.'

And in sect. 142: 'If any one shall take away from the officer his minute of instructions, or his warrant of arrest, or the Tsar's letters, and shall tear them up, such a defaulter for his disrespect to the Tsar's letter shall be beaten with the knout, and imprisoned for three months. But he who strikes so as to kill a sheriff's officer, or his assistant, shall be himself punished with death.'

And if thus they who disobey the Tsar and his judges are not let go without punishment, what of them who transgress and trample under foot the commandments of God, and of the holy Apostles and legislators? What punishments are not they to expect? It is the word of God, and it will not fail of its accomplishment: 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again, and more abundantly.'

The Lord says, 'I say unto you, that except your justice shall exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.' The gloss: 'By the name of justice he speaks generally of all virtue, as it is said, "Job was a just man," that is, godly, blameless. Be alarmed then, O man, when thou understandest for how much we are debtors. Then he teaches us that our justice must be abundant, above that of the Pharisees and scribes. And the other virtues he inculcates, saying' [The gospel], 'Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment' (Matt. v. 20, 21). The gloss: 'The prophets, when about to prophesy, said, "Thus saith the Lord:" but Christ did not thus: he said, "I say unto you," showing his divine power. They were servants; but he who is the Son, and who has all things that are the Father's, saith, "He that is angry with his brother without a cause shall be condemned." If any one is angry for just cause, and in order to correction, and of spiritual zeal, such a one is not condemned. For so Paul also addressed words of anger and wrath to Elymas the sorcerer, and to the high-priest in the sanhedrim, not without a cause, but of zeal for God. But we are then angry without a cause, when we are angry on account of property and glory, and in order to inflict vengeance on our own behalf.'

But how dost thou, O thou apostate from God, and subverter of the evangelical commandments, introduce another law in thine accursed compilation, writing (in ch. x. sect. 27) thus? 'If a boyar, or okolnik, or a member of the council dishonours by words the patriarch, for such dishonour done to the patriarch that boyar, okolnik, or member of the council shall, after examination, be sent to the patriarch to answer with his head.'[1]

And sect. 28: 'If a boyar, or okolnik, or member of the council dishonours by words a metropolitan, or an archbishop, or a bishop, for such dishonour done to the episcopate there shall be made strict examination: and the boyar, or okolnik, or member of the council shall be fined for insulting a metropolitan 400 rubles, for insulting an archbishop 300 rubles, and for insulting a bishop 200 rubles; and if he be unable to pay the fine, he shall be sent, for the dishonour done by him to the episcopate, to the injured dignitary to answer with his head, if the charge has been proved against him.'

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[1] That is, to submit himself to make any satisfaction which the other party requires; not actually to be punished even with death.

Sect. 29: 'If any boyar, or okolnik, or member of the council dishonour an archimandrite, or hegoumen, or any other order of monk, they shall be fined for the dishonour done by them after legal judgment, or examination [by the Tsar's direct order], according to the Tsar's ukaz.'

Sect. 30: 'But if a stolnik, or strapchi, or dvorianin of Moscow, or a foreign gost (*i.e.* privileged merchant), or a secretary, or a citizen, or a dvorianin, or a sin-boyar of any city, or a foreigner, or a man belonging to a house (dvoróvi), dishonour by words the patriarch, or a metropolitan, or an archbishop, or a bishop, or an archimandrite, or a hegoumen, or a kellar, or a kaznachey, or a monk of any other rank, there shall be made strict inquest until the truth be ascertained: and for such dishonour a sentence shall be given: if it be the patriarch who has been insulted, that the offender be beaten with rods; if a metropolitan, that he be imprisoned; if he be an archbishop or bishop, also that he be imprisoned.'

Sect. 31: 'But if a member of the gostinaa sotnia (merchants' centuries), or of the soukonnaa sotnia (clothiers' centuries), or of the chernia sotni, or a labouring man of the townspeople, or a strelitz, or a kozak, or a poushkar, or a man of any other class, whatever it may be, dishonours by words the patriarch, or a metropolitan, or an archbishop, or a bishop, or an archimandrite, or a hegoumen, or a kellar, or a kaznachey, or a monk of any other degree, there shall be made for that offence strict inquest and prosecution, till the fact be proved: and then for it a sentence shall be passed upon them. If the person injured be the patriarch, they shall be flogged in the market-place, and imprisoned for a month; if it be a metropolitan, they shall be beaten with rods, and imprisoned four days; if it be an archbishop or bishop, they shall be beaten with rods, and imprisoned three days: in the case of an archimandrite, of a hegoumen, of an archdeacon of the Troitzko-Sergiefsky monastery, and of all the monasteries, and in the case of their kellars, and kaznacheys, and elders, and of all the ordinary brethren, dishonour done to them is to be punished by a fine; in the case of the archimandrite of the Sergiefsky monastery to the amount of 200 rubles, and in the case of the other monasteries according to a graduated scale, which is given.'

Whence, O thou lawless man, and compiler of evil things, didst thou learn, contrary to the divine commandments of Christ and the commandments and laws of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, to render evil for evil, by blows, and by pecuniary satisfactions graduated according to quality and quantity?

Has not thine inattentive ear heard our lawgiver and teacher the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ teaching and saying what has been written above: 'But I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven'? (Matt. v. 20.) But what righteousness is there in thy accursed compilation, enacting that if any man do dishonour to the patriarch, then after judgment and inquest one is to be sent to make submission with his head, another is to be knouted, another beaten with rods, another imprisoned, another fined in money, as has been set forth above from thy senseless and accursed code of transgression?

In sect. 83 thou writest: 'But if a metropolitan, or archbishop, or any of the rest of the clergy, do dishonour by words to boyars, okolniks, &c., and it is proved on inquest, they shall pay after the inquest to those whom they have dishonoured a fine for the insult, in proportion to the emoluments which they receive in money from the Hossoudar, but to merchants and people of other orders according to a legal tariff or scale.'

Sect. 84: 'But if it so be that any archimandrite, or hegoumen, or kellar, or kaznachey has been insulted, and the person convicted has not wherewithal to pay the fine, such person shall be punished without mercy till they satisfy the plaintiff.'

Woe unto thee and to thy compilation, thou unrighteous man! God shall smite thee, thou whited wall, according to the words of the Apostle; because thou hast everywhere enacted a perversion of judgment.

And thou writest in sect. 91: 'And if a boyar, or okolnik, or member of the council, &c., be insulted by a stolnik, or a strapchey, or a dvorianin of Moscow, or a gost, or a secretary, or a jiletz, or a dvorianin, or a sin-boyar of any town, or a foreigner, or a man belonging to a dvor, these, after trial and inquest, shall be fined for the dishonour done to the boyar, okolnik, or member of the council. And if it so be that any person of these orders, being convicted, has not wherewithal to pay the fine for the dishonour done to the boyar, okolnik, or member of the council, they shall be knouted.'

Sect. 92: 'And if a boyar, or okolnik, or member of the council be insulted in word by a man of the gostinnaia sotnia, or of the soukonnaia sotnia, or of the chernie sotni, or by a labouring man of the slobodi, or by a monk, or by a kozak, or a poushkar, or a servant of a monastery, or a man of any other order of the people, or by the slave of a boyar, there shall be trial and inquest till the thing be proved; and he that is found guilty shall be knouted and imprisoned for a fortnight.'

Thou hast not hearkened to that which is written, 'Thou shalt not make a difference between the powerful man and the poor man in judgment; for the judgment is God's.' In favour of thyself and all like thyself thou hast enacted unequal punishment. For insulting the patriarch a man is to be beaten with rods; for insulting a metropolitan and for a bishop he is to be imprisoned for a fortnight. Thou hast not hearkened to the Saviour saying, 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.' And the divine Apostle says, 'Thou fool, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?' 'In truth against such as do such things there is the judgment of God.' What great torments and punishment wilt thou not incur for such ungodly teaching and lawless legislation? Whatever wounds and other evils they shall have inflicted in virtue of that code on poor men whom they may have condemned, thou thyself art guilty of all. That is fulfilled which is written in the Psalms: 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. Corrupt are they, and become abominable in iniquities: there is none that doeth good, no, not one. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand and seek after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are all together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Have they no understanding, all they that work wickedness eating up my people, as if they would eat bread?' (Ps. xiii. or liii. 1-4.) And again elsewhere: 'They utter and proclaim iniquity, all the workers of iniquity. They smite down thy people, O Lord, and afflict thine heritage. They slay the widow and the fatherless, and murder the stranger. And they say, The Lord doth not see, neither doth the God of Jacob regard it. Consider, ye brutish among the people: O ye fools, when will ye understand? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that disciplineth the heathen, shall not he punish? It is he that teacheth man knowledge. The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men, that they are but vain' (Ps. xciv. 4-11). And again another scripture: 'They have devised and spoken in wickedness: they have spoken loftily injustice. They set their mouth against the heavens; and their tongue goeth through the world' (Ps. lxxii. 8, 9). 'He hath said in his heart, Thou, O God, wilt not require it' (Ps. ix. 13). 'Our lips are our own: who is lord over us?' (Ps. xi. 4.) 'And they say, How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the Most High? But for their deception thou hast put for them evil things: thou castest them down when they are exalted in their pride' (Ps. lxxii. 11-18). And a little farther on: 'For, lo, they that depart from thee shall perish: thou shalt destroy all them that commit fornication against thee' (ib. 27).

Listen, thou unrighteous compiler of lawlessness, to the divine doctrine which the Lord utters: 'But I say unto you, That every one who is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment' (Matt. v. 22). Of what judgment? Not thy lawless judgment; but the judgment of God, which makes no distinction of persons, and is incorruptible, as we are taught by the holy Gospel: 'When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations,' &c.: But not to be judged by the judgment which thou hast written: 'If dishonour be done by words to the patriarch, or to a metropolitan, or to an archbishop, or bishop, or archimandrite, or hegoumen, or to any man of the rest of that order, by any stolnik, or strapchey, or gost, down to a strelitz, or a kozak, or a poushkar, or any other man, then, after legal trial and inquest, a sentence (an ukaz) is to be given according to the command (ukaz) of the Hossoudar.' But *who* is to judge *whom*, thou hast not specified; *i. e.* who is to judge the patriarch, who a metropolitan, and an archbishop, a bishop, a hegoumen, and the rest.

As likewise, in ch. xiii. sect. 1, thou hast written: 'In causes affecting metropolitans, archbishops, or bishops, and the people of their prikazes, and their dvor-people, and their sin-boyars, and their peasants, also archimandrites of monasteries, and hegoumens, and stroitels, and kellars, and kaznacheys, and the ordinary brethren, and popes, and all the clergy of the Church, in all manner of suits, judgment is to be given in the *Monastirski Prikaz*.' But by what canons [this is to be], and who is to judge whom, thou hast not specified.

But in ch. x. sect. 5, it is thus written: 'The Judgment of the Hossoudar the Tsar Alexis Michaelovich: how the okolniks, and people of the council, and secretaries, and all people of their prikazes, and judges, shall judge and make all manner of judgments between man and man, to all the people of the Muscovite Empire, from the lowest to the highest, to the obtaining of justice.'

And in that same book of the Code it is written, f. 61: 'In the year 7156, June 16 (A.D. 1648), the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Russia, in the 20th year of his age, and in the third year of his divinely-guarded reign, took counsel with his father and beadsman the M. H. Joseph, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and with the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and with all the sacred synod. And he spake with his imperial boyars, and okolniks, and people of his council, that such passages in the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and in the civil laws of the Greek emperors, as are applicable to the concerns of the empire and of the people [of Muscovy], should be written out: and that the imperial ukazes of the former Great Hossoudars the Tsars and Grand Princes of Russia, and of his the Hossoudar's father of blessed memory the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich of all Russia, should be compared and harmonised with the old [canons and laws]. And the Hossoudar the Tsar made an ukaz that all that collection should be made and written in a report by the boyars;' viz. by thee, the Prince Nikita Odoefsky, with thy colleagues. And thou, in pursuance of the imperial ukaz, Prince Nikita Odoefsky, with thy colleagues, didst write, as if extracting from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and from the civil laws of the Greek emperors, and from the old codes (soudebniks) of the former Great Hossoudars [of Russia]. And in that, O thou wretched man, thou wert altogether a liar. Thou didst write in the title that [the compilation, *i. e.* the draft of the Code], was from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and from the civil laws of the Greek emperors, and from the old codes of the former Great Tsars, &c. Show us where it is written in the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, or in the civil laws of the religious Greek emperors, or in the old codes of the former Great Tsars, that it is for boyars, and okolniks, and people of the council, and judges to judge the patriarch, and the metropolitans, and the archbishops, and bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, and all the spiritual order. Show me [this] in thy lying compilation, and do not [attempt to] refuse. And I will show thee the judgment and vengeance of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Thus saith the Lord, 'And whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council' (Matt. v. 22). But this council is not that of the Tsar, or of the boyars, and of the other secular judges; but the Lord means that of the bishops: as also the canons both of the emperors and of the grand princes enact with respect to such trials for doing dishonour to any man, that whoever insults another by word, the bishops are to judge him; of which we have written in many places above. But for us the bishops and the rest of the sacred order it is enough in the way of vengeance against them that revile us that they incur the vengeance of God.

'And whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.' And what can be greater than this for the punishment of them that bark against us, that is, than being tormented for ever in hell fire? The gloss: 'Many think that the punishment is too severe, that for one such word a man is to be condemned to everlasting fire. However, it is not too severe; but the judgment of God measures fitly and justly. For if a man deprives his brother of word and reason, and call him *bouya*, that is, bad and senseless (for *μωρέ* is equivalent to *bouya* or to bad and senseless), certainly he deserves torments. For he who sets at naught and reviles any one destroys charity; and when charity is destroyed, all virtues are destroyed; as on the other hand, when charity remains, all virtues remain. Certainly then every one who sets another at naught destroys all virtues, together with the destruction of charity. Hence it is manifest that he deserves eternal fire.'

Canon iii. of the Council held at Constantinople in St. Sophia: 'If any secular person cast a bishop into prison, or beat him without cause, or get up some pretext [for doing it], let him be accursed.'[1]

From the roll of the New Constitutions (Novells) of the emperor Justinian, ch. 42, can. xxxvi.: 'None of the civil authorities may compel the bishops to come before a tribunal, nor do violence to the episcopal authority in any way; but the bishop shall send some of his attendants to declare in presence of the holy Gospels, as becomes bishops, what they know. Nor do we permit that in any case of property, or money, or in any criminal matter, they should be made to come or to appear before either the civil authority or the military against their will, without the command of the emperor. And that magistrate or officer who shall dare, either in writing or without writing, to summon [any of the bishops to appear before him], shall, after being stripped of his belt [that is, after being deprived of his military rank], be also corporally punished and sent into exile.'

Canon lxxxvii. of the same emperor Justinian: 'We forbid all alike, without exception, to do any dishonour to the monastic order, either to monk or nun, or other woman living as a nun (postniksa) in any way whatever, in contravention of the ecclesiastical discipline. And if any one dares to do anything of the kind, he shall suffer corporal punishment, and be sent into exile.'

Our Lord thus teaches and legislates (the gospel, Matt. v. 38): 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, That ye resist not the evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' &c. The gloss: 'The judgment of the law allowed the principle that they who did evil should receive the like in return, that so every one might fear having to suffer the like to what he did, and men might not do injustice one to another. But for that Christ bids us, if any one smite us on one cheek, to turn to him the other also, certainly if any one keeps the commandments of God he can endure everything, according to the words of the Apostle, that they may obtain a better resurrection (Heb. xi. 35). Let us run, he says, with patience, looking to the pattern which is before us, even to the author and finisher of our faith, who endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down on the right hand of God (ib. xii. 1, 2). And again another Apostle saith: Because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps; who when he was reviled reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not (1 Pet. ii. 21-23). And again the same Apostle saith: Brethren, forasmuch as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind (ib. iv. 1). And again Christ himself testifies: But before all these things they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, &c. (Luke xxi. 12-14.) And a little farther on: And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake (ib. 16, 17). And elsewhere he says: For so persecuted they the prophets also who were before you (Matt. v. 12). And again elsewhere he says: Remember the word which I spake unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also (John xv. 20). And a little farther on: These things have I spoken unto you that ye should not be offended. They shall put you out of the synagogues; yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service (ib. xvi. 1, 2). And again: Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven (Matt. v. 11, 12).' But thou, whence dost thou preach to us another new law, which neither Christ himself uttered nor the Apostles preached, but only bade us to keep ourselves from such?

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[1] See above, p. 59.

The gospel: 'Take heed lest any man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many' (Mark xiii. 5, 6). The gloss: 'And the prince of the Apostles Peter says: But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you; whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and whose damnation slumbereth not (2 Pet. ii. 1-3). Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets: Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days; a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you (Acts xiii. 40, 41). And again: Let no one deceive you with vain words; for on account of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience (Eph. v. 6). And again he says: Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God (Heb. iii. 12). And again: See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape if we refuse him that speaketh from heaven (ib. xii. 25). And elsewhere he says: Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ (Col. ii. 8). And again he says: Mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them (Rom. xvi. 17). And the Lord testifies of such: He that is of God heareth God's words; for this cause ye hear them not, because ye are not of God (John viii. 47). And St. John the Divine saith: Every one that transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God (2 John 9). And again: We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error (1 John iv. 6). And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. And a little farther on: Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God' (ib. iii. 10). Are not all these things prophetical of thee, and of thy accursed compilation, in which they are fulfilled?

Listen to our lawgiver yet farther. The gospel, Matt. v. 40, 41: 'And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy vest also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.' The gloss: 'He does not speak to him who wishes to go to law; but if he *drag* *thee* before the tribunal, and make a noise, then abandon to him thy coat on account of the noise and disturbance. And what do I say? give up not only thy coat and thy vest, but thy body itself, to him who unjustly attacks thee; and do more than he who seeks to compel thee demands. Therefore also he goes on and adds: Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away' (ib. 42). But thou, how dost thou lay down for us another law at variance with these precepts? whereas before thee, since Christ's birth and saving and voluntary suffering, and since the giving of his evangelical commandments, no one has dared to introduce any new legislation either of the orthodox emperors or grand princes, except only pagan rulers, as the Turk, and the others like him, and such as by violence and lawlessness oppress the Christian race; whom may the Lord God reward according to the works of their hands in the day of judgment, but give to the orthodox Christians, in return for their patience, eternal life! Hear also yet farther the commandment of God:

The gospel, Matt. v. 45: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies.' The gloss: 'He has reached here the summit of virtue: for what is there greater than this? It is impossible to go farther. For Moses, and David, and Paul, and Stephen, and the rest of the saints, loved the Jews who raged like men possessed against them, and were their enemies, more than themselves, and desired their salvation, and prayed for them (and so they received the promises), as also the Lord commanded, saying:'

The gospel: 'Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' The gloss: 'See how we ought to regard our enemies as our benefactors; for every one that despitefully uses us and persecutes us lessens for us the pains to be suffered for our sins; and besides this, he gives to us the immense gift of being the children of God. Hear the continuation:'

The gospel: 'That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' The gloss: 'Seest thou how great a good he giveth thee who hateth thee and despitefully useth thee, if thou endure with patience? "that ye may be (he says) the children of your Father which is in heaven." But where the sun shineth, there the darkness is not, according to that which is written: Every one that doeth evil cometh not to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved and shown to be evil (John iii. 20). And such a one walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness has blinded his eyes, according to the divine word which the Apostle spake to the disobedient Jews: Well said Isaiah of you, hypocrites, Having ears ye have not heard, and having eyes ye have not seen; for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them (Acts xxviii. 25-27). But where it raineth not, there the earth is altogether unfruitful.' But for thee, how canst thou become a son of God, having thoughts ever in opposition to the holy gospel?

'Blessed,' the Lord says, 'are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the sons of God' (Matt. v. 9). The gloss: 'They are blessed, he says; not only they who reconcile themselves with all, but they who also seek to reconcile others who hate one another. Such peacemakers are of God, because the only-begotten Son of God reconciled us to God when we were enemies.' But thou hast made enmity on all sides, not peace. First between God and men, by departure from the divine commandments; as also did one other, that is, the devil; then between all men, spiritual and secular, small and great, so that they should seek to revenge themselves for evil one upon another, and prosecute [seeking fines, &c.] for wrong or insult. And thou hast not remembered the word of the Apostle: 'Let no one of you remember malice against his neighbour.' And again another says: 'Let not the sun go down on your wrath.' And the same, our Lord, says of such: 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He is a murderer from the beginning, and abideth not in the truth.' And again he says: 'Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.' But to them that despise the word of God and keep it not, he saith: 'The word that I have commanded them, that shall judge them in the last day.' But for thee, who will call thee blessed, or deliver thee from the judgment of God, who hast subverted the whole law and commandments of the gospel? But woe unto thee, who crucifiest Christ afresh! It would have been better for thee not to have been born. The Lord God testifieth that 'it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah' than for thee, who hast heard the word of God and hast not kept it.

And thus thou writest in chapter xii.: 'Of the Judgment of all the people of the prikazes (courts and offices) of the Patriarch, and of his dvor-people, and of his peasants:'

Sect. 1. 'Upon the people of the prikazes of the patriarch, and his dvor-people, and sin-boyars, and peasants, and people of all orders living on the house-estates of the patriarch, in all causes judgment shall be given, without limitation of time, in the patriarchal court (dvor); because in the time of the former Hossoudars of blessed memory, as in the time of the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich of all Russia, judgment was not given in any other prikazes (courts), but they were judged only in the patriarchal court (dvor). Therefore judicial matters are to be heard and determined by the patriarch.'

See, thou teacher of evil things, how here even thou thyself witnessest that in the times of the former Hossoudars, and in the time of the Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince of all Russia Michael Theodorovich of blessed memory, all the people of the patriarchal prikazes, and his dvor-people, and sin-boyars, and peasants, and people of all orders living on the house-estates of the patriarch, were judged in all causes in the patriarchal court. But thou hast dragged down even the patriarch himself to [be amenable to] a secular tribunal, as thou writest in chapter x. sects. 30, 31: 'If any one do dishonour to the patriarch, of whatever order or rank of the people it may be, down even to streltsi and mujiks, after judicial process and inquest made, he is to be sentenced.'

But in chap. xii. sect. 3, thou writest: 'But if any people of the patriarchal prikaz &c. institute in any of the prikazes [of the Tsar] a suit on any matter whatever against any people, and the respondents, not declining the tribunal, begin to plead on the other side in the same courts, judgment shall be given for them in those same courts.' And if the people of the patriarchal prikaz, and people [belonging to the patriarch] of all orders, are to be judged in whatever courts they may have themselves commenced a suit, then the patriarch also himself equally is to be judged in whatever court he commences a suit against any man for dishonour done to him; and equally, on the other hand, is it open to any man to institute a suit in the same court on whatever matter he pleases. And there is the same law (ukaz) for the patriarch with a strelitz or a mujik. And in like manner for metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, and for all the rest of the clergy, as thou writest in chap. xiii. sect. 1: 'In causes affecting metropolitans and bishops and the rest of the clergy, judgment is to be given in the Monastery Court (in the Monastirski Prikaz).'

Sect. 2: 'If any people of the prikaz or dvor of a metropolitan, archbishop, or bishop, or of their sin-boyars or peasants; and in like manner archimandrites of different monasteries, and hegoumens, and strapcheys, and kellars, and kaznacheys, and ordinary monks, members of the chapter, or servants of the monastery, or peasants, institute a suit in any court (prikaz) against other people of whatever order; and the respondents, after having pleaded, institute a suit against those first plaintiffs on any matters of their own, the said respondents shall have judgment given against the people of the metropolitan, archbishop, or bishop, and the rest, upon their suits, in the same courts in which they were before respondents.'

And as in chap. x. sect. 1, thou hast written: 'There shall be one judgment for small and great,' without mention of orders or property, it follows that the punishments also will be alike and invariable; as for the common people, so also for the sacred order, for the patriarch, the metropolitans, the archbishops, the bishops, the archimandrites, and the hegoumens, and for a priest, and for a deacon, and for all the rest of the clergy. Thus 'If it be so that any one having gone to any court for a suit or trial, or for any other matter, do dishonour to the judge by any unbecoming word, this shall be judicially inquired into till proved; and if it be proved, the offender shall for this be beaten with the knout, according to the ukaz of the Hossoudar, and he shall pay a fine to the judge for the dishonour done to him.'

It is written in chap. x. sect. 142: 'If any one shall take away the memorandum of instructions, or the warrant, or the Hossoudar's letters from the officer holding them, and detain them, and so do dishonour to the people of the prikaz from which that officer was sent, the matter shall be judicially inquired into till it be proved; and such a contumacious person for the Hossoudar's letter shall be knouted and imprisoned for three months.' But if any one of the sacred order, whether patriarch or metropolitan, or archbishop or bishop, or priest or deacon, down even to the last clerk, should, in pursuance of thy lawless law, be forced before a tribunal, he ought not only not to obey, but he ought also to despise (spit upon) both the unlawful judge and the law itself; as the three children, after hearing the king's command, not only were unconsenting sufferers of violence, but also contemned the command. In like manner also the rest of the holy martyrs and confessors, of whom thou hast heard in the commemorations for all the year in the book of the Prolog, how bravely they contended when dragged before tribunals, and not only obeyed not, but also contemned and cursed their lawlessness. So now too, if any one, in behalf of the holy law of the gospel and the commandments of Christ, and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, stands up and contends valiantly, as the first champions [of Christianity contended], he not only will not obey the judge, but he will spit upon and curse his accursed law. In like manner, if any one takes away from the officer, and tears up and spits on and tramples under foot the minute of instructions, or the warrant, or the Hossoudar's letter, such a one will not endanger his salvation, any more than the first martyrs. And how completely reasonable this is, is witnessed by the first Agonothete (that is, instituter of the contest), who is the truth itself, even Christ, saying:

(The gospel): 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves' (Matt. x. 16). The gloss: 'The Lord desires that all who believe in him should be wise, and not that, hearing that they were sheep, they should suppose that a Christian ought therefore to be simple. But he says that he ought also to be wise, so as to know how he ought to behave himself among many enemies. For as the serpent exposes his whole body to be struck, but screens only its head, so also the Christian will give all his property and his body to them that smite him, but his head, which is Christ and the faith in Christ, and his law and commandments, he will keep even to death.'

The gospel: 'But beware of men' (Matt. x. 17). 'Before all these things, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons' (Luke xxi. 12). 'And ye shall be beaten in the synagogues' (Matt. x. 17). 'And ye shall be brought before captains and rulers and kings, for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles' (ib. 18). 'And ye shall be betrayed both by parents and brethren, and kinsfolks and friends; and some of you they shall cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But there shall not a hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls' (Luke xxi. 16-19). And again elsewhere: 'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my name's sake' (Matt. v. 10, 11). The gloss: 'Not he who is only ill-treated is blessed, but when it is also for Christ's sake that he is persecuted. If these two things are not joined together, he is wretched, but not blessed, as being an offence to many. Since evil-doers and subverters of the law of the gospel and of the commandments, when they are rebuked and put to shame by them that love and keep the word of the gospel, think that this is grievous and contumelious towards themselves.' And therefore they have taken counsel together, and have devised what they have devised. As thou, Prince Nikita, hast written a new law, by the counsel of Antichrist thy teacher.

In chap. x. sect. 83: 'If any metropolitan, or archbishop, or bishop, or archimandrite, or any one of the rest of the sacred order, shall do dishonour by word to boyars, or okolniks, or the rest, and on inquest and trial the thing be proved, they shall pay a fine after the trial to those people whom they have dishonoured for the dishonour done to them [according to a scale], in proportion to their salaries.'

Sect. 84: 'And if any archimandrite or hegoumen, or other, &c., being fined, have not wherewithal to pay the fine, they shall be punished for the dishonour done without mercy until they come to an agreement with their prosecutors, or make their humble petition to their prosecutors to that end.'

Is not this a law of the devil, yea of Antichrist himself, in order that no one should dare, for fear of the heavy penalties enacted against him, to preach to any one of the righteousness of the word of God? as it is written: 'Rebuke not the foolish, lest they hate thee.' For reproof to the wicked man is as a corn in his foot: for a corn, even though it be not very large, is painful. So also for them that receive not the word of God, it seems grievous to them if any one speaks out about the righteousness of God: they think it an insult offered to themselves, and a reproach. For this cause also the Lord says to the teachers of the word: 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault [between thee and him alone]; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established; that is, that they may not be able to impute to him who rebukes them lying words [words not his own]; that is, may not take what he says as an insult, as has been said above. And if after this he shall neglect to hear, tell it to the Church, that is, to the chief pastor of the Church, to the patriarch or metropolitan, or archbishop or bishop, and to the like of these; and he shall admonish him to obey the divine commandments of the gospel. And if he despises such admonition, then such a one will not be blamable if he rebuke sharply such a despiser, and call him an apostate from God, and a forerunner of Antichrist, and an enemy of God, and worse than a heathen and a publican, and in danger of eternal torments more than the men of Sodom and Gomorrah, more than those sinners on whom the tower in Siloam fell and destroyed them; and if he tell them that unless they repent they shall all likewise perish. And he may proclaim woe to them more than to Bethsaida and Chorazin, which would not hear the word of God: and because here they do not reverence the Lord God and his works, they will have to be put to shame before the angels of God. So the Lord testifies. So Paul also to Elymas the sorcerer, when he opposed himself, seeking to turn away the proconsul from the faith: 'Then Saul, who also is Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him, and said, O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?' (Acts xiii. 9, 10.) From the city or house of such, according to the divine commandment, we are to go out, and to shake off the dust of our feet as a testimony against them; as also the Acts relate that Paul, the prince of the Apostles, did: 'And they raised up a great persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium' (ib. xiii. 50, 51). And again elsewhere it is said: 'And when they opposed themselves and blasphemed, he shook his raiment and said unto them, Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean. From henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles' (ib. xviii. 6). And if any one now also, having grown dull of hearing, refuses to hear the words of God, and not so only, but also regards it as an insult to himself [to admonish him of them]; and for such dishonour done to that disobedient and lawless man, they, according to that lawless code, exact a fine, according to the scale appointed, in silver or gold, or inflict any other severities as punishment, let such a one rejoice and be glad, for his reward is great in heaven. 'For thus,' says the Saviour, 'they persecuted the prophets who were before you. But not a hair of your head shall perish. In your patience possess ye your souls.'

The gospel: 'How can such a man pray to the Lord, and say, And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors?' The gloss: 'So will the Lord God also forgive us our sins, as we forgive our debtors temporal debts, while he forgives us what are eternal. For if we remember evil, and say, Forgive us, as we also forgive, when we are not forgiving, we rather invoke judgment on ourselves, by lying before God; for God makes us his pattern. As we do to our neighbour, so will God do to us. If we do good to our neighbour, God will do good also to us; but if we torment our neighbour, God will also eternally torment us. Therefore also he says:'

The gospel: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you yours.' The gloss: 'Here it is plain that he the Son himself will not forgive men their trespasses, if we do not first forgive. *Then*, he says, your heavenly Father will forgive you.'

The gospel: 'But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses.' The gloss: 'There is nothing which God so much hates as an unmerciful heart and brutish ferocity, which leads a man to torment and to slay his brother; for it is brutal, when we have reasonable affections, not to be merciful towards our brethren. For we are brethren, as the word above spoken declares, "Your Father which is in heaven will also forgive you." He has marked of what Father we are children: not of any natural father, who may have begotten us after the flesh, but "your heavenly Father," that we may reverence the children of the same heavenly Father. Therefore also he says of himself: For I seek not mine own will, but the will of my Father which sent me. And again: I can of mine own self do nothing. And to the Jews he says: Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth (John v. 19, 20). And again elsewhere he says: I speak that which I have seen with my Father; and ye do that which ye have seen with your father. They answered and said unto him, Abraham is our father. Jesus said unto them, If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham; but now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham. Ye do the deeds of your father. Then said they to him, We be not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God.' The gloss: 'The Lord gives them the devil for their father; for he views them not according to their inheritance, but from their works. But they bring forward Abraham. The Lord in many places mentions their murderous intention: But ye seek to kill me (John viii. 37, 40). And ye have conspired against me. How can ye be his sons, when, being destitute of the works of humanity, ye boast of your relationship to him? For if ye would with truth call yourselves his children, ye ought to resemble him in his virtues. But they said again, We be not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God. See their unreasonable arrogance. The Lord denied them relationship even with Abraham; but they are so proud, that they make themselves of their unreasonableness sons of God. Because they had heard, Israel is my first-born son. And on this account they boast of their adoption to be sons of God. And they deserved to hear what God elsewhere spake by the prophet: I have begotten and brought up sons, and they have rebelled against me.'

The gospel: 'If God were your father, ye would love me:

for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me. Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abideth not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of lies. And because I tell you the truth ye believe me not' (John viii. 42-45). Likewise in another place he testifieth, saying, 'If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of me; and I know that the witness which he witnesseth of me is true. Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. But I receive not testimony from man: but these things I say that ye might be saved. But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me. And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape. And ye have not his word abiding in you: for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not. Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come to me that ye might have life. I receive not honour from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you. I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only? Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?' (John v. 31-47.) The gloss: 'See, thou despiser, what and how great a testimony the Son of God adduces, saying, What John the Baptist, and Moses, and all the Scriptures testified. Search, he says, the Scriptures; for they are they that testify of me. For this cause he takes from the prophets the first glorious and great testimonies, because about God and the Father they had great questioning; then the works done in the name of God the Father, which are more than the anticipations of the prophets; then he introduces God the Father himself as a witness, and the Holy Ghost as witnessing, and afterwards he adds himself as a faithful witness and deponent.' But thou, whence dost thou bear witness of thyself, that it is proper to come and to deliver new laws, not attested to us from the law and the prophets, nor from the holy and sacred gospel, and the holy Apostles and holy Fathers? But how canst thou say 'Our Father,' &c., when thou hast alienated thyself by thy malice from his grace, as the Jews did of old, and hast done nothing worthy of the adoption of sons of God? They said, We be not born of fornication: we have one Father, even God; to whom Christ replied by a denial of this, saying:

The gospel: 'If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I proceeded and came forth from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me. Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of your father the devil; and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abideth not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of lies. And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not' (John viii. 42-45). The gloss: 'The Lord says to the Jews, Ye cannot hear my word. Then he also adds the cause: that they *cannot*, he says, is this, that they *will not*. Because, he said, Ye are of your father. What father do I assign to you? The devil. For in that ye claim to have God for your father, ye are without understanding: for the works of your father the devil bear witness for you continually; for his lusts it is your will to do. And he said not either "works," but "lusts," signifying that they were very much given to the lusts of lying and of murder, which are proper to the devil. He was a murderer from the beginning, as ye also seek to kill me, making yourselves like him, who killed Adam. For he abideth not in the truth, but is the father of lies; and ye say, lying, against me, that I am not of God, and ye abide not in the truth; ye abide not in my word, which is true. Ye are children of him who begat falsehood. For he lied even of God to men, when he said to Eve, He envied you the tree; when he commanded you not to eat of it. And again he lied of men to God, when he said of Job, Does Job serve God for naught? When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own. For men who love a lie have it as something from without; but the devil speaks it as his own: for lies are his progeny: and he himself is in the strictest sense a lie, and the father of lies. For he said to Eve, That in that day in which ye eat of it, ye shall be as gods; but she rather took into herself death. But for me, he said, because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not. But ye have nothing else to lay hold of against me, except this only, that I speak the truth. For this cause ye take counsel against me, that ye may be the children of your father the devil. But I speak not of myself; but what I have seen from my Father, that I speak: but ye do that which ye have seen from your father, the devil. I, he said, speak the things of God and of heaven; and through these I manifest my Father; but ye manifest your father by the things that ye do, and imitate him in all ways. If the Jews are so condemned by Christ our God for their unbelief, in not believing in the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ the Son of God, as children of the devil, thou must understand his children to be devils: and of the torments in store for these Christ himself testifies, saying' (The gospel), 'Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels. And again: Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.' The gloss: 'And them that are on his left hand he sends into the fire prepared for the devil and his angels. Because the devils are cruel, and have great hatred against us, they are deservedly delivered to such torment who are like in their dispositions to the devils, and who also for their works have been cursed.'

But thou, thou breaker of the law, I will not say in part, but complete apostate, [seest thou] that these, though neither harlots nor murderers nor thieves, are sent into torments, only because they did *not do* anything according to the commandment? On this account such will justly go into eternal torments, as also the Lord testifies: 'I say unto you, I know you not, whence ye are: depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' And if so even for the Jew who is not in the faith there are prepared, on account of his infidelity, the same torments as for the apostate devils, what of him who has renounced Satan and all his works, and all his angels, and all his service, and all his glory, and has spat upon him, and joined himself to Christ in baptism, and has believed in him as his King and God, and who has confessed the mysteries contained in the holy creed? 'If, after this, they are again entangled in those things which they had renounced and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning. For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered to them. But it has happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire' (2 Pet. ii. 20-22).

The Lord says, 'Whosoever shall cause to offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea. Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh! Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones' (Matt. xviii. 6-10).

See, thou destroyer, how the Lord condemns them that cause others to offend; so that he does not even suffer such a one to live here; but for a sign to him of eternal torments bids that he should have a millstone tied about his neck, and so be cast into the depths of the sea? But the depth of the sea signifies the lowest hell, where sinners, and such as cause them that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ to offend, are to dwell, that is, are to be tormented; as also that word of God which follows shows, saying, that for one member, be it a hand or an eye, which causes thee to offend, thou shalt be cast, he says, into everlasting torment, and into hell fire, where their worm dieth not, and where the fire is not quenched.

And these things are so. But what if any one causes to offend not one person only, but thousands upon thousands, and tens of thousands upon tens of thousands; as Manasseh made all Israel to depart from God; and as Julian the apostate sought to make the new Israel? But even these were guilty of a less wickedness than thine: since those tyrants, without pretending to be ashamed of what they did, persecuted them that believed in God: and many, refusing to submit to such ungodly commands, were crowned with crowns of martyrdom, and obtained eternal glory and the kingdom of heaven. And they who were unable to endure the contest of martyrdom hid themselves, as it is written, in the mountains and caves and pits of the earth, and in other hiding places. And therefore the unrighteous acts of those tyrants are not comparable to thine. Hear now of the intensity of thy malice and unrighteousness:

The Baptist says, 'He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God' (John iii. 34). But thou, what word of God hast thou spoken in thine unrighteousness? None whatever! but all that thou hast spoken is of thy father the devil.

The Lord testifies, 'I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abideth not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of lies. And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not' (ib. viii. 38, 44, 45). So now also he who believeth not God's words, the same is the son of the devil. But thou not only believest not God's words, but everywhere thou speakest and enactest what is contrary to them. And thou art in truth a son of the devil.

The Lord says, 'Which of you convinceth me of sin?' (ib. viii. 46.) 'And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe?' Why then dost thou also not believe the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, but writest a new statute? Else convince first our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ of sin, and show that he has erred, and that so ye have good reason for not believing his words.

God himself testifies (ib. viii. 47): 'He that is of God heareth God's word. Ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God. I can of myself do nothing; but what I have seen with my Father, that I speak. I am the way, the truth, and the life.' But who art thou, to say anything of this kind?

Again the Lord says, 'The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life' (ib. vi. 63). But who art thou, to say anything of this kind? Again the Lord says, 'The words which I speak unto you I speak not of myself.' And again, 'My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me' (ib. vii. 16). 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and there is no unrighteousness in him' (ib. vii. 17, 18). 'But the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works' (ib. xiv. 10). 'For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him (the Father) that sent me' (ib. vi. 38). And again elsewhere, 'I can of mine own self do nothing.' And a little farther on, 'Because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me' (ib. v. 30). And again the Lord says, 'I am the light of the world: he that walketh in me shall not walk in darkness' (ib. viii. 12). But thou hast drawn into outer darkness all who follow thy tradition. And again, 'If any man keep my word, he shall never taste death' (ib. viii. 51). So he who keepeth not the word of God, as thou, and they that follow thy accursed legislation, have already died everlasting death. The Lord says, 'If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed: and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free' (ib. viii. 31, 32). So he who continueth not in God's word is not his disciple, but the disciple of the devil: nor does he understand the truth, nor is he free, but he is the bond-slave of sin. That word of God is fulfilled in you, which he spake, saying, 'The words which I have spoken unto you, they are spirit and they are life. But there are some of you that believe not: for Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not' (ib. vi. 63, 64). Elsewhere he says, 'But he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved and shown to be evil' (ib. iii. 18-20). So thou also hast turned away from the light of the gospel, and from the commandments and traditions of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and refusest to receive them, that thy deeds may not be reproved and shown to be all evil, and full of malice, and falsehood, and bitterness, and guile. Of such the Lord says, 'But he that believeth not in the Son,' that is, in the written gospel and the rest of the sacred laws, 'shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.' Such a one will be condemned with the traitor Judas, and with the other Jews, to outer darkness; as has been said above (ib. iii. 36). 'But he that believeth not is condemned already' (ib. iii. 18). Art thou not like them who said, 'It is a hard word; who can receive it? And from that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him' (ib. vi. 60, 66). But if thou sayest that thou believest in the Son of God, hear James the brother of the Lord answering thee, and saying, 'What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him? Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble. But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? &c. . . . For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also' (Jas. ii. 14, 19, 20). And again another says, 'He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him' (1 John ii. 4). And the Lord himself says, 'For this cause ye hear not, because ye are not of God' (John viii. 47). 'He who loveth me not keepeth not my words' (ib. xiv. 24). And the holy Apostle Paul: 'Whoever loveth not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema' (1 Cor. xvi. 22). Seest thou, thou enacter of lawlessness, what the Lord and the holy Apostles say of them that break the law?

Canon of St. Basil xlv.: 'He who, being a Christian, reviles Christ, has no benefit from the name.' The gloss: 'Faith without works is dead: and there is no profit in the name of a Christian if a man rejects the commandments of Christ, and by evil deeds dishonours him'[1] (K. fol. 91). Canon lxiv. of the Sixth Ecumenical Council: 'Let not a layman teach: for not all are prophets; are all apostles?' The gloss: 'Every one ought to know his own order, and not make himself a shepherd when he is a sheep, nor think himself the head when he is the foot; but he must conform himself obediently to the order given him of God, and open his ears to receive with docility the grace of the word of teaching. For not all are prophets; nor are all apostles. On this account laymen are not to teach, nor move words from the commandments, so taking to themselves the office of teachers'[1] (K. fol. 79). Hear the warning of the divine Apostle: 'Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should fall away. For if the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?' (Heb. ii. 1-3.) And again the same Apostle elsewhere says, 'For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead; so that they are without excuse. Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools: . . . who changed the truth of God into a lie. And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful; who knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them' (Rom. i. 18-32).

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[1] See above, p. 467.

Has thine inattentive ear heard what the divine Apostle declares of such as thee, and thy fellows who are like thee? Listen to what follows: 'For this cause thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things. But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life. But unto them that are contentious and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil' (Rom. ii. 1-9).

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[1] See above, p. 467.

But thou who enactest laws for others, why dost thou thyself break the law? Knowest thou not that there is no acceptance of persons with God? (Acts x. 34.) 'Those who have sinned without law shall perish without law.' 'Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law, they shall be justified' (Rom. ii. 11-13). 'Thou who makest laws for others, teachest thou not thyself? Thou who preachest not to steal, thou hast stolen' the whole law of the gospel. 'Thou, who sayest, Do not commit adultery, hast thyself committed adultery.' If thou art not a bishop nor a priest, why dost thou rage madly against the Church? and by [usurpation of] jurisdiction and authority commit adultery? Why dost thou, being a sheep, make thyself a shepherd? Why dost thou, being the foot, make thyself the head? Being blind, why dost thou force thyself to lead others? Being a sinner, why dost thou think to dictate justice? 'Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilegious robbery? Thou who boastest thyself of the law, by transgressing the law dishonourest thou God? The name of God is through you blasphemed.'

For the law and word of God knows not change, nor addition, nor subtraction. Being of itself perfect and all-pure, it suffers not any of these things to touch it. But if in anything it is vitiated even a little, the man who is the cause of this has entirely forfeited his own salvation; and he shall not escape without torments, as God testifies: 'The servant who knew his lord's will and did it not shall be beaten with many stripes.'

Likewise thou writest that the patriarch and the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, the archimandrites, hegoumens, priests, and deacons, are to be judged before lay judges, before the boyars, and okolniks, and people of the council, and before the secretaries and judges, together with the people of all orders [*i. e.* of all classes and ranks].

By canons viii. and ix. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and xv. of the Council of Carthage, and civ. of the same council, he who demands a secular trial of the emperor is no bishop: and in like manner all the rest of the sacred order, if, leaving the ecclesiastical judicature, they betake themselves to secular judges, even though they are acquitted, or gain their causes, are degraded.[1]

And whoever now, being metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, archimandrites and hegoumens, priests and deacons, or of the rest of the clergy, in contravention of the divine canons, submit to go for judgment to the Tsar and to other secular judges, it is no longer right to call them metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, priests, deacons, or anything else down to the lowest, however they may reckon themselves to be still in their orders, and may show themselves with the pomp of sacred vestments as metropolitans, archbishops, and the rest. But by the divine canons they are cast out (that is, degraded). Therefore those whom they consecrate or ordain are unordained, and those whom they bless are not blessed. For 'those who are baptised by them are unbaptised, and those ordained by them are not clerks.'[2] Canon x. of the holy Apostles: 'He who prays with a man excommunicated is himself excommunicate.' And canon xi.: 'He who prays with one deposed is himself deposed.' And canon xii.: 'He who receives one not received elsewhere is himself still less to be received'[3] (K. fol. 3). And if in the case of those who are excommunicated or deposed by man, they who communicate with them are also excommunicated and deposed, what of them who by the law and commandments of God are rejected and cursed? how much more is he who communicates with them to be excommunicated or deposed? And on account of such lawlessness all episcopal or sacerdotal power and all Christianity is effaced in them from the least to the greatest. And all these sins which now exist, or shall exist, all these scandals and lawless acts, shall be visited on thee, thou lawless traitor! for from thee all these things have originated.

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[1] For these canons, viii. ix. (both are from the full canon ix.) of Chalcedon, see pp. 39, 61. For xv. and civ. of Carthage, see pp. 303, 165, 140, and 347.

[2] Canon Apost. xxx. is alluded to.

[3] Bever. i. pp. 7, 8, Aristin.

But farther, I wish to remind thee of a second matter of no less moment than the first; which, though it has been mentioned already in another place, is most necessary to be mentioned here. Canons xxx.[1] of the holy Apostles, xiii. of Laodicea, iii. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council: 'If any one, making use of secular rulers, through them gets possession of a church, let him be deposed:' 'He who is elected by secular persons is not validly elected:'[2] 'Every election made by secular rulers is void.'

Now all these things are done by ukaz of the Tsar's majesty. Bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, and even to the lowest clerks, are ordained and appointed by his order.

Canon xxxiv. of the holy Apostles: 'Without their primate the bishops are to do nothing, except what it belongs to each to do in his own see (*τὰ τῆς παροικίας αὐτοῦ*); and the primate is without them to do nothing, on account of that concord which is a duty.' The gloss: 'The bishops ought not without the will of their primate, that is, their metropolitan or archbishop, to do anything extraordinary, as to elect bishops, to examine any new doctrines, or alienate any ecclesiastical [rights or properties], except only what pertains to the proper see or district of each, and its dependencies. Nor can the primate either without their judgment do anything of the same kind: and so the law of concord will be kept.'[3]

The Hossoudar the Tsar has made the metropolitan of Kroutitz, who ranked after all the metropolitans archbishops and bishops, to be the first, over all the highest metropolitans as well as over the archbishops and bishops, without any synod, and not by election; whereas canon xxxv. of the holy Apostles,[1] and canon iii. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, deposes him who by the help of secular princes has obtained any church, even though one were intrusted to him already.[2] And such a one is an enemy of the holy Church; and by the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers he is deposed and excommunicated. And by canon ii. of the Second Ecumenical Council (K. fol. 34),[3] and canon i. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, he is deposed and anathematised. And by canons x. xi. xii. of the Apostles (K. fol. 2), he who prays with one excommunicated or deposed is himself excommunicated and deposed. And by canon ii. of the Second Ecumenical Council,[4] all priests and deacons and other clerks who have been ordained by such a one are held to be unordained; and those baptised by them are unbaptised: nor is it right to call them Christians. In like manner as many metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and others of the sacred order, as have communicated with him, and secular persons, whoever they may be, according to the holy canons are to be deposed and excommunicated.

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[1] See above, pp. 110, 111.

[2] The full canon adds, 'and all who communicate with him are deposed.'

[3] See pp. 52, 54, 138, 160.

And of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops going from their own see (or province) into that of another bishop, I will show thee many canons which forbid a metropolitan or a bishop to go from his own province into that of another, or to ordain for it priests or deacons, or do in it any other episcopal act, or exercise any ecclesiastical authority; and which decree that ecclesiastical acts so done by him are invalid and null, and that he himself is to be deposed; and, even as a dog, is not even at the hour of death to be admitted to the holy communion, according to that which is written: 'Give not that which is holy unto dogs:' and 'Cast not your pearls before swine.' And if he who ordains only so much as one priest or deacon incurs by the canons so terrible a penalty, what is to be said of him who during six years has ruled and is still ruling many episcopal sees? Of how great torments will not he be worthy? Hear canon xiv. of the Apostles:[5] 'Thou shalt not go intrusively from one chair to another, unless thou be judged more capable of profiting the people of the other see, and of superior ability in teaching; and then it must be by the judgment and entreaty of many bishops.' The gloss: 'A bishop must not leave his own see and invade another see, unless he be approved and judged more profitable for the people there, as being of superior capacity to teach: and then this must be by the judgment and entreaty of many bishops. But this canon has been done away. For canon xvi. of the synod of Antioch allows a bishop who is without a see to be appointed to a see which is without a bishop, provided that this be done after consideration by a whole synod, and with the presence of the metropolitan; but a bishop who is not without a see it by no means allows to pass to another city. And the same is forbidden also by canon xxi. of the synod of Antioch, and by canon xv. of the First Ecumenical Council of Nice, and by canons i. and ii. of the synod of Sardica'[1] (K. fol. 43).

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[1] See p. 159.

[2] See p. 110.

[3] Bever. i. p. 89, Aristin; and see above, p. 98 and p. 8.

[4] See p. 98.

[5] Bever. i. p. 10.

Canon xv. of the First Ecumenical Council: 'Every clerk who leaves his own diocese, and goes to live in another, and is entreated to come back by his bishop, if he comes not back is excommunicated. Let neither bishop nor priest nor deacon go from city to city: since they shall be given back to the churches in which they were ordained.' The gloss: 'This canon not only entirely forbids the translation of bishops to other sees, but also that of priests and deacons, and restores those that attempt to do anything of the kind to the churches in which they were ordained. Canons i. and ii. of the Council of Sardica punish them more severely, subjecting them to excommunication, and forbid to give such penitence'[2] (K. fol. 15). Canon xiii. of the synod of Antioch: 'If a bishop, not being [called or] requested by any other, go off to another province and ordain, or do any acts of authority, let the acts be null, and let him be deposed.' The gloss: 'You will find many canons about this, forbidding a bishop to go from his own province into another, and to ordain there, or to do any other episcopal act, unless he be called in and requested by the bishop of the province. But for him who of himself goes into another province, and there ordains, or acts in ecclesiastical matters not belonging to him, the canons decree not only that all his acts are null, but also that he himself shall be deposed' (K. fol. 27). So canon xvi. of the same council: 'He who without a full synod and the metropolitan makes irruption into a vacant church, though he be without any other see, is to be cast out.' The gloss: 'This canon allows a bishop unattached who has no see to be appointed to a vacant see which has no bishop by a full synod, in which the metropolitan of the province is present; but it does not allow that he should of himself take any such chair, even though he be pressed by all the people of that city, if he does not wish to be deposed. But a bishop not unattached, who has a church of his own, is by canon xxi. of this council, and by divers others (as is written at canon xiv. of the Apostles), absolutely forbidden to pass to another church: and he is required to remain in the church to which he was originally appointed of God.' Canon xxii. of the same holy synod:[1] 'The enactment in this canon is like that of canon xiii. of the same council, viz. that each bishop is to rule in his own district, and ordain in it priests and deacons, but is not to go into another district, nor appoint a priest, or do any other episcopal act, without the will of the bishop of that district. But if he dares to do anything otherwise, he shall be deposed, and the priest or deacon ordained by him shall be deposed likewise'[2] (K. fol. 28). Canon ii. of the Second Ecumenical Council: 'Let no one going out of his bounds trouble the churches, nor ordain any priest or bishop. But for the churches which are among the barbarians let the custom of the fathers remain in force.' The gloss: 'In many of the canons it is said that no bishop is to invade the diocese of another, but each is to abide within his own bounds, and within his own bounds is to ordain priests and deacons. In like manner also the metropolitan is to ordain his own bishops within his own province; and they are not to trouble the churches. But for the churches of God which are among the barbarians [that is, in countries outside of the Roman or Byzantine Empire] in Egypt, and Libya, and Pentapolis, let them keep to the ancient custom of the fathers, as canon vi. of the First Ecumenical Council held at Nice enjoins'[3] (K. fol. 34, 35). Canon v. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council: 'They who go from city to city incur the penalties enacted in the canons made against such.' The gloss: 'It is said in canon xiii. of the synod of Antioch, that a bishop must not presume to go from his own province into another, and to ordain there a priest or a deacon, without the will of the bishop of the place, nor to do any other episcopal act. But if he do otherwise, any such act is to be null and void, and he himself is to be punished for his disorderly conduct, and to be deposed from his order by the holy Trinity. So here also the canon recited above enacts.'[1] Canon i. of the holy Council of CCCXLII. Fathers held at Sardica: 'A bishop is not to leave a small church to go to a greater: for he who rushes from a lowly place to a high has shown himself proud and covetous, and is to be all the days of his life without communion.' The gloss: 'For bishops to pass from city to city, that is, for one leaving his own diocese to take another, is absolutely forbidden by this canon: and if any such thing is done, it punishes most severely the transgressor. For the holy fathers, observing that no bishop ever sought to pass from a great city to a lesser one (but they constantly wish to rush from a small city to another higher and greater, from the motives of pride and covetousness), enacted that such a one should not receive the communion on the same footing with laymen, but after being deposed from his order should be also excommunicated'[2] (K. fol. 43). Canon ii. of the same synod: 'If any one go from city to city, and causes disturbance, seeking to himself partisans from the people to say, We wish and entreat thee to be our bishop, he shall not be admitted to communion even at the hour of death.' The gloss: 'If any bishop proceed to such audacity or madness, as to presume to go from one city to another, saying that the people of that city desire to have me, and show a letter which he has received from thence, written to him from all the citizens to entreat him to be their bishop, which shows that such a one of purpose and with cunning has been able to draw to himself by bribes and gifts and honour some few, that rising up in the church they make a disturbance, speaking aloud, and asking to have that man for their bishop, such a one as has had the audacity so to act, and has been discovered so acting, this synod has condemned very severely: for it decrees that he is not even at the hour of death to be admitted to communion, a severity of punishment which you will not in all the canons find decreed for any other sins.' Canon iii. of the same synod: 'Let no bishop uninvited go to any other city. And if a bishop have a difference with another bishop, he is not to bring in any stranger bishop. But if he be not content [with the judgment of the synod of the province], let the bishop of Rome judge [or refer the matter to the bishops of some other neighbouring province]; and so stranger bishops may come in.' The gloss: 'In divers canons it is said that no one is to presume to go from his own district into another province, unless he be called in by the metropolitan of that province, and by the bishops who are with him. And this holy synod decrees the same. And if any bishop have a difference about any matter with another bishop, let him be judged before the synod of that province in which he is. And it is not proper to call in from another province any other bishops for the sake of their judgment, but he is to be judged by the bishops of that province only. And if he be not content with the judgment given, and thinks that it has been given against him unjustly, the metropolitan who has judged him and the bishops shall make known to the Pope of Rome in writing his case, and the judgment given upon it, and that he is not content with it. And he [*i.e.* the Pope] shall either himself revise the case, and if he find the judgment right, write to them to this effect; or else he shall order the bishops of some other province bordering upon theirs to assemble a synod and judge the case for the appellant over again' (K. fol. 43). Canon xx. of the Sixth Ecum. Council: 'A bishop must not teach publicly in another city than his own: and if he be found doing so, he shall cease to be a bishop, and shall act only as a priest.' The gloss: 'A bishop who teaches the people in another city than his own, inasmuch as of pride and arrogance he does prejudice to the local bishop, as seeking to shame and lower him, and to court to himself the chair of another, is deservedly sentenced to be suspended from the episcopate: for he who covets what belongs to others shall be deprived of what is his own: and he is to be put down to the rank of the priesthood, and do only what belongs to that order. And take notice of this, that here a bishop is put down to the rank of a priest: for canon xxix. of the Council of Chalcedon calls it absolutely sacrilege to put down a bishop to the order of priests: and regard this canon as having more authority, and as superseding that of the earlier Ecumenical Council.'[1] Canon xv.

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[1] Bev. i. pp. 484, 485, Aristin.

[2] Bev. i. p. 76, Aristin.

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[1] Part of the gloss in the Russ is from Aristin.

[2] For canons xiii. xvi. xxi. xxii. of Antioch, see Bev. i. pp. 443-450, Aristin.

[3] See above, pp. 159, 160.

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[1] See above, pp. 2, 58.

[2] Bever. i. pp. 481-487. Canons i., ii. and iii. Aristin.

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[1] See above, p. 6.

of the council called the First and Second, held in the church of the holy Apostles at Constantinople: 'Likewise if any bishop or metropolitan shall presume to do anything of this kind, to the prejudice of his patriarch, he shall be entirely degraded from the episcopate. But if any separate from any bishop, not from any criminal motive, but on account of his sin [*i.e.* heresy], though it be not yet declared by a synod and by the holy fathers, such deserve to be honoured and received, as showing zeal for orthodoxy.' Canon xvi. of the same council: 'On no pretence whatever is any one to go into an episcopal chair the bishop of which is still living: for it is necessary that the guilt of him whom they wish to expel be first inquired into and proved, and then only, after his deposition, is it lawful to appoint another. If any bishop neglects his flock, not being hindered by illness nor detained by command of the emperor or of the patriarch, and remains absent more than six months from his church, he shall be deposed from the rank and honour of the episcopate.'[1] Canon i. of the Seventh holy Ecumenical Council: 'The holy canons embracing affectionately we receive and hold; viz. those of the holy Apostles and of the six Ecumenical Councils, and in addition those of the Local Councils, and farther those of our holy Fathers, as inspired by one and the same holy Spirit. Whom they have anathematised we anathematise, whom they have deposed we depose, whom they have excommunicated we excommunicate, and whom they have censured we also censure.'[2]

Seest thou how many synods of the holy Apostles and of the holy Fathers depose and deliver over to anathema that wretched metropolitan of Kroutitz? which we also following, say, 'It is, and let it be, as the canons of the holy Apostles and of the holy Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical Councils have settled: whom they have anathematised we ourselves anathematise, and whom they have deposed we depose, and whom they have excommunicated we excommunicate, and whom they have censured we censure.' See, that it is not against us and the holy Church only that that lawless and accursed man opposes himself, but it is against God himself and the whole multitude of the saints. And let no man wonder at the long-suffering of God, that he has not taken vengeance upon him for his wickedness. God will take vengeance perfectly for everything in the day of judgment, as also he says: 'The word which I have commanded, the same shall judge him in the day of judgment;' as it is written: 'They that turn aside to disorder, the Lord shall lead them forth with the doers of transgression.' Nor wonder that he has been cursed, and that nothing has happened to him. For the Lord also cursed Bethsaida and Chorazin and Capernaum, and condemned them to hell; and yet fire did not [come down] as upon Sodom and Gomorrah. So also he cursed those cities and houses which should not receive the Apostles and the other teachers, and condemned them even above the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, saying: 'I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable even for the people of Sodom' (Luke x. 13). 'But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the men of Sodom in that day than for that city.' And he spake unto his disciples, saying: 'Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' As also, when after his resurrection he appeared to his disciples, and said unto them, 'Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 19, 21-23). Understand that the word is unfailing; and it is not in this world that the retribution of vengeance falls speedily after the curse, but it is accomplished in an eternal and far worse punishment. For as the good things of the world to come incomparably exceed those of this present, according to the divine Apostle: 'What eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, what God hath prepared for them that love him;' so also the torments of the world to come are much more terrible than any temporal torments here, and they are eternal, as the Lord himself also testifies, saying: 'Cast ye him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' For no one would weep or gnash his teeth, unless racked by the most violent pain. Let the parable of the rich man teach us. For one drop of water to cool his tongue he would have given all his former luxurious life in this world which he had left. Therefore the Lord also, when the disobedient Jews reviled him, and said, 'Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil? answered them, and said, I have not a devil; but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me.' The gloss: 'Seest thou here that while they thus revile him, he meekly endures their insults against himself? For when they called themselves the sons of God, he refutes them to no purpose in defence of the truth. Ye, he says, because I honour my Father (who is blasphemed by you when ye injuriously call him your father), do dishonour me. But though I do not avenge myself, but endure to be reviled, ye are not to think that ye will escape unpunished for so great insult: for it is the Father who will avenge me. For this cause, as he is reviled, I have rebuked you in his defence, and endure [not to hear] you making yourselves sons of God, when by your works ye resemble him not in the least. But as for my glory, there is one who seeketh it, and who not only seeketh it, but is also able to condemn, and will condemn those that unreasonably revile me. For on this account he says, There is one that seeketh and judgeth. So to him whose office it is to punish the transgressors of the divine doctrines, he says: "Punish and judge: whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." He says not merely, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound," but "in heaven." Hence understand that it is not in the present world that punishments fall upon such offenders as are bound (*i.e.* are cursed), but in the world to come. For this cause the Lord said to the Jews: Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that keepeth my word shall never see death. And elsewhere again he says: He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life (John v. 24). And elsewhere: My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me (ib. vii. 16). And again: As my Father hath taught me, I speak these things (ib. viii. 28). He that heareth you (he says) heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me. But he who rejecteth the Father and the Son shall not go unpunished.' So if any one rebukes a lawless transgressor by the commandment of God, and the other will not listen to him, he shall not be without punishment. For one intrusion of a priest or deacon, or for doing any ecclesiastical act in a diocese not his own, the canons absolutely degrade the offender, and together with him those whom he has ordained.

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[1] See above, pp. 62, 110.

[2] See p. 8.

Canon xxxv. of the holy Apostles: 'A bishop is not to ordain any clerk from the diocese of another. If without the will of the local bishop he do any such thing, those whom he has ordained are unordained, and he himself is to be deposed.' The gloss: 'No one of the bishops may ordain outside of his own bounds, nor ordain any one who comes to him from another diocese to be priest or deacon. If any one does anything of the kind without the consent of the local bishop, he is to be deposed himself, together with those whom he has ordained.'[1] Canon xxii. of the synod of Antioch is like canon xiii. of the same council (it is written out above[2]). Canon xvii. of the Sixth Ecumenical Council: 'He who receives a clerk belonging to another bishop and ordains him, is to be deposed, together with him whom he has ordained.' The gloss: 'No clerk without the consent of his own bishop can be received into the clergy of another church. If any bishop receives a clerk from another diocese without a dimissory letter from his bishop, and admits him into the clergy of his own church, whether he receive him in the order which he has already, or raise him to a higher, that is, ordain him priest or deacon, they are to be deposed, both of them'[3] (K. fol. 72).

But how much more, if any one has done many acts of this kind? For of such the Lord says: 'If thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is better for thee with only one hand or one foot to enter into everlasting life, than having two hands and two feet to be cast into outer darkness, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' If such a diseased member is *not* cut off, it will be necessary that *the whole body* be cast into outer darkness, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. That is, as many priests and deacons as he ordains, and as many persons as these baptise [must be cut off]. Because, since he [by the canons] is no bishop, so neither are they whom he has ordained priests; and they who have been baptised by them are unbaptised, as has been shown above.

But let us return to thee,[4] thou compiler of falsehood! It is written in chap. xiii. sect. 4: 'But if people of the spiritual order and monasteries institute a suit against any people in the service

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[1] See above, p. 159.

[2] See above, p. 159 and p. 2. Bev. i. pp. 448-450.

[3] Bev. i. p. 176.

[4] That is, to the boyar prince N. Iv. Odoefsky.

[of the Tsar], and in their petitions [of suit] there are written the names of archimandrites, and hegoumens, and kellars, and kaznacheys (treasurers), and startzi (elders), and priests and deacons, and it is alleged that those against whom they sue beat and dishonoured and robbed them (the plaintiffs) themselves, or did to them themselves some sort of injuries, since formerly in cases where there was any such petition from persons of the monastic and sacerdotal order, according to the tradition of the holy Apostles, and according to the canons of the holy Fathers, there was to be a lot, and not any kissing of the cross, therefore now, [but] only for the archimandrite, the hegoumen, the priest, and the deacon, some one else in their stead shall kiss the cross, who shall not be a priest.' Tell me, thou compiler of falsehood, in what traditions of the holy Apostles and canons of the holy Fathers is this written, that for the sacred order there should be a *lot*, instead of the kissing of the cross? For though we know not any such laws, alien from all justice, enacting that the sacred order, metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, and the rest of the clergy, and monks, are to be judged before lay judges, and that in the trial there is to be a lot, or that Christians are to kiss the cross, we have other laws contrary to thy unwarranted laws, enacting that persons of the sacred order are not to go at all to be judged before secular judges, nor are to kiss the cross for an oath, whether for right or for wrong; and that lots are *not* to be used. But from thy lying writings we recognise what is written as said by our Lord Jesus Christ, 'If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive,' &c. See here *to whom* he said, 'Feed the flock of Christ, in which the Holy Ghost has made you bishops, to feed the Church of God which he purchased with his own blood'? But who set thee to feed the flock of Christ, or the Church of God? As also elsewhere the same divine Apostle says, 'But ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God hath set all in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers,' &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28.) 'And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ' (Eph. iv. 11, 12). 'Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers?' &c. (1 Cor. xii. 29.) But of thee, and of such as are like thee, the same divine Apostle prophesies, saying: 'For I know this, that after my departure there shall come in among you grievous wolves, not sparing the flock: and of yourselves also there shall arise men speaking perverse things.' And are not these perverse things which thou writest? As in chap. xiii. sect. 6: 'And if any plaintiffs or defendants of the laity petition that people of the spiritual order in causes, instead of their faith and a lot, should be examined by the patriarch, and the metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, those of the sacerdotal order on [the faith of] their priesthood, and monks on [that of] their monastic vow, and that so the judicial processes should be terminated, such secular persons, plaintiffs or respondents, leaving it to the option of the sacerdotal and monastic order to use either the lot or examination by the bishop, lay persons are to be required to set their hands to those depositions so obtained, and then the matter shall so be terminated in that way.' Where didst thou, O thou vain pretender to wisdom, find such lawless disorder, as that a layman should judge the sacred order, the patriarch, and metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, and the rest of the clergy, and instead of faith and a lot, that the patriarch, or metropolitan, or archbishop, or bishop should interrogate the sacred order on their priesthood, and monks on their monastic vow? It is not fit that the sheep should give laws to its shepherd, but it should rather hear and obey him, according to the divine commandment: 'He that heareth you heareth me:' and 'Submit yourselves to your teachers.' Listen, thou professor of vain wisdom, thou man more foolish than any natural fool! and I will show thee something of judgment against metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and priests, and deacons, that no such person [as thou art] is to be admitted to give evidence against clerks on any criminal charge. Canon cxxxii. of the Council of Carthage:[1] 'An accuser is not to set up witnesses from his own house.' The gloss: 'Witnesses of his own house are rejected also by the imperial laws: for chap. xxii. of title i. in book xxi. of the Basilica speaks plainly thus: "An accuser cannot bring people of his own household as witnesses." And chap. xxv. of the same title of the Basilica says: "Evidence from [the accuser's] own house is rejected. By witnesses of his household thou art to understand those who are under the power of any one, so as to be capable of doing what he bids them. Such are neither to be admitted to give evidence for their master himself, nor against any other whom he may accuse.[1] If a man be under trial, and he wishes to bring witnesses from another house, it is free for him to do so. But if there be in one house a father under authority, and two brothers [his sons] under the authority of their father, they cannot give evidence [separately], either against any one or for any one;" as chap. xxi. of the same title of book xxi. of the Basilica prescribes' (K. fol. 66).

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[1] Bever. i. p. 668.

Canon cxxxiii. of the same synod: 'A bishop who says that a clerk confessed a crime to himself alone, if the clerk deny this, is not to be believed.' The gloss: 'It is not right at once to believe, if a bishop says against a clerk, that he the said clerk confessed to me alone a certain crime, and I on that account am minded either to degrade him or excommunicate him. But if the clerk against whom the bishop says this, that he confessed to him that sin, on being questioned, denies it, and says that he did not confess to the bishop any such sin, it is not right that he should condemn him, nor that he should consider himself to be affronted because he [the bishop] alone is not believed'[2] (K. fol. 69).

From the Zakon Soudni (law of judgments, or criminal law) of the Emperor Constantine the Great, chap. xxi.: 'A witness from hearsay is not to be received to give evidence, saying, that we *heard of him that* he did so and so, or testifying anything else from hearsay. Though they be *princes* who so witness, [they are not to be received].'

From the Novells of the Emperor Justinian, chap. xiv.: 'One witness alone is not to be listened to, even though he be a great dignitary. Also a heretic is absolutely inadmissible as a witness against orthodox Christians: unless for some good purpose of popular economy, the judicial process [should be all] orthodox.'

From the Civil Law, title xxvii. canon 1: 'Witnesses must be credible persons; if not of the well-informed class, at least not of the vilest sort, nor people altogether unknown. On criminal charges it is altogether necessary to bring witnesses in person, and not merely their words.

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[1] Therefore the boyar is no admissible witness on the Tsar's side against the hierarchy.

[2] Bever. i. p. 668. Neither then, or rather much less, is the Tsar alone to be believed when he imputes to the patriarch whatever he imputes.

'In witnesses examination must be made as to their rank, their faith, their habits, and constancy. So they are not to be heard who contradict what they have said in giving evidence.

'With regard to every witness it is requisite to obtain testimony to his character, and to make inquiry who is honourable and blameless, or disrespectable and vicious, whether he be rich or poor (so as for the sake of gain to be capable of doing something wrong), or a friend of him who brings him forward, or an enemy of him against whom he is brought forward. But when he is beyond suspicion, then he may give testimony; and of this it is for the judge to determine.

('If they bring forward only words, and if, when confronted and examined orally, they answer consistently, and what signs it is proper to admit as sufficient'): Canon 9: 'It is to witnesses themselves, and not to their bare words, that credence is to be given; for they themselves are to be examined orally by the judges; and if they do not prove what they pretended to be able to prove, they are to be sent into banishment.'

15. 'He who has slanderously accused any one of a crime cannot bear witness against him, unless there be a reasonable cause why he should not be forbidden.'

21. 'He who has been a mediator between any parties in a matter cannot be a witness for them in the same matter; that is to say, before another judge. But if he has not advised both parties, he may be a witness for the one.'

22. 'The very poor are not competent witnesses. He is poor who possesses no more than the value of fifty gold pieces.'

23. 'He is not admissible as a witness who is under twenty years of age; nor he who has been condemned before a public tribunal, and has not recovered his character; nor he who has been cast into the public prison; nor he who is proved to have taken a bribe either to give evidence or not to give evidence.'

24. 'He who has been freed may not be a witness against his former lord who freed him, nor against his son.'

25. 'He is not a credible witness who is capable of giving orders [to others] what they are to bear witness to.'

26. 'He who has been condemned for adultery is not admissible as a witness.'

27. 'A son cannot be a witness to his father, nor a father to his son, in any matter.'

28. 'A slave is not admissible as a witness against any one.'

29. 'He who has already given evidence cannot be a witness again against the same person.'

30. 'He who has confessed, and has been a sharer in any crime, cannot give evidence about it.'

31. 'No one is required to give evidence against himself; but it is right that he should give sufficient proof to the man that calls him into court that he is orthodox.'

32. 'He also is forbidden to give evidence who is under age, or a slave, or one deaf and dumb, or one possessed, or a profligate, or a son under the authority of his father, in the case of his father being named in the will of another as his heir.'

34. 'And he who is under the authority of a man making his will cannot be a witness as to the written will of the heir.'

35. 'And he who leaves property by will to one who is under the authority of his father cannot be a witness for him as to property personally acquired by him.'

And these decrees are thus found in the written books about testimony, showing who are incapable of being witnesses.

But thou writest: 'But if a nobleman shall kiss the cross,[1] or bid any other to kiss the cross, the priest shall not admit such into the church of God, nor shall he go into their houses and sing the divine service in their houses. And if any priest begin to sing in any house the divine service, and there are present such swearers who have kissed the cross profanely, he is to send them out of the holy chamber [or chapel].' The divine scriptures charge bishops and priests to correct sinners in their sins, according to the holy canons. But who has given thee power over priests, to make orders and to legislate? And from what canons hast thou taken it? We know that in the holy scripture there are no such canons to be found; but thou speakest certain strange things, which are of the devil. Thou thyself hast laid down a law for kissing the cross to make oath; and thou thyself also hast cast reproach on them that kiss it. But the divine laws do not leave false witnesses unpunished, but make them to incur the same pains and penalties with him whom they have slandered. And thou writest, in chap. xiv. sect. 10: 'But in the canons of the holy Fathers it is written of the kissing of the cross, "If any peasant shall bring another peasant by force to kiss the cross, or bid him kiss the cross, and he kisses the cross to the effect that he is in the right, such a one, who has sworn under compulsion, is by St. Basil excommunicated for six years, according to his canon lxxxii."' It is written: 'Truth is from God; but falsehood is from the enemy;' that is, from the devil, for he is the father of lies. And the divine Apostle says: 'No lie is from the truth.' Basil the Great was the disciple of Christ and the follower of Christ's commandments; and he wrote not any such canons, contrary to the evangelical commandments, as for a man to kiss the cross either for truth or for falsehood, seeing that God enjoins not to swear, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath. But thou, thou writer of falsehood, as thou liest everywhere, so here also thou hast lied against St. Basil the Great. Basil the Great writes in his canon not of any one's in a trial kissing the cross, or making oath; but if any one makes oath not to do in future any evil of which he knew before that it was a sin, and then from inattention, or from any other cause, or by compulsion and force of any other, do it; as that same canon itself of St. Basil testifies. Canon lxxxii.: 'Let him that has sworn [and breaks his oath] under compulsion be received after six years; but he that has sworn [and breaks his oath] without compulsion after twenty.' The gloss: 'A man who has sworn not to do this or that, as a judge, for instance, not to sign the sentence delivered against such a one, and afterwards under compulsion, from fear of the power, signs and breaks his oath, is subjected to a lighter penance on account of the compulsion; for he receives penance for six years. But if, without any compulsion, he breaks his oath, and does that which he swore not to do, he is to weep for two years; and during two more he is to hear the divine scriptures; five years he is to be with the substrati; and two years he is to be allowed to stand with the faithful and communicate in the prayers; and so after the twenty-first year he is to be readmitted to the communion of the body and blood of the Lord' (K. fol. 97).[1] Again thou sayest: 'If any one kisses the cross for falsehood, Basil the Great in his canon lxiv. imposes a penance of ten years, saying, "Let him weep two years; let him hear the divine scriptures three years; let him be among the substrati four years; and one year let him stand with the faithful; and then let him receive the holy communion."' As before thou didst lie against St. Basil the Great, so here also dost thou lie. Thou sayest: 'But for him who kisses the cross for falsehood, Basil the Great in his canon lxiv. awards excommunication for ten years.' Basil the Great writes not of breaking an oath sworn upon the cross, as that canon itself shows. Canon lxiv. of St. Basil: 'The oathbreaker, that is, he who swears falsely, or afterwards breaks a sincere oath, shall receive ten years of penance. Two years he shall be with the mourners; during three he shall hear the divine scriptures; four years he shall be with the substrati; one year he shall stand with the faithful; and after that he shall receive the holy communion'[1] (K. fol. 95). But he is here speaking of such oaths as holy David also speaks of, saying: 'I have sworn and am steadfastly purposed to keep thy righteous judgments.' And again: 'He sware unto the Lord, and vowed a vow unto the God of Jacob.' And 'Cursed (with an oath) are they that do err from thy commandments.' Of such Basil the Great writes, 'They who swear to a lie, or break a true oath,' &c.; of the same persons as are spoken of by the prophet David; but not of this, that any one should in a trial justify himself by an oath. For this cause also the prophet says: 'Judge my cause, O Lord, and deliver me according unto thy word.' But not 'by an oath.' But if any one understand otherwise, he says of such: 'The proud have transgressed thy law exceedingly:' and 'Thou shalt destroy all them that depart from thy judgments.' For 'the thoughts of their hearts are unrighteous: as transgressors I have regarded all the sinners of the earth.' And elsewhere he says: 'Salvation is far from the unrighteous, because they have not sought out thy law.' 'But I am set by him a king, upon his holy hill of Sion, to preach the commandment of the Lord.' 'I have known long since of thy testimonies that thou hast grounded them for ever.' 'The transgressors of thy law have related to me wonder, but not according to thy law, O Lord.' 'All thy commandments are truth, and all thy ways are true.' And again: 'The works of his hands are verity and judgment; all his commandments are faithful.' 'Thou hast made them sure for ever and ever; they are done in truth and equity.' And these things the prophet spake of the Mosaic law: but he has not omitted to mention also the New Testament of the gospel; and he has added, saying: 'He sent redemption unto his people; he hath commanded his covenant for ever; holy and reverend is his name.' These words he says, and many more. But thou writest: 'On the same subject Novell lxxii. of the Emperor Leo Sapiens enacts that he who swears to falsehood shall have his tongue cut out, if afterwards he be convicted.' Justly enough such a one is sentenced to have his tongue cut out: and the oathbreaking of St. Basil [is to the point]; that is, if any one has sworn about the judgments of God's righteousness, and has not kept his oath; even as thou at thy baptism didst renounce Satan and all his works and all his service, and didst join thyself to Christ; and now, having broken all that awful vow, thou hast not only not shown thyself a keeper of the holy commandments of Christ's gospel, and of those of his holy disciples and Apostles, and of the Seven holy Ecumenical and the other Nine holy Local Councils, but hast trampled them all together under foot, and hast cast them all off at once, as thy lawless compilation itself shows. For if thou hast cited [here and there] something, as of the canons of St. Basil the Great, even that is all full of falsehood. And again thou writest thy diabolical injunctions, full of all injustice, for priests: 'And for this reason confessors ought to teach and admonish their spiritual children to fear God, and not to kiss the cross deceitfully, nor to swear by the name of God to a lie and perjure themselves.' Thou sayest, O thou fighter against God, that 'for this reason confessors ought to teach their spiritual children,' &c. Tell me for what reason dost thou give commands? Is it that until thy appearance, and that of thy unrighteous commandments, confessors had not the holy books according to which they might correct their spiritual children? And thou sayest: 'Not to kiss the cross deceitfully, and not to bear testimony to falsehood, nor to swear by the name of God to a lie; because for orthodox Christians to kiss the cross for an oath and for falsehood is altogether forbidden by the sacred canons.' But if it is altogether forbidden 'to kiss the cross for an oath for falsehood,' why dost thou legislate? and by what canons is it forbidden—show us if thou canst—to swear and to kiss the cross for an oath *deceitfully*, so that men *are* to kiss the cross for an oath *not deceitfully*? What canons contain this, that Christians *are to kiss the cross* to make oath for justice? that we, seeing them, may reply by citing testimonies contrary to such canons and to thee; and this not of ourselves, but from the divine scriptures; not as thou, who, raving as one possessed, everywhere speakest falsehood, and speakest of thine own. The Lord says: 'Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you, Swear not at all: neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king' (Matt. v. 33-35). The gloss: 'In the old law it is said, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. I am the Lord your God. Ye shall not go beyond, nor lie, nor deceive one another; ye shall not swear by my name falsely; neither shall ye profane the holy name of your God. But when any man after swearing anything according to the old law performed his oath of which he sware, he has so made it good, and has not lied. But when any one did not perform his oath, he had taken the name of God in vain, and not for truth: and such a one hath profaned the name of the Lord; and such a one is unclean; as also Basil the Great writes in his canons lx. and lxxii. of them who swear falsely.'

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[1] *i. e.* not being required to do so by the legal authority.

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[1] Bever. part ii. p. 134.

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[1] Bever. part ii. p. 117.

The gospel: 'Neither swear by thy head; because thou canst not make one hair white or black.' The gloss: 'God alone swears by himself, as being subject to no other. And the Lord sware to Abraham: and because he had no greater to swear by, he sware by himself, saying, I am the Lord thy God; and I will establish my covenant between me and thee. Of a truth, in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thee exceedingly; and to thy seed I will give this land after thee from generation to generation for ever. And Abraham believed God; and it was counted to him for righteousness. And again elsewhere it is said: The Lord sware a faithful oath unto David, and will not repent of it. And again elsewhere: The Lord sware, and will not repent. But as we are not lords of our own selves, how can we swear by our own head, which is the property of another? If thy head is thine own, and it is not handsome, make it handsomer: but if thou canst not change it, nor even make one hair black or white, why dost thou swear by thy head, which is not thine own, but his who created it?

'Woe unto you, ye blind guides, who say, He that sweareth by the temple, it is nothing; but he that sweareth by the gold of the temple is a debtor. Ye fools, and blind! For whether is more, the gold, or the temple which sanctifieth the gold? and whoso sweareth by the altar, it is nothing; but he that sweareth by the gift that is upon it is a debtor. Ye fools, and blind! For whether is greater, the gift, or the altar which sanctifieth the gift? But whoso sweareth by the altar sweareth by it and by all that is on it; and whoso sweareth by the temple sweareth by it and by him that dwelleth therein: and he who sweareth by heaven sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.'

But how didst thou, thou reviler of the gospel, dare to use for an oath the life-giving and saving tree of the cross by which the eternal curse was destroyed, as it is written: 'Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree: that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith. Brethren, I speak after the manner of men: though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disalloweth or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ' (Gal. iii. 13-16). See, thou fighter against God and against Christ, for the sake of what the cross was, and what was through the cross. The cross was a curse. But Christ for our sakes was made the curse: and by his divinity he changed it into a blessing, that in him, as it is said, all nations should be blessed. Who art thou that darest, according to the words of the Apostle, to take away and to add? Christ did not redeem thee alone. Thou receivest not the promise of the Spirit: thou either takest away or addest. But he will not err from the word of truth who shall say that literally thou hast rejected and cast away from thyself all the goodness of God, and hast enacted all that is wrong and evil. The cross was given for blessing; but thou hast changed it into a curse. And that is fulfilled which was said: 'The word of the cross is to them that perish foolishness.' And another scripture saith: 'Whosoever taketh not up his cross and followeth me, he is not worthy of me.' But thou hast not only not taken up the cross on thy shoulder, but thou hast also reviled it, and instead of a blessing hast made it into a curse. And that is fulfilled which was written: 'He has digged and sunk a pit, and he shall fall into it.' And another scripture saith: 'His travail shall come upon his own head.' And a third: 'The ungodly have drawn forth their sword and have bent their bow to shoot at the poor and needy, and to slay such as are true of heart. Their sword shall go through their own heart, and their bow shall be broken.' And again: 'With what measure ye mete it shall be measured unto you again.' And 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged.'

In thy Code it is written (chap. i. sect. 1): 'If any of another faith, whatever it may be, or any Russian man, speak evil of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, or of the holy cross, the strictest investigation shall be made at once, and if the offence be proved, that blasphemer shall be punished by being burned alive.' So for thy lawlessness and blasphemy against the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and against the holy divine cross of our Lord, thine own lips and thine own hand bear witness by the word and writing of thy Code, according as it is written in the Gospel, 'Thou wicked servant, out of thine own mouth will I judge thee!'

But now we have again gone off into a general declamation against thee. Thou writest [that men are] not to kiss the cross deceitfully, nor to swear by the name of God to a lie. I will show to thy manifold lawlessness that thou hast preferred the weapon to the soldier, and hast used the weapon not as a weapon of God given against our enemy the devil, but as a weapon of lawlessness, enacting that men are not to swear by the name of God to a lie, when God commands and says, 'But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, nor by earth.' But thou, thou wretched man, hast reversed all these [commands] against the most supreme head, and not against the head only, but against the whole person of him our God: and thou sayest: 'Since the kissing of the cross with the lips for an oath and for falsehood is absolutely forbidden to orthodox Christians by the sacred canons,' &c. Tell us by what canons? And again thou sayest, 'And the cross has been given by Christ to Christians for sanctification and enlightenment, and for expulsion of enemies visible and invisible; and therefore it is right for orthodox Christians to worship the cross with faith and truth and purity, and to kiss that holy cross with fear and trembling and a pure conscience.' All this thou hast put first, as a holy ladder. Why then by thy law hast thou defiled its honour and sanctity, when God has commanded, 'Swear not; neither by heaven, nor by earth;' &c.? But thou from among the most honourable things of God hast selected the weapon of God, the most honourable and life-giving cross of the Lord, and hast made a law that men are to swear by it. Thou blind fool! Hast thou not heard what is written above? how Christ answered the Jews, saying: 'Woe unto you, ye blind guides, who say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but he who swears by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor.' The gloss: 'For this cause Christ calls them blind and fools, because they taught such things, preferring in honour things that were inferior, and the things that were more worthy of honour removing to a greater distance. The gold which was in the temple, and the cherubims, and the golden pot they honoured above the temple itself. Therefore also many taught that it was nothing if a man sware by the temple, but [otherwise] if he sware by the gold lying in the temple: whereas the gold was on this account, as is plain, honourable, because it lay in the temple. So also it was said [that he who sware] by the gift lying upon the altar was a debtor; for they said that the gifts lying upon the altar were more honourable than the altar itself. And so the Pharisees taught, saying, that if any man swears by a golden vessel, or by an ox, or by a sheep offered in sacrifice, and then breaks that oath, he was to be condemned to make restitution equal to the value of the thing by which he sware, that is, to offer either a golden vessel, or an ox, or a sheep, or anything else, by which he sware: for they honoured the gifts above the altar on account of gain. But if any one sware by the temple, and brake his oath, since he could not make any restitution equivalent to the temple, he obtained forgiveness on this account; and they had no command at all for this case. And so also the oath by the temple appeared to be lighter on account of the covetousness of the Jews. In the Old Testament Christ allowed not that the gift was greater, that it was greater than the altar. But now with us it is the altar rather that is sanctified [by the gift]. For the bread which now is offered by us is changed into the very body of the Lord by the divine grace: through this cause the altar itself is sanctified. So in old times the cross was an ignominious death. For it is written, 'Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.' The Lord by his innocence changed the curse to a blessing. And thou sayest: 'By kissing the cross a man is sanctified, and is delivered from all manner of sickness and infirmity.' Thou preachest to all the power of the divine cross for sanctification, and for the healing of all diseases. Was it for thyself alone insufficient for sanctification, that thou shouldest change it into a curse? And thou sayest, or testifiest of thyself, saying, 'But he who, not with faith, and not with truth, kisses the cross, for falsehood, inasmuch as he engages himself to a lie, does himself an incurable hurt, and is accounted as a crucifier of Christ.' And where, pray (show us, if thou canst), is there anything written of this, that he who has kissed the cross for falsehood is accounted as a crucifier of Christ? But suppose I grant it to be true that if any one kisses the cross for falsehood, he is to be considered as a crucifier of Christ, what of him who, contrary to the commandment of God, orders that men should kiss the cross for an oath? God commands not to swear even by one's own head. But thou hast set this aside as something small, and hast rushed upon something greater to dishonour it, even upon our Head, Christ, and upon his holy imperial weapon, the world-wide salvation of the cross, at which hell trembled, Satan was trampled down, and death vanished away: but thou alone hast not trembled, nor feared. And thou sayest, 'It is the wickedest thing of all to break an oath made by kissing the cross.' But to break the commandment of God is not wicked at all, eh? The Lord testifies, 'Swear not; neither by heaven, nor by earth;' for the one is the throne of God, that is, heaven; the other is as his footstool, that is, earth. But thou, leaving what is below, goest up above the highest heavens [with thy wickedness]. 'He that sweareth by the temple,' Christ says, 'sweareth also by him that dwelleth in it.' So he that sweareth by the holy cross sweareth also by him that was crucified upon it. Has not then he who has dishonoured the holy cross dishonoured also him that was crucified upon it? Thou writest in chap. i. sect. 1: 'If any Russian man insult the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, or his mother our most immaculate Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, or the venerable cross, or his saints, that blasphemer, upon conviction, shall be punished by being burned alive.' But what can be a greater insult than, in contravention of the divine commandments, to lay down other laws? God himself testifies that hereafter neither at the judgment shalt thou have anything else to answer: but 'the word,' he says, 'which I have spoken, that shall judge at the day of judgment.' And the divine Apostle affirms the same, saying: 'Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid;' 'founded on the Prophets and Apostles;' and 'even though an angel preach anything else to you besides what ye have received, let him be accursed.' And in chap. ii. sect. 1 thou writest, that he who devises anything against the Tsar's majesty shall be punished with death. But thou dost not merely devise against God, but hast also perpetrated thy wickedness. And in chap. iii. sect. 3: 'If any one in presence of the Tsar's majesty draws a sword or any other weapon, and kills any one or wounds any one, these also shall be punished with death. And if so be that he do not wound any one, still he shall have his hand cut off.' But what of him who should take the Tsar's own weapon not for honour, but for dishonour, what torments does not he deserve? How much more then if any one has used not for honour but for dishonour the weapon of the heavenly king (Tsar), shall he be tormented? Again thou writest: 'Behold, the prophet Zachariah saw a fiery sickle coming down from the heaven to the earth: and he asked, Lord, what is this sickle? And he said: It is the wrath of God which is sent against them that go perversely to an oath, that the fire may cut them off; and deliver their souls to fire unquenchable.' As thou hast not been ashamed to lie against God, and to dishonour the holy cross of the Lord, thou art not likely to be ashamed for the sake of a prophet. As thou hast everywhere lied, so here also thou liest. Hear the prophet himself relating how he saw: 'Then I turned, and I lifted up mine eyes and looked, and behold a flying sickle. And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I answered, I see a flying sickle; the length thereof is twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof ten cubits. Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for every one that stealeth shall be cut off as on this side according to it; and every one that sweareth shall be cut off as on that side according to it. And I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of hosts; and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name; and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof and the stones thereof" (Zach. v. 1-4). This is the vision seen, and these are the words spoken by the prophet. But where is that seen or said by the prophet which thou writest, thou writer of falsehood, that the prophet Zachariah saw a fiery sickle coming down from heaven to the earth, and asked, 'Lord, what is this sickle?' Who asked? and whom did he ask? Tell us precisely. Who answered, and said, 'It is the wrath of God which is sent forth against them that go perversely to an oath, and that the fire may cut them off, and it shall deliver their souls to fire unquenchable'? To what oath perversely? Is it this which thou biddest men who swear according to thy Code go to take upon the cross? But where was the prophet Zachariah, that he should see the fiery sickle coming down upon them that kiss the cross for an oath deceitfully? For the prophet died 460 years before the incarnation of Christ. If thou sayest that God answered the prophet, and said, 'It is the wrath of God which is sent forth against them who go perversely to an oath, and the flame shall cut them off, and deliver their souls to fire unquenchable,' thou hast [in that case] lied, thou most wretched man, against God also. God answered not thus to the prophet. And whom wilt thou spare, if thou sparest not even God himself? But thou art as a second Satan, who from the beginning lied to men, saying, 'What is this that God hath said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die. For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And they took, and did eat. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked' (Gen. iii. 1-7). They knew that it was good to keep the commandment of the Lord, and evil to transgress it. So thou also, thou apostate from the divine commandments, sayest, 'God [thus] answered the prophet.' God did not answer him [with these words] 'who go perversely to an oath.' *Thou* hast answered this: and not to the prophet, but to all the people. But God said to the prophet, 'This is the curse which goeth forth on the face of the whole earth: for every one that stealeth shall be cut off by it as on this side.' But what if any one steal the words of God from the law and the prophets, and from the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, as thou dost? 'And I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of hosts, and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name, and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof and the stones thereof.' See here to whom the Lord says that it shall enter: 'And it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that swears falsely by my name,' but not 'to them that kiss the cross for an oath deceitfully.' But whosoever swears by the name of God of any vow or covenant and does not perform it, as the word says clearly, 'Pay to the Lord thine oaths,' it shall be as is said in Leviticus: 'And for every vow which a man shall vow, and not pay nor redeem it, he shall surely be put to death.' Listen to the Lord, who has made a statute for them that swear, and be silent. The gospel: 'But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay' (Matt. v. 37). And to these words let us add the like words of James the brother of God, who says, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, neither by any other oath: but let your Yea be yea; and your Nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation' (Jas. v. 12). The gloss: 'That thou mayest not think to say, How shall I obtain belief? he says, If thou speakest the truth, never swear: for no one is so little to be believed as he who is quick to swear: as also the wise Sirach says, A man that sweareth much will multiply transgressions; and wounds will not depart from his house. If he sins, his sin is upon him; and if he despises [his oath], he sins doubly: and if he sware falsely, he shall not be unpunished. His house is filled full with attacks.'

The gospel: 'For whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.' The gloss: 'That is, whatever is more than Yea and Nay. To say more than these, and to swear, is of the devil.' However, thou thinkest perhaps therefore that the law of Moses, which ordered men to swear, was evil: but understand that it was not wrong then to swear. But according to Christ's commands it is wrong now to swear, and to keep all the other Jewish customs, as the offering of burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and oblations, &c. If thou wishest to learn, I will show thee whence came the oath; not of myself; but we will hear the Golden Mouth. He shall tell us; and he will not respect the faces of the mighty, although he suffered from them even unto death. Tell us then, O Golden Mouth! tell us, and fear not to offend any; as thou fearedst not those who were killing thy holy body, but could not kill thy soul; but rather those wicked persecutors destroyed their own souls. Tell now also to the adversaries of Christ's gospel, and of his holy disciples and apostles, and of thine own most holy doctrine, whence came in the oath.

'When evils had increased, when all together was turned upside down, when they had fallen away to idolatry, then it was, yes, then, when they were showing themselves infidels, that they called God to witness, as if giving a sufficient surety for what they said. For this is an oath, a surety for manners to which credence is not given: so that this is the first condemnation of the man that swears, that he would not be believed without a surety, and a great surety: for on account of their great mistrust of one another they seek not a man to be surety, but God. Secondly, he also who receives the oath incurs the same blame, because for a difference about some matter of business he drags God to be surety, and says that he will not desist unless he gets him. O exceeding senselessness! O insult! Being a worm, and earth, and ashes, and smoke, thou draggest thy Lord to be surety for thee, and compellest him to undertake it? Tell me if, when your servants are disputing and will not trust one another, a fellow-servant were to say that he will not desist till he gets their common master to be given him as his surety, would he not receive ten thousand stripes, and be taught that his lord must be used for other needs, and not for these? But why do I speak of a fellow-servant? For if [instead of their lord] he chose to himself as surety only some other more respectable man, would he not regard the thing as an affront? But, thou wilt say, I do not desire such a thing. Well, then do not either compel God; since even among men with one another this would not pass. If a man were to say, I give such a one as my surety, thou wouldest not endure this. What then? Am I to be content, a man will say, and lose what I gave? I do not say this; but [I complain] that thou venturest to insult God. Therefore he that compels another to swear incurs inevitable punishment even more certainly than he that swears. So also he who, without being asked by any one, swears. And what is the worst of all, every man swears even about a single halfpenny, for the smallest advantage, for injustice. So it is, even without speaking of perjuries. But if perjury follows, then both the receiver and the giver of the oath have turned all upside down. But there are some things which are not known, a man will say. Nevertheless, foreseeing what may be the consequences, do nothing imprudently. Bet if thou doest anything imprudently, punish thyself, and fine thyself whatever may be the loss, for it. It is better for thee thus to suffer loss than in another way. For, tell me: thou draggest the man to swear: what dost thou expect? that he will perjure himself? But this is the last madness; for the punishment will return upon thine own head. It is better for thee to lose thy money rather than that he should perish. Why doest thou this to thine own loss, and with an insult too to God? This is the soul of a wild-beast and of a wicked man. But (thou sayest) I think that he will *not* perjure himself. In that case believe him even without an oath. But there are many, a man says, who without an oath will allow themselves to defraud, but with an oath no longer. Thou deceivest thyself, O man! The man who has learned to rob and to wrong his neighbour will be ready to do it even though he perjure himself over and over again. If he will be religiously afraid to perjure himself, much more will he be religiously afraid to steal. But he is put upon his oath against his own will. Is this what you say? Then there is the more allowance to be made for him [if he breaks it]. But why do I speak of such oaths as these, omitting those which are sworn in the market-place? For these you can say nothing of the same sort; but for ten cents (obols) there are oaths and perjuries. Is it because no thunderbolt comes down at once, nor does the world collapse, that thou standest holding God [as if at thy disposal, and offering him in surety]? And for what? To cheapen greens, or a pair of boots, for a slight question of value, calling him to witness? Let us not imagine that because we are not at once punished, therefore we are not sinning. This is of the loving mercy of God, not of our goodness. Swear by thy servant, swear by thyself. Say: So may the lictor not come upon my ribs! But thou fearest. Is God then of less honour than thy ribs? cheaper than thy head? Say it: I would not—I do not wish to risk any hurt to my body. But Christ is so sparing of us that he forbids us to swear even by our own head. We are so little sparing of the glory of God that we drag him in everywhere.'[1] 'If we lose him for the sake of an oath, can we go on without him? If we do, consider where we shall be. Shall we not be with him who is named and who is the father of lies? . . . Christ has laid down a law that no one shall swear. However, if thou [must and] wilt, then swear by thyself, not by Christ, who has laid down a law for thee, saying: Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay. This I say, [Swear rather by thyself], not as laying down another law against that of Christ, God forbid! but condescending to you, that I may so the rather lead you on to this [rule of Christ]. . . . How many who in other respects were of good repute have come to destruction by these sins? Do ye wish to learn why it was allowed to them of old to swear (for to perjure themselves was not allowed to them either)? It was because they used to swear by idols. Are ye not ashamed to continue in these laws, by which they were led on out of condescension to their weakness?'[2] . . . 'Therefore with a loud and clear voice I proclaim to you, and testify that they who show themselves guilty of this transgression, who utter the words of the evil one (for this it is to swear), are not to cross the threshold of the church. But let the present month be a set time for you, within which to correct yourselves. Say not to me, The exigency of business forces me, because I am not believed without swearing. First at least cut off those oaths which thou swearest of mere habit. I know that many will laugh at us; but it is better for us to be laughed at now than to burn then. They only will laugh at us who are mad; for who, tell me, that has reason, will ridicule obedience to the commandment? And if they do laugh, such men will be laughing not at us, but at Christ. Do ye tremble at this which I say? I know ye do. If indeed it were I that were introducing this law, the ridicule would be mine: but if the lawgiver be another, then this insult passes to him. Christ was spat upon before now, and was struck on the cheek, and was buffeted: he endures now also these same things; and all is in keeping. For this hell is prepared; for this there is the worm that dieth not. Behold, I again say and testify: Let him who will laugh, let him who will mock; for this we are appointed, to be laughed at and to be mocked, to suffer all things. We are the offscourings of the world, according to the blessed Paul. If any one will not obey this commandment, such a one by the word, as by the blast of a trumpet, I forbid to cross the threshold of the church, though it be a prince, though it be even he who wears the diadem. Either depose me from this place of authority, or while I remain in it surround not my soul with dangers. I cannot endure to ascend the steps of this throne if it is not to be for some great success. For if this is not possible, it is better to stand below. To be a ruler without profiting those who are ruled is the most wretched thing that can be. . . . But many, some one says, will not stand this: they will rush off. Suppose they do. One who does the will of the Lord is of more value than ten thousand transgressors. Hence it is that all things have been thrown into disorder: all has been turned upside down, because, as in the theatres, we wish to have a mere multitude—not a multitude well trained. For what, pray, can a crowd of people profit? Wilt thou learn that the real people are the saints, not the many? Draw out for battle a million of men, and one saint, and let us see who will do most. Joshua the son of Nun went out to war, and alone obtained all the success; the rest were as supernumeraries. Ever so great a multitude, my beloved, when it does not the will of God, is all one with nobody.'[1]

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[1] Chrysost. Opera, Paris, 1731, tom. ix. pp. 77, 78, Hom. ix.

[2] Ib. p. 88, Hom. x.

'The haven for truth without scandal is not to swear; the haven to secure us from being submerged by the fury of contrary winds. For though wrath, reproach, rage, surge high, and though anything else happen, the soul which has been prepared by the things which have been before for its instruction and warning even so would not be impelled to utter anything improper, for it has created no necessity to itself [by any bad habit], nor has it any such law. See what was done on account of an oath by Herod. He cut off the head of a prophet. But on account of his oath, it is written, and on account of them that sat at meat with him, he would not refuse her. What did the tribes suffer on account of an oath from the tribe of Benjamin? What on account of an oath did Saul suffer? Saul broke his oath; and Herod committed a murder, which was worse even than breaking his oath. Again, thou knowest what Joshua the son of Nun, on account of the cursed thing [taken by Achan], suffered from the Canaanites. For it is in truth a satanical deception to swear. Therefore let us burst these bonds; and we shall make to ourselves a facility for all good watchfulness. Let us free ourselves from this snare by the fear of breaking the Lord's commandments. Remember what Ananias suffered for having lied concerning his vows. Therefore, if they who had only lied suffered so terrible a punishment, what shall not they suffer who perjure themselves? Therefore if that woman who merely said, "Yea, for so much," incurred so great a punishment and escaped not, think what torments will they deserve who kiss the cross for an oath and break their oath."[1]

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[1] Chrysost. Opera, Paris, 1731, tom. ix. pp. 67, 68, Hom. viii.

'But if we escape when we swear, let us not be confident; for this is for our greater hurt. For what think ye? How many have there not been since Ananias and Sapphira who have dared to do like them, but have not suffered like punishment? And how is it (one will say) that they did not suffer? It is not because their sin is forgiven them, but because they are kept for something worse. Therefore they who sin often and are not punished ought to fear and apprehend [all the more]; for their punishment is increased through their impunity, and through the long-suffering of God. Many sins are committed now like those before the Flood, but there is no flood: for they are threatened with hell and torment. Many sin now like the men of Sodom, but there is no fiery shower: for there is prepared for them the river of fire. Many have dared to do like Pharaoh, but have not suffered like Pharaoh, nor been drowned in the Red Sea: for the depth of the abyss awaits them, where their punishment will not be joined with insensibility, nor can one be stifled and drowned, but with increase of torment they will be burning and drowning for ever. Many have sinned like the Israelites, but have not been bitten by serpents: for that worm that dieth not is expecting them. Many have dared to do like Gehazi, but have not become lepers: for instead of leprosy it is reserved for them to be cut asunder, and to be placed with the hypocrites. Many have sworn and have perjured themselves; and if they have escaped punishment, let us not be confident; for there awaits them the gnashing of teeth. And even here also, it may be, they will suffer, and will not escape; though it be not at once, but upon other sins; that the punishment may be more severe.'[1] . . . Think of the history of Saul, who disobeyed, and offered sacrifice, and slew the priests. Think of that of Solomon, who fell away from the Lord God; of that of Jeroboam, and of that of Ahab in regard to Naboth, and the other kings who were transgressors. Though they did not immediately receive punishment and torment according to their sins, yet in the end they were punished most terribly.[2] 'But why is this so? God gives thee a certain time, that so thou mayest wash thyself clean; but when thou persistest, he at length brings on thee punishment. Ye have seen what punishment they suffered who lied. Hence ye might infer what they shall suffer who also swear and perjure themselves. Reflect, and leave off. He who swears cannot avoid perjuring himself, whether he will or no. He who perjures himself cannot be saved. A single act of perjury is enough to do all, and to bring upon us the whole doom of torment.'[3] And thus far is the instruction of Chrysostom.

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[1] Of Saul's oath see Chrysost. Opera, tom. ii. p. 143 &c. Ad. Pop. Ant., Hom. xiv.; and of Herod's oath see tom. vii. p. 499, Hom. xlviii. and other places, as tom. xii. p. 640, 'De Juramento Ecloga.' But the paragraph here is made up. It is not a quotation. Nor does Chrysost. say anything of kissing the cross.

Also thou writest in ch. xiv. sect. 10: 'But together with the extracts relating to the kissing of the cross, this section from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers is to be written [out for use] in all judicial proceedings; and order shall be given to the secretaries to read over the same section when oath is to be made by kissing the cross to both the parties, plaintiffs and defendants, in presence of many people, so that all classes of the people may know how it is written of the kissing of the cross in the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy

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[1] Chrysost. Opera, tom. ix. pp. 101, 102.

[2] The example of Ahab is from St. J. Chrysostom (tom. ix. p. 102, Hom. xii.). But the addition of the other three examples and this whole sentence connecting the two quotations is Nicon's own.

[3] Chrysost. Opera, tom. ix. p. 102, Hom. xii.

Fathers.' Here one may well marvel at thy senseless folly. Thou hast lied against God, and against the holy Apostles, and against the holy Fathers. Thou hast not been ashamed in thy folly; but even orderest 'this section in the extracts relating to the kissing of the cross,' as if 'from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, to be written out for use in all judicial processes, and to be read by the secretaries to both parties, the plaintiffs and the defendants, in presence of many people;' that they may know of thy lawless tradition; and may curse thee, according to the canons, as another Judas the traitor; and that others, beholding this, should not dare any more to lie against the divine commandments, and against the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. If I speak not the truth, I shall be like unto thee, a liar. Show me in what canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers is there anything written about the kissing the cross, that we may see it. But if thou canst not show it, it will be right and just to apply to thee the judgment of the gospel, as it is written: 'Woe unto the world because of offences! Woe unto him by whom the offence cometh!' Or, as Paul delivered over to Satan him who had taken his father's wife, that the spirit might be saved. But thou hast done worse even than this. Thou hast dishonoured not thy step-mother, but thy very mother who bare thee by the Holy Ghost, namely, the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which Christ our God redeemed, not by any price of silver and gold, but with his own most precious and all pure blood, and betrothed her to himself as his spouse, as one of the seven angels showed to St. John the Divine: 'Come, and I will show thee the Bride, the wife of the Lamb.' For he calls by the name of the marriage of the Lamb the union and identification of the Church with Christ, the intermediate instruments of which were the divine Apostles, through whom her spiritual betrothal was given to her, as receiving then face to face this pure and holy union [by the body and blood of Christ], which he indicates under the terms '*Bride*' and '*Wife of the Lamb*.' For when Christ the Lamb was slain upon the cross, he then betrothed her to himself by his own blood. For as, when Adam slept, the woman was created by taking one of his ribs, so also when Christ voluntarily by death slept upon the cross, by the pouring forth of his blood from his side the Church was formed and united to him who was wounded. As also the divine apostle Paul says plainly of these mysteries: 'Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word: that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish' (Eph. v. 25-27).

Seest thou the Church? and what the Church is? and how Christ betrothed it to himself, and purified it? Then why hast thou [as it were] defiled her by adultery, and hast perverted and dishonoured all her holy laws, and hast set at naught and injured Christ her head? as the Apostle says: 'For the head of the woman is the man; and he is the saviour of the body.' The Lord teaches and testifies: 'As ye would that men should do unto you, so do ye unto them.' Wouldest thou that thy servant should defile thy wife by adultery, even though thou hadst suffered nothing painful on her account, nor shed thy blood for her, as Christ did? What punishment wouldest thou not desire to inflict on such a lawless and evil servant? I think that thou wouldest by no means suffer such a one to live. And as the old law commanded that such should be stoned, so also by the civil law they are to be punished with death. But thou hast defiled with adultery the wife of the King, the wife of the Lamb, which has no spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing. Thinkest thou that thou shalt go unpunished? Yea, thou hast to be tormented ten-thousandfold for ever and ever; as the divine Chrysostom says: 'He who envies fights with God, not with him [whom he envies]. When thou seest thy brother to have grace, and art grieved at it, and wishest [on his account] to bring down the Church, thou fightest not with him, but with God. For, tell me, if any one had adorned a damsel for the king, and had shown skill in adorning her and making her honourable, and thereupon some one else should wish to disfigure this [same damsel], and, not being able to steal her away, should on this account plot against the man who had been able so to adorn her on this account, either against this man or against her and her father?'[1] So now thou also of envy assailest the Church, and fightest against God, because thou art blinded by envy of the grace given to thy brother. And the interest of the Church being connected with his good ability, must in his overthrow be ruined also. Therefore thou art doing a satanical work, plotting against the body of Christ. For as the body and the head are one man, so the Church and Christ are said to be one. Listen! Whence have the laws of the Church come? They are from above: they come from God; and speak from heaven. Or believe ye not that these things are spoken from God? They are missives from God. The foundations of the wall are the blessed Apostles, on whom the Church of Christ is founded; but the wall of the Church is Christ himself. And why, then, dost thou undermine and seek to break down the wall of the Church, which is Christ? The light of the Church is Christ. And why dost thou, who art darkness, quench it? But it is founded on the rock: and against it even the gates of hell prevail not. But whence is the truth of this assertion and prophecy apparent? How is it that the gates of hell have not prevailed against the Church? It is because Christ is ever with us. For how, if Christ had not been with us, could the Church have prevailed, as she did when the gospel spread through all the world? But they who speak against us ought to bring testimony to the antiquity [of their own doctrine] from books. Or seest thou not how the whole universe refutes thy wicked fraud? For it is not by us only at this day that [Christ] is glorified, but [he is glorified also] from above, from God, and from the angels, and from the Fathers.

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[1] See above, p. 127.

'Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art Graced (blagodatnaia); the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God.' Then the angel testifies to the Virgin from the prophets, saying from the prophet Isaiah (chap. vii.), 'And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end' (Luke i. 26-33). Hast thou heard the angel testifying from the prophets, 'He shall be great'? And how wouldest thou make him small? And again the angel says, 'And of his kingdom there shall be no end.' Wherefore, then, dost thou put an end to the kingdom of Christ by thy lawless Code, so that there comes upon all the power of the prince of this world? But if another come, there is no other to come but Antichrist. As St. John the Divine has testified, saying of you, 'Even now there are many antichrists.' Then again: 'Mary said to the angel, How shall this be, seeing that I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.' And a little farther on: 'For with God no word shall be weak for accomplishment' (ib. 34-37). Likewise also in Matthew it is written: 'But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, and said, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord of the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall conceive, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us' (Matt. i. 20-23; Is. vii.). Art thou alone not saved by Christ our God? or is God not with thee? Again, elsewhere it is written: 'There shall come from Sion deliverance, to turn away iniquity from Jacob' (Is. lix. 20). And the Father from on high bears witness: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Why dost thou bring in again the law [that is, by re-introducing oaths]? Or hast thou not heard how it is written, 'The end of the law is Christ'? (Rom. x. 4.) And again elsewhere it is written, 'Therefore the law was our schoolmaster, to bring us to Christ' (Gal. iii. 24). Wilt thou that we show thee also testimonies of the prophets to the Apostles, that we must not only receive Christ, but that we must also receive his holy disciples the Apostles? Isaiah says: 'How beautiful are the feet of them that publish peace, that publish good tidings!' (Is. lii. 7.) But not all listened to their gospel. And again, Isaiah says: 'Lord, who hath believed our report?' (ib. liii. 1.) And again David says, 'Their preaching hath gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world' (Ps. xix. 4). And the Lord sent his servants, after the Sermon on the Mount, with a high message to preach, and said, 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves' (Matt. x. 16). And the Apostle says: 'And how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?' (Rom. x. 14, 15.) And for them that run, no other sent them and commanded them to preach but the Lord himself, saying, 'But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth' (Acts i. 8). And he said to them, 'These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things. And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high' (Luke xxiv. 44-49). 'And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance' (Acts ii. 1-4).

Hast thou seen now whence came the gospel to us? that it came from heaven? and how the Apostles of Christ became wise, not of themselves, but as the Holy Ghost gave unto them? But not either after [the gift of] such great grace and the receiving of the Holy Ghost did the Apostles cease to testify from the law and the prophets. 'But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words: for these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams; and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy' (Acts ii. 14-18). And so on, testifying from the law and the prophets of Christ. Then he continues also of himself, saying, 'This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear' (ib. 32, 33). And a little farther on: 'Now when they heard this they were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the Apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptised, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is to you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call. And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Then they gladly received his word.' But why dost not thou receive the commandments of God and of his holy disciples and Apostles? Seest thou that it was not by their own power or piety that the Apostles did all, but by the grace of the Holy Ghost from on high?

Hear thou also the holy princes of the disciples, who said, 'Repent, therefore, and be converted, that ye may be cleansed from your sins, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord, and he shall send Jesus Christ, who before was preached unto you: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. For Moses truly said unto the Fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you.

And it shall come to pass that every soul which will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people. Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days' (ib. iii. 19-24). 'And we are witnesses of all [these] things. . . And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he which is ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead. To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins' (ib. x. 39, 42, 43). But in thee and such as are like thee that is fulfilled which is written, 'Their rulers understood not this, nor the voices of the prophets which are read in their synagogues every Sabbath day' (ib. xiii. 27). And again: 'And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers' (ib. iii. 17, 18). The Thessalonians [Bereans] in the day of judgment will condemn thee: for they 'received the word of the Apostle with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, to see whether those things were so' (ib. xvii. 11). So also the prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, teaches, saying that 'it is right to hearken unto God rather than unto men' (ib. iv. 19). Hast thou not heard the chosen vessel of Christ, the preacher of the mystery of God, saying, 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, this man is none of his'? And again elsewhere he says: 'For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that ye be not wise in your own conceits' (Rom. xi. 25). How, then, hast thou shown thyself wise in thine own conceit, and believest not the gospel of Christ and his holy disciples and Apostles, the twelve princes and the other seventy, and with them also the Seven Ecumenical and the Nine Local Councils of the holy Fathers, whose number God only knows; whose teaching thou hast rejected; and not rejected only, but lyingly calumniated. Also, after these thou hast not omitted to misrepresent and calumniate both emperors and patriarchs. And thou hast written in chap. xvii. sect. 1:

'In the past year 7136 (1627-8), the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich of all Russia of blessed memory, and his father the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Philaret Nikitich Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia of blessed memory, made an ukaz concerning hereditary estates, and estates granted for service, according to the canons of the holy

Apostles and the holy Fathers, that: 'If any one dies, and after him his wife remains childless,' &c. But there is nothing of this kind in the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers; and all that is a calumnious lie against the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and against the Tsar and against the Patriarch. There are no such canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers. And for such Great Hossoudars the Tsar and the Patriarch to make laws not in accordance with truth, nor with the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, is not seemly.

Likewise in sect. 4 of the same chapter thou writest: 'Concerning estates, hereditary and granted for service, the Hossoudar has made ukaz, with the advice of the Boyars, that it shall be according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and according to the code of the former Tsars, and of his father of blessed memory the Great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Michael Theodorovich of all Russia, and of his grandfather the Great Hossoudar the M. H. Philaret Nikitich Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia of the years 7136 and 7137, as has been written above.' And this in like manner is mendaciously imputed to the Tsar and the Boyars, that they [did so and so, as is pretended], 'according to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers.' Such canons are nowhere to be found; nor is there anything of the kind in the civil laws.

But thou writest in ch. xix. sect. 1, 'Of Townspeople:' 'Whereas there are suburbs in Moscow belonging to the patriarch, and to metropolitans, and bishops, and monasteries, with traders and artisans living in them, who follow all kinds of occupations for gain, and keep shops, but do not pay the Hossoudar's dues, nor render him service, all those suburbs, with all the people living in them, are henceforth to be taken to the Hossoudar for labour and service, never hereafter to be alienated. And for the future, beside the Hossoudar's suburbs there shall be no suburbs in Moscow, nor in any other town. And from the patriarch his suburbs are to be taken away altogether, except those house-people who from of old time lived as people belonging to the former patriarchs.' Sect. 5: 'Whatever suburbs there are belonging to the patriarch and to bishops and monasteries around Moscow, these suburbs, with all the traders and industrial people living in them, except such people as may be serfs or bondsmen, are in like manner after examination to be taken to the Hossoudar.'

Wherefore, leaving the Lord, dost thou leap with insult upon his servants? The patriarch himself also [as well as the rest of the clergy] is the servant of God, and the minister of the holy Church; and he has no estates whatever of his own; but whatever there may be, suburbs and peasants, are the heritage of God. The Patriarch is now this man, and after him another: but God is, and will be, for ever; and he changes not for ever; and his heritage endureth for ever.

If thou wishest to learn about the heritage of God, what it was that for most necessary use was devised by men who loved God towards the Lord God in Holy Trinity, and towards the most immaculate Mother of God, and the holy Angels, and the holy Prophet and Forerunner John, and the holy, glorious, and most laudable Apostles, and the holy Prophets, and Martyrs, and holy Fathers, and all the Saints [it was this]: Great Hossoudars, and Grand Princes, and other lovers of God, gave property to the holy churches of God, according to the divine canons, for a perpetual commemoration [of themselves], but not to the patriarch or to metropolitans and bishops and monasteries; as the letters given by those lovers of God and their testamentary constitutions attest. And according to truth that rule was delivered thus from the Lord God himself, as it is written: 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Take the tribe of Levi, and present them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister unto him. And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the children of Israel, before the tabernacle of witness, to do the service of the tabernacle. And they shall keep all the vessels of the tabernacle, and the charges of the children of Israel, for all the service of the tabernacle. And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron, and to his sons: they are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel. And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, in the tabernacle of witness, and they shall wait on their priest's office, and do all [that is to be done] about the altar and within the veil. And the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, And I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the first-born that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel: therefore the Levites shall be mine; because all the first-born are mine; for on the day that I smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt I hallowed unto me all the first-born in Israel, both man and beast: mine shall they be: I am the Lord' (Numb. iii. 6-13). 'And thou shalt bring the Levites before the tabernacle of witness; and thou shalt gather the whole assembly of the children of Israel together' (ib. viii. 9). 'And they shall execute the service of the Lord. And the Levites shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks: and thou shalt offer the one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering, unto the Lord to make an atonement for the Levites. And thou shalt set the Levites before Aaron, and before his sons, and offer them for an offering unto the Lord. And thou shalt separate them from among the children of Israel; and the Levites shall be mine. And after that shall the Levites go in and do the service of the tabernacle of witness; and thou shalt cleanse them and offer them for an offering before the Lord. For they are wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of such as open every womb, even instead of the first-born of all the children of Israel have I taken them unto me. For all the first-born of the children of Israel are mine, both man and beast: on the day that I smote every first-born in the land of Egypt I sanctified them for myself. And I have taken the Levites for all the first-born of the children of Israel. And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tabernacle of witness, and to pray for the children of Israel when the children of Israel come nigh to the sanctuary. And Moses and Aaron, and all the congregation of the children of Israel, did to the Levites according unto all that the Lord commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them. And the Levites were purified, and they washed their clothes: and Aaron offered them as an offering before the Lord: and Aaron made an atonement for them to cleanse them. And after that went the Levites in to do their service in the tabernacle of witness before Aaron, and before his sons: as the Lord had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them. And God spake unto Moses, saying, This is it that belongeth unto the Levites: from twenty and five years old and upward they shall go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of witness: and from the age of fifty years they shall cease waiting upon the service thereof, and shall serve no more; but shall minister with their brethren in the tabernacle of witness, to keep the charge, but shall do no active service' (ib. viii. 9-26). 'So he did with their charge. And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou and thy sons, and thy father's house with thee, shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear [the iniquity] of the priesthood. And thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou with thee, that they may be joined with thee, and may minister unto thee: but thou and thy sons with thee shall minister before the tabernacle of witness. And they shall keep thy charge, and the charge of [all] the tabernacle: only they shall not come nigh the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, that neither they, nor ye also, die. And they shall be joined unto thee, and keep the charge of the tabernacle of witness and all the service of the tabernacle. And a stranger shall not come nigh unto you. And ye shall keep the charge of the sanctuary, and the charge of the altar: that there be no wrath any more upon the children of Israel. And I, behold, I have taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel: to you they are given as a gift for the Lord, to do the service of the tabernacle of witness. Thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priest's office for all the work of the altar, and within the veil: and ye shall serve. I have given your priest's office unto you as a service of gift: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death. And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Behold, I also have given thee the charge of my first-fruits of all the hallowed things of the children of Israel; unto thee have I given them for an honour of the primacy, and to thy sons, by an ordinance for ever. And this shall be thine from the holy offerings which have been reserved from the fire, from all their gifts, and from every trespass-offering, and from all their sin-offerings, as many as they shall render to me; from all their holy things' (ib. xviii. 1-9). 'All the heave-offerings of the holy things which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever: it is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord unto thee, and to thy seed with thee. And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel. And, behold, I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance, for their service which they serve, even the service of the tabernacle of witness. Neither must the children of Israel henceforth come nigh the tabernacle of witness, lest they bear sin, and die. But the Levites shall do the service of the tabernacle of witness, and they shall bear their iniquity: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations, that among the children of Israel they have no inheritance. But the tithes of the children of Israel, which they offer as a heave-offering to the Lord, I have given to the Levites to inherit: therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance' (ib. 19-24). Again in Deuteronomy it is written: 'At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, as it is this day. Therefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren; the Lord himself is their inheritance, according as he said to them' (Deut. x. 8, 9). And again the Lord said: 'The priests and the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel: for the offerings made to the Lord are their inheritance, and they shall eat them. Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren: the Lord is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them' (ib. xviii. 1, 2). And again, the Lord spake unto Moses on the west of Moab, at the Jordan, over against Jericho, saying: 'Command the children of Israel that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their possession cities to dwell in; and ye shall give also unto the Levites suburbs for the cities round about them. And the cities shall they have to dwell in; and the suburbs of them shall be for their cattle, and for their goods, and for all their beasts. And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites, shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about. And ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side two thousand cubits; and the city shall be in the midst: this shall be to them the suburbs of the cities. And among the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites there shall be six cities for refuge, which ye shall appoint for the man-slayer, that he may flee thither: and to them ye shall add forty and two cities. So all the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty and eight cities: them shall ye give with their suburbs. And the cities that ye shall give shall be of the possession of the children of Israel: from them that have many ye shall give many; but from them that have few ye shall give few: every one shall give of his cities unto the Levites according to his inheritance which he inheriteth' (Num. xxxv. 1-8). So also of the spoils taken in war the Lord commanded that a portion should be separated off for himself. 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Take the sum of the prey that was taken, both of man and of beast, thou and Eleazar the priest, and the princes of the tribes of the congregation; and divide the prey into two parts; between them that took the war upon them, who went out to battle, and between all the congregation. And levy a tribute unto the Lord . . . . and give it unto Eleazar the priest, for a [heave] offering of the Lord. . . . And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the Lord commanded Moses. And the whole number of the sheep which the men of war had taken was 675,000, and of beeves 72,000, of asses 61,000; and 32,000 persons in all of women that had not known man by lying with him. . . . And all the officers which were over thousands of the host, the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses; and they said unto Moses, Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war which are under our charge, and there lacketh not one man of us. We have therefore brought an oblation for the Lord, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of gold, chains and bracelets, rings, earrings, and tablets, to make an atonement for our souls before the Lord. And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought jewels [vessels]. And all the gold of the offering that they offered up to the Lord, of the captains of thousands and of the captains of hundreds, was 16,750 shekels. (For the men of war had taken spoil, every man for himself.) And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and brought it into the tabernacle of witness, for a memorial for the children of Israel before the Lord' (ib. xxxi. 25-51). In like manner Joshua the son of Nun commanded the children of Israel before Jericho, saying, 'This city shall be accursed, even it and all that are therein, to the Lord. . . . . And ye in any wise keep yourselves from the accursed thing, lest ye make yourselves accursed, when ye take of the accursed thing, and make the camp of Israel a curse, and trouble it: but all the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are consecrated unto the Lord: they shall come into the treasury of the Lord. And it came to pass that they burned the city with fire, and all that was therein: only the silver and the gold and the vessels of brass and iron they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord' (Josh. vi. 17-24).

Consider, thou fighter against God, Prince Nikita, how thou speakest of those suburbs as belonging to the patriarch, and to metropolitans, and bishops, and monasteries. Do they not all belong to God? And we belong to him, all, except thou, and such as thou. *Ye* are not his! Were not all things made from the beginning according to the bidding and commandment of God? The portion of the priests is God's portion and property. Why, setting aside the greater, dost thou descend to the less, that is, to our humility, and callest the portion and property of God our property? This is not our property: it is God's property. And as of old, according to the divine commandment, the people paid tithes, so also under the new law religious emperors, as Constantine the Great (of whom we have written above) in his Ordinance; and in like manner in Russia the Grand Prince Vladimir, who baptised Russia, made grants, and others after them made similar grants, to the holy churches of God, to the M. H. and life-giving Trinity, and to the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to the most holy, most pure, and most blessed Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and to the holy Angels and Archangels, and to St. John the Prophet and Forerunner, and to the holy and most laudable Princes of the Apostles, and to the holy Martyrs, and to the holy chief Teachers and Pontiffs, and the venerable and god-bearing Fathers, and to all the Saints; but not to the patriarch, and the metropolitans, and bishops, and monasteries; as is attested by their written Ordinances; viz. those of the emperor Constantine the Great and of the Grand Prince Vladimir, and the letters of privilege and donation of the rest who, like them, were lovers of God and of Christ. One gave to the most holy and life-giving Trinity; another to our holy Saviour Christ, the lover of mankind; another to the M. H. Mother of God; and others to the rest, as has been written above. And such suburbs were given for service to the holy churches of God, instead of the Levites, as has been written above, and as the canons also of the holy Apostles show. Canon xxxviii.: 'Let the bishop manage with full authority the property of the Church; and let him give nothing of it to his own relatives, unless they be poor.' The gloss: 'It is not right to make a bishop responsible for the management of the Church property. For it is reasonable that he should administer it with full authority, as before the face of God himself. He ought not however to make anything of such property his own personalty, nor distribute to his relatives what belongs to the house of God. But if they are poor, he may give to them for their necessities as to the rest of the poor. But he is not on account of them to sell any part of the Church property' (K. fol. 4). Canon xl.: 'Let the property of the Church and the personal property of the bishop be distinguished clearly; that both the bishop may leave or dispose of his own as he pleases, and the Church may be uninjured.' The gloss: 'The bishop, when he is elected to his see, must make a written schedule of all his personal property, and make this clear. And in like manner he must make another similar schedule of the property of the Church, and make this clear: that so he may dispose of all his personal property, of all that property which is his own, both during life and after his death as he wills; but the Church must keep her property undamaged.' Canon xli. also ordains that 'the bishops are to be masters of the Church property. For if the precious souls of men are committed to them, how much more should they be trusted with property, so that they may manage all with authority, and may distribute to the poor for their necessities by the hands of honourable priests and deacons with the fear of God and piety. It is proper too for [the bishop] himself, if he has need, to take to himself for his own necessary use what he pleases, and to lodge and feed such stranger brethren as may come, and let them want nothing needful; as the law of God enjoins, that they who serve the altar should live of the altar; since neither is a soldier able at his own cost to bear arms against the enemy.' The gloss: 'Though in each diocese the possessions of the Church are given to the bishop, still he is not to manage them by his own single will alone; but the divine canons order that he should manage such matters with the knowledge and advice of his priests and deacons; and that it is for necessary use only that it is right for the bishops to take anything to themselves from the Church property'[1] (K. fol. 4, 5).

And if the old law, and tabernacle, and temple, and sacrifices, which were a shadow of things to come, that is, of the new law, and of the Church, and of the Christian priesthood, were honoured with so great honour, how much more ought the churches and the priesthood of the new law to be preferred in honour? Which now ye dishonour. And whatever small amount of suburbs for its service it had before in Moscow, and in other towns, ye appropriate it all to your own uses. Who now serves the most necessary services to the Church and the bishop, that is, of keeping watch, and the other necessary services, as the Lord commanded Moses, as is written above? Nobody: but only strangers. Have ye not heard it said by God that every stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death? And the stranger here means not one who is an alien to Israel, of the Gentiles, but whoever is not of the tribe of Levi; as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, whom God had not chosen, ran of themselves, and for this cause the earth swallowed them up, as it is written: 'They angered Moses also in the camp, and Aaron the saint of the Lord: so the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the congregation of Abiram. There broke forth a fire in the midst of them: the flame burned up the ungodly.' And Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, to steady it, and laid hold of it. 'And the Lord smote him; and he died before the Lord' (2 Kings vi. 6, 7). So also all who look upon the Church of God and envy it, and say, that those suburbs [were the property] of the patriarch, and of the metropolitans, and of the monasteries, [and we will take them]. They have taken a little; and they have lost much more, that was their own. They have taken thousands; and they have lost many tens of thousands, by civil dissensions, by pestilences, by wars, and by manifold other attacks and calamities, more than one can describe or enumerate in detail.

But of the Monastery Court, and of lay judges, and the like, we, O thou Questioner, have written enough above. And thou, O Answerer, and thy fellows, if ye please, may find it there. But for that thou writest in thine Answer, 'Grant it true that heretofore the Monastery Court did not exist, or that, if it did, it was our most prosperous Tsar Alexis Michaelovich certainly who caused it to be brought into activity, as one who loves better order, and is able to bring words to good and seemly effect, then, I say, the judgments of other men than ourselves are the best. We need a judge sitting in his place, who should hear the pleadings, and consider who has the best of it, and what the rights of the case are, and who should then pass a sentence to justify the good and to punish the guilty, in the same way as God blesses and crowns the righteous man and brings down and punishes the proud and unrighteous: for it is written, God shall scatter the bones of the men-pleasers.' Of such, that is, as thee, who speakest of thine own. For God testifies: 'He that speaketh of himself speaketh a lie.' Where is it written that Tsars, and princes, and boyars, and secretaries, and judges are to judge a patriarch, and metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, and clerks? In what canons is this written? Rather it is written that they are themselves to be judged, not to judge. And as for judging the patriarch, no canons contain any rule for this, though you read them all through, unless they be laws of rulers who were not Christians and of persecutors. Nor according to the canons can a metropolitan be judged otherwise than by the patriarch, with other bishops; that is, according to canon ix. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council;[1] nor a bishop, except by all the bishops of the province, according to the canon of the holy council of Carthage;[2] or, if all cannot meet, then he is to be judged by not fewer than twelve; a priest is to be judged by six bishops, a deacon by three, a clerk by one bishop. But thou, on what laws dost thou base that lawless enactment, that in the Monastery Court mere laymen are to judge metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, and clerks? So canon xx. of the same council enacts;

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[1] See above the same canons, at p. 118.

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[1] See p. 38.

[2] Canons xii. and xx. of K. fol. 48, 50, but xii. and xviii. of Bever. i. p. 585, 586; in the Πηδάλιον xii. and xxviii. They are originally canons x. of the 'Second,' and viii. of the 'Third' Councils of Carthage.

and canon cxxv.[1] (K. fol. 64). Of this enough is said in explanation below.

Again thou writest: 'I ask, Did Nicon ever exercise such jurisdiction? Did he ever sit in his seat of judgment to hear complaints and quarrels of anybody? Never! only he kept secular persons who judged in his courts (prikazi), and distributed petitions [that is, the written informations, answers, suits, and pleadings addressed to him] to the people of his court (dvor), and they sometimes decided right to be wrong, and wrong to be right. Is it thus that [regular] *judges* do? Is it thus that patriarchs deal with their sons, they who are fathers of fathers?' Thou sayest to me, O thou maker of enmity, and interrogatest us, the Patriarch, Did we 'ever sit in our place of judgment to hear the complaints of any'? and thou answerest, 'Never!' But we sat *continually* at our table of judgment. And who set thee in the place of God to judge and condemn the patriarch? And whence art thou? and by what laws dost thou make thyself our judge, and sayest, 'Is it thus that patriarchs deal with their sons, they who are fathers of fathers?' But how canst thou, not being a father of fathers—if only thou wert orthodox, thou wouldst be as a son—how canst thou lay down laws for a father of fathers? The canons of the holy Fathers do not allow any man to judge and condemn the sentence of the patriarch: not only do they not allow any stranger who may come in to judge and condemn it, but not even all the bishops. But a stranger is by the divine canons forbidden to teach or to make laws in a diocese not his own; and if he disobeys the canons, they degrade him from his rank, and do not allow him to receive the holy mysteries of Christ even at the hour of death. And the holy and sacred gospel bids that, if any cause scandal, such a one should have a millstone tied about his neck, and be cast into the sea. But of thee, all who know thee say that thou wert with the Pope of Rome [to the age of] thirty years as a deacon; and they adduce as evidence of this a little book called N., printed at Rome, in which there is written thy name. But the divine canons of the holy Apostles x. xi. and xii.[2] say that 'he that prays with one excommunicated is himself excommunicated; and he who receives him that elsewhere is not received is himself not to be received' (K. fol. 1, 2). And canon xlv. of the holy Apostles: 'He who prays with heretics is to be excommunicated; and he who receives them as clerks is himself to be deposed.' The gloss: 'A bishop, or priest, or deacon, if he prays with heretics in a house, or in a church, is to be suspended from communion; but if he also allow them to celebrate as priests, or to perform any other service in the church as clerks, he is to be deposed'[1] (K. fol. 5). Canon xxxiii. of Laodicea: 'With heretics and schismatics who separate themselves from the Catholic Church let no one pray.' The gloss: 'If any one pray with heretics, or with those who have separated themselves of their own will from the Catholic Church, let him be himself excommunicated. The name heretics is given to them who err and sin respecting the faith. But schismatics are [such as] the Audiani, who hold the same faith with the Catholic Church, but live most of them in monasteries, and do not pray with all the rest on the spot, but revile our bishops on account of their wealth, and others on other accounts, and keep the Pasch separately with the Jews, and have moreover certain peculiar disputes, misinterpreting certain difficult words of the divine scripture' (K. fol. 31). Canon xxxvii. of the same holy synod: 'Let no one keep the Pasch with the Jews or with the heretics, nor receive from them what is called the feast-bread.' The gloss: 'There is no communion of light with darkness. On this account a Christian is not to keep the feast either with the heretics or with the Jews, nor receive what they make in their festivals; *i.e.* their azymes, or the like'[2] (K. fol. 33). Canon ix. of Carthage: 'He who communicates with one excommunicated is himself excommunicate.' The gloss: 'If any priest or deacon be excommunicated by his own bishop, and another bishop, knowing him to be excommunicated, receives him, and allows him to officiate with himself, he shall be himself excommunicated. Likewise he who communicates with heretics, and prays with them, shall not communicate with the faithful, but shall be cast out of the church'[3] (K. fol. 48).

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[1] Canon cxxvi. of Bever. i. p. 659. This canon allows clerks to appeal, but only to other bishops, *i. e.* to the synod of their province, and in no case to any authority out of Africa.

[2] See above, p. 500.

And these things are so. Even if it be the Tsar who transgresses these laws, he will fall under their penalties. But for what thou sayest, that I never sat in my place of judgment, to hear complaints and quarrels of any people, 'only he kept secular people who judged in his prikazes, and distributed the petitions addressed to him to people of his court (dvor),' this custom, that secular persons should act as judges under the authority of the patriarch, has good reason to justify it.' This is the case with all the metropolitans and bishops in Russia. However, the patriarchal function (ouriad) has law also on its side for so employing secular persons, as is clear from canon lxxvi. [lxxv.] of the Council of Carthage: 'Let them not trouble the bishop: let there be defensors'[1] (ἔκδικοι) (K. fol. 58). The gloss: 'The poor suffered wrongs and oppression from the more powerful; and on this account they went to the bishops and importuned them, and besought them to help them. And the bishops sometimes helped them, and sometimes were not able. So it pleased the fathers of this council to ask of the emperor, that by provision of the bishops there should be chosen and appointed defensors. But these defensors are executors of justice for the Church, that they may oppose the violence and cruelty of the rich, and defend the poor from their violence. And that the bishops may remain untroubled on their behalf.' Canon xcvii. of the same holy council: 'Let application be made to the emperor for an advocate (*συνήγορος*), that is, a helper, a defence for the interests of the Church, men who may have skill to defend [the rights and interests of the Church] in all church matters, and as *witnesses*[2] of such cases as occur may have facility to refer concerning them.' The gloss: 'And again the fathers of this council were pleased to enact as in canon lxxv. It pleased the fathers to ask of the emperor to give them power to appoint defensors in the Church; that is, punishers and judges, having this special service and skill, to defend ecclesiastical interests, that they as *witnesses* may meet the exigences occurring as often as there shall be need, and may have every facility for entering the tribunals, and may be able to refer in person to the emperor, and obtain assistance from him.' And in conformity with these canons it became the law that there should be also in the patriarchal courts secular judges, and that not without the concurrence of the Tsar, but they are from the order of the Tsar's boyars and okolniks, that when there occurs any cause between people of the Tsar's order [*i. e.* not belonging to the Church] on the one hand and clerks on the other, there should then be no room for suspicion, so as to say that the patriarchs' judges judged alone, and unjustly; but that there should be also judges from the Tsar's dependents, as the holy Church keeps that same custom to this day. Still this was with the concurrence of the patriarch before our time; and in our own time also it was still in the same way. On this account they were called both vindicators and collocutors (*ἔκδικοι καὶ συνήγοροι*), that they may be able to enter the tribunals and give information to the emperor [or his judges and officers] about such matters, and obtain help from him: since according to the ecclesiastical laws it is not always possible for the bishop to go to the emperor, as canons xi. and xii. of the Council of Antioch,[1] and canon cvi. of the Council of Carthage,[2] show. But here in Russia not only is it not allowed for bishops or archimandrites and monks to go to the Tsar, but they are not allowed even to go into the Tsar's court. But to all manner of heretics, Jews, Mahometans, Lutherans, and Calvinists, this is not forbidden. To the orthodox bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and monks alone is the entry to the Tsar's court forbidden.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 28.

[2] Bever. i. p. 471, Aristin's consolidation of the full canons, canons xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix.

[3] Bever. i. p. 523. This is originally canon vii. of the 'Second' Council of Carthage.

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[1] Bev. i. p. 613, canon lxxviii. In the Πηδάλιον *ογ′* = 79, al. lxxv. 'Defensores.

[2] In the original canon it is 'like the [heathen] *priests*,' who in time past had that privilege in each province. The Latin is 'ut dent facultatem defensores constituendi scholasticos (qui in actu sunt vel in munere defensionis causarum), ut *more sacerdotum provinciæ* iidem ipsi qui defensionem ecclesiarum susceperint habeant facultatem pro negotiis ecclesiarum, quoties necessitas flagitaverit, vel ad obsistendum obrepentibus, vel ad necessaria suggerenda, *ingredi judicum secretaria*.'

But as for making straight crooked, or crooked straight, I have not before seen that: I see now that thou makest what is straight crooked, and what is crooked straight. The divine laws thou accountest as nothing; but introducest thine own new unwarranted legislation unknown to the holy Church, and sayest, 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for justice; for they shall be filled. Justice liveth for ever: and when this exists, though alone, the just lord [the Hossoudar] can do all things: for he is more brilliant than the sun. They call emperors and patriarchs by names of all virtues, because they are patterns for all, but especially for justice, the queen of good works; on which account people of old sought by this one word of justice to name all virtues.' That is indeed the truth, that they are blessed that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall be filled. But why hast thou not hungered nor thirsted after such justice; but everywhere, in despite of the divine ordinances, art the enemy of justice, and everywhere pervertest it, as thine own writings show? And thou sayest: 'But that the sovereign (the Hossoudar) can appoint archimandrites and all ecclesiastical authorities, this is one of the imperial privileges, and the custom of nations in general, that he should distribute offices and functions.' Thou hast lied here also, as thou liest everywhere, in saying that this is the privilege and custom for emperors. Nowhere is there anything of this in the imperial laws, that emperors are to elect bishops or archimandrites and the other ecclesiastical authorities, but rather there are quite contrary enactments in the canons of the holy Apostles and of the holy Fathers, and also in the imperial laws on this subject. Read canon xxx. of the holy Apostles,[1] canon xiii. of the Council of Laodicea,[2] and canon iii. of the Seventh holy Ecumenical Council,[3] and canon xix. of the Council of Antioch.[4] And whoever are found to have been elected by secular rulers, the divine canons do not recognise such, but depose them. And they who have elected such, though it be even the Tsar, incur penance. And they who have been ordained by bishops so elected are unordained; and they who have been baptised by them are not baptised, nor are they Christians. Of this much has been written above. Every one ought to know and keep within his own measure. Saul offered sacrifice; he lost the kingdom: and Uzziah having burned incense in the temple, became a leper. Though thou be a Tsar, keep within thine own bounds. Wilt thou say that the heart of the Tsar is in the hand of God? *Then* the heart of the Tsar is in the hand of God, when he keeps within the bounds set for him by God. Thus the Lord said by Samuel, 'Thou hast rejected the word of the Lord; and he hath rejected thee from being king over Israel.' Also thou sayest, 'Seek not from the Lord power, nor dignity from the king: thus the son of Sirach writes.' Answer. He does not always write so. In another place the same son of Sirach writes: 'A king who is undisciplined destroyeth his people.' And Ecclesiastes: 'Woe unto thee, O city, in which thy king is young, and thy princes eat early. It is abomination for kings to do evil. Mercy and truth are the preservation of the king; and they shall surround his throne for justice.' Thou writest that 'the Tsar has lordship to give power and honour,' &c. Answer. The Tsar doubtless has power within his proper bounds set him by God to give power and honour to secular people, but not to bishops and archimandrites and the other ecclesiastical authorities; but, as thou thyself also writest, 'the things which are heavenly belong to the judgment of God, but the things which are of earth belong to the judgment of the Tsar.' And again thou writest: 'Why is the eagle represented with two heads? Because it expands into the ecclesiastical and the secular dignity.' Answer. It is true that the Tsar's majesty has expanded itself over the Church, contrary to all the divine laws, by [its overweening idea of] its own dignity, but not by any laws of God. And it has not stopped short here only; but it has swelled proudly even against God by the breadth of the eagle in a sheet,[1] which has recently been printed in the year from the Incarnation 1663. On this is represented a double-headed eagle, and on the eagle the Tsar on horseback, with very great pride; and above him there is inscribed what Solomon prophesied of Christ, the Tsar taking it to himself. The words are found in the Song of Solomon, ch. iii.: 'Ye daughters of Sion, go out and look upon the king Solomon in the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals.' And there is another text of scripture which Isaiah spake of the everlasting reign of Christ, 'Behold, a just king shall reign in justice.' And again: 'I have established a king in justice; and all his paths are straight: he shall defend my city, and shall bring back the captives of my people, not for reward, nor for a gift. The Lord of Sabaoth hath said that to me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess, saying to God, The righteousness of Israel shall come to him, and all shall be ashamed that separate themselves from the Lord.' But this was not prophesied by Isaiah of the Tsar Alexis, but of the King of kings, the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, of whom also David says, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand.' And again: 'The Lord shall judge the people.' And again: 'He shall judge among the nations; he shall crush the heads over the earth to many peoples.' And elsewhere: 'The Lord hath reigned; he hath put on glorious apparel.' And again: 'I foresaw the Lord always before me, that he is on my right hand: therefore thou shalt not fall. For this cause my heart rejoiced, and my tongue was glad: my flesh also shall rest in hope. For being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn to him with an oath of the fruit of his body to raise up Christ after the flesh, and to set him on his throne [he uttered these things].' And the divine apostle Paul says, 'For he must reign till he has put all enemies under his feet.' And again: 'God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past to the fathers by the prophets, has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath made the heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds. Who, being the effulgence of the glory of the Father, and the image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, after he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he had by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee? And again: I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a Son.' And a little afterwards: 'Thy throne, O God, endureth for ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; for this cause God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' But now we will say in brief what means [the title] 'king of righteousness.' Well; 'sedec' means righteousness, and 'melchi' is king. So 'Melchi-sedec' is 'king of righteousness.' Dost thou see in the names the sense? Who is 'the righteous king' (Tsar) but only our Lord Jesus Christ? The 'king of Salem' is interpreted to mean the king of peace. And this kingdom of peace again is the kingdom of Christ. For he it is who has made us just, and has made peace for us both in heaven and in earth. And what man is king of justice and of peace, except only our Lord Jesus Christ? But for those who, taking from the prophecy what is prophesied of Christ our God, ascribe it to themselves, what a portentous thing has not such a one done? And in the Revelation of John the Divine it is written: 'And I heard the voice of a great multitude of many people, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth: let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to Him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come.' The gloss: 'The voice of the multitude, and of many waters, and of thunders, signifies the striking and echoing sound of the songs of all the countless angelic powers of heaven, which some have understood to be the intellectual waters which are above the heavens; and together with them all the complement of the creation of grace sounds the glory of the Creator. For the Lord Jesus Christ reigneth. Over those of whom naturally as Creator he was lord, he of love to mankind becomes king; who by intellectual appropriation or by delegated power reign also, and are as judges. But the marriage of the Lamb is the union and commixture of the Church with Christ. But it is not to a Tsar or to a prince of the time of this world that the Church is betrothed, she whose builders were the divine Apostles (through whom was given to her her spiritual betrothal) as they who received face to face [in the mysteries of the body and blood of Christ] the pure and true union or incorporation.'

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[1] See above, p. 139, 103.

[2] See above, p. 4, 103.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 24.
[2] Ib. p. 459.
[3] Ib. p. 289.
[4] Ib. p. 417, 419. See above, p. 110, 111.

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[1] Frontispiece to the Moscow reprint of the Ostrog Bible.

The text: 'And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat on him is called Faithful and True: and he judges and makes war in justice. His eyes were as a flame of fire; and on his head were many crowns.' The gloss: 'The opening of heaven signifies that the coming [of the judge] shall be from heaven: as here the withdrawal and folding up of a veil, so shall be on earth the condemnation and sentencing of the guilty by the judge. But the white horse signifies the future brightness and joy of the saints, on whom he that rideth judges the nations with his eyes of flame and fire, that is, with searching and discriminating power, dividing the flame of fire. To the just that fire is enlightening, not consuming: but to the sinners it is consuming, not enlightening. But the many crowns either signify his reigning over all things that are in heaven and upon earth; as many crowns, that is, as there are orders among the angels and sceptres upon earth, and among holy men chief churches and their congregations, or victory in all countries around us, against sinners, through long-suffering; as David says: And thou shalt overcome when thou shalt judge.'

The text: 'And he has upon his garment and upon his thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.' The gloss: 'The name King of kings shows the indivisibility of the divine incarnation, since, being God, he suffered so much, and, being man, he is King of kings, of such, that is, as have reigned over their passions, and Lord of lords, that is, of them that have obtained by the victory of Christ over sin dignity and rule, and of them who are to reign with him in the world to come.'

The text: 'And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried out with a loud voice to all the birds which fly under heaven, Come, and gather yourselves together to the great supper of God, that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all free men and of slaves, small and great. And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war with him that sat on the horse and with his army.' The gloss: 'Them that war together with the devil he calls armies on account of the manifold dividing power and divisions of sin.'

The text: 'And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him to deceive them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.' The gloss: 'And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse: There are two deaths, of which the one is the separation of soul and body; the other is the being cast into hell. But, if we think of those who war together with Antichrist, the words will imply that if the first bodily death precedes by the sword of God, that is, by his command, so the second also is to follow afterwards. And this sense will hold good. But if not, then those also [who are not slain bodily] will share with [the beast and with the false prophet] which has deceived them in the second death of everlasting torment. But for this, that the fowls are filled with their flesh, we take it now again in the same sense in which it was explained above elsewhere; because, as God said to some by Esaias, Ye are become [loathing as of] fatness unto me (Is. i. 14). And to the saints every remaining movement of the flesh is unpleasant, and burdensome, and loathsome.'

And here there is need that we should observe very carefully how the holy angels accept not the divine glory, in accordance with that which is written, 'Render unto Cesar the things that be Cesar's, and unto God the things that be God's.' It is not without having to suffer for it that a slave can honour himself with the imperial titles and dignities. So also the Tsar will not be unpunished, if he prefers himself, and puts himself by his titles among the divine mysteries of the Old and the New Testament, distending himself. Consider the economy of the holy angels:

The text: 'And I fell down before his feet, to worship him; and he saith unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, and of them that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God' (Rev. xxii. 8, 9). 'For the spirit of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.' The gloss: 'The divine angel says to John, Do it not: I am thy fellow-servant. Worship not me, because I foretell things to come: for this is a confession, that is, a testimony, of Christ. He it is who gives the spirit of prophecy. Therefore worship not me thy fellow-servant, but worship him who sustains all things.' And here we see the humility of the holy angels, how they appropriate not to themselves the divine glory, like the malignant and murderous devils, but offer this to their Creator and Lord, that we too may learn not to ascribe to ourselves the divine glory spoken of by the prophets and Apostles, as by writing ourselves by unseemly titles, distending ourselves, among the mysteries of the Old and New Testament, an example of which there is in the Bible printed at Moscow. [This book has] on the eagle the effigy of the Tsar on horseback, very proud, and with texts from the prophets which they uttered prophesying of Christ. But of the divine mysteries, old and new, viz. the Cross and the Resurrection, he has put part, viz. the Cross or Crucifixion of Christ, a little above, but in a narrow space, and in dishonour; but another part, viz. the Resurrection of Christ our God, he has blended together with himself and his own glory, represented by the horse and the eagle; and part, viz. Christ himself our God, he has put quite below all his own glory, beneath the feet of the horse and the eagle, and in a certain confined space, dishonourably. Ah, ah!

alas, alas! woe, woe! To what times have we come! That is fulfilled which is written: 'They changed the glory of God into the glory of a man, and of four-footed beasts, and of birds.' And again another scripture says, 'For they loved the glory of man more than the glory of God. For this cause God gave them up to vile affections . . to do those things which are not convenient.' And again another place: 'But their folly shall be made manifest unto all men' (2 Tim. iii. 9). Who was more glorious in this generation than Moses? to whom the Lord himself bare witness, saying, 'Behold, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh.' But he answered unto God, 'Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? I pray thee, O Lord, choose some other man more able, and send him' (Ex. iv. 14). 'For I am not eloquent: I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue' (ib. 10). Or who was more just than David? to whom the Lord himself bare witness: 'I have found David the son of Jesse; a man after mine own heart, who shall do all my will.' And again elsewhere it is said: 'He chose David his servant, and took him away from the sheepfolds: from following the ewes great with young ones he took him; that he might feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. To whom the Lord God gave [strength] to overthrow the giant in battle, and the Lord took away the reproach from the children of Israel; and he was glorified among the tens of thousands; and the Lord took away his sins: and he lifted up his horn for ever: and the Lord gave him a royal covenant, and a throne of glory in Israel.' Yet neither did he boast himself proudly, but said, 'Behold, I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins did my mother bear me.' And again: 'I am a worm, and no man; a very scorn of men, and the outcast of the people.' And elsewhere: 'For in thy sight shall no man living be justified.' And again: 'I am lowly and in labours from my youth up.' And again: 'I humbled myself, and he saved me.' And again: 'It is well for me that thou hast humbled me, that I may learn thy commandments.' And again: 'The sins of my youth and my ignorances remember not.' And again: 'And David went in, and sat before the Lord, and said, Who am I, O Lord, my Lord, or what is my house, that thou hast loved me hitherto? and I have sinned before thee much, O Lord, my Lord? And what shall David add yet to say unto thee? And now thou knowest, O Lord, my Lord, thy servant' (2 Kings vii. 18-20). And elsewhere it is said: 'And the king blessed the Lord before all the multitude, and said, Blessed art thou, O Lord God of Israel, of our fathers, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the majesty, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and strength; for thou rulest over all things that are in heaven and on earth. From thy face, O Lord, every kingdom is directed, and every nation. For to thee, O Lord, belongs wealth, and to thee belongs the kingdom and the majesty over all things, and over every authority. From thee is wealth, and glory: thou art the beginning of all things, O Lord; the beginning of every beginning and authority; and power is in thy hand, and majesty and empire over all: in thy hand is grace and almighty power, to magnify and to increase all. And now, O Lord our God, we confess to thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee; and of thine own have we given to thee. For we are pilgrims before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: as the shadow upon the ground, so are our days' (3 Kings xxix. 10-15).

Or who is wiser than Solomon? of whom the Lord himself bare witness to David, saying: 'And it shall be when thy days shall be finished, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which is of thy loins, and I will prepare his kingdom, and he shall build a house to my name, and I will direct his throne for ever. And I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son. And Solomon reigned. And Solomon loved the Lord, and walked in all the precepts of David his father' (2 Kings vii. 12, and 3 Kings ii. 12). To him, Solomon, 'the Lord appeared in a dream by night, and said to him, Ask what thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And Solomon said, I am a little child, and I know not to go out and to come in: but thy servant is in the midst of thy people whom thou hast chosen; a great people, as the sand which is by the seaside, which cannot be numbered for multitude. For this cause give thy servant an understanding heart, to hear and to judge thy people in justice, to discern between good and evil: for who is able to judge this thy people, which is so great? And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon asked this thing, And the Lord said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life, neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the lives of thine enemies, but hast asked for thyself understanding, to discern judgment, behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee an understanding heart and wisdom, so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee. And I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour: so that there shall not be any among the kings like unto thee all thy days. And if thou wilt walk in my ways, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as thy father David did walk, then I will lengthen thy days' (3 Kings iii. 4-13). Of whom the son of Sirach says: 'Solomon reigned in days of peace, for God made all to be at rest round about, that he might build a house to his name, and prepare him a sanctuary for ever. How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled as a river, and thy soul covered the earth! Thou didst fulfil guesses with proverbs: thy name went forth to the isles afar. And he was beloved for his peace, for songs, and proverbs, and parables; and in searching the lands he wondered at the name of the Lord God, surnamed the God of Israel. And he gathered gold as brass, and multiplied silver as lead.' But neither did he write any proud titles of himself, taking to himself what had been said by the prophets of God: but after he had received wisdom and judgment also, as before, he said: 'I, thy servant and son of thine handmaid, am a man weak and short-lived, and too weak for understanding judgment and law. And though a man be never so perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom depart from him he shall be accounted as nothing. . . . For who is the man that can know the counsel of God? or who can guess what God willeth to do? The thoughts of mortals are weak, and our previsions uncertain. For the corruptible body weighs down the soul, and the earthly life weakens the mind: and with great carefulness, thinking much, scarcely do we understand the things that be upon earth: but the things that are in heaven who hath searched out? and his counsel who hath known?' (Wisd. ix. 5, 6, 13-17.) 'Be not righteous overmuch: neither make thyself overwise in thine own conceit, lest one day thou become a fool. It is good for thee to hold to this . . . that there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not'

(Eccles. vii. 16, 19). 'Follow not thine own mind and strength, to walk in the ways of thy heart: and say not, Who is stronger than I? for the Lord, the avenger, will surely take vengeance on thee. Say not, I have sinned; and what harm has happened unto me?' (Ecclus. v. 2-4.)

How can any one say and write as a title of himself, 'Behold, a just king (Tsar) reigneth; and princes shall begin to rule in judgment'? But that word is true of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, of whom Daniel prophesied: 'And in the days of those kings God shall set up a heavenly kingdom, which shall not be destroyed for ever: and his kingdom shall not be left for others; and it shall destroy all kingdoms; but itself shall abide for ever: as he saw that a stone was cut out from the mountain without hands, and it smote the clay, and the iron, and the brass, and the silver, and the gold, &c. And to him was given power, and honour, and dominion; and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve him: and his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall never be destroyed' (Dan. ii. 44, 45, and vii. 14). But for this that his princes shall begin to rule in judgment, this is said of the holy Apostles; as David also says, 'And thou shalt make them princes over all the earth' (Ps. xliv. 16). As also Daniel saw: 'I beheld,' he says, 'until the thrones were set' (Dan. vii. 9). And again Solomon says: 'They shall judge among the Gentiles, and shall have dominion over the peoples: and the Lord shall reign among them for ever' (Wisd. iii. 8). And in the gospel it is written: 'Then Peter, answering, said unto him, Behold, we have left all, and have followed thee. What, therefore, shall we have? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Matt. xix. 27, 28). And again the Apostle testifies: 'Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?' And a little farther on: 'Know ye not that we shall judge angels, and not only things of this life?' (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.) And again another Apostle says: 'To him that overcometh I will give to sit with me on my throne, as I also have overcome, and have sat down with my Father on his throne' (Rev. iii. 21). And again: 'And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years' (ib. xx. 4). The gloss: 'Already there have been given to the holy Apostles thrones of teaching, by which the Gentiles are led and enlightened: and there shall be given to them also, according to the divine promise, in the world to come, thrones of judgment, for the condemnation of them which have rejected the preaching of the gospel; as David says, For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord; unto the testimony of Israel, &c.: for there are set the thrones of judgment (Ps. cxxi. 4, 5). To the rest of the holy martyrs also who suffered for Christ, who had not worshipped the beast and his image, was given judgment; that is, power to judge, by which they judge devils, even till now, as we see, being glorified together with Christ even to this present age, and being honoured and worshipped by religious emperors and faithful princes.'

And these things are so. The words of Isaiah [recited above, and misapplied to the Tsar] are not of Tsars, nor of princes of this world. Here it will be in place to quote also those words of the prophet which follow: 'And there shall be,' he says (Is. xxxii. 2), 'a man concealing his words, and he shall conceal himself as a source of water, and he shall appear in Sion as the source of a running stream, glorious in a thirsty land.' Sion here is to be understood as being nothing else than the holy Church; and the source of a stream running in a thirsty land is the holy and sacred gospel. Then the prophet says, 'And for the future they shall not trust in men.' That is the same in sense as what David says, 'Trust not in men, though they be Tsars and princes. Trust not,' he says, 'in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no help. For his spirit goeth forth, and he shall be turned again to his earth, and then all his thoughts perish. Blessed is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, and whose hope is in the Lord his God, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is therein; who keepeth truth for ever. He executeth judgment for the oppressed; he giveth food to the hungry,' &c. The prophet has added too such expressions as these: 'But they shall give their ears to hear, and the heart that had become feeble shall be attentive to obey.' This he says of the Apostles, who at one time said, 'Lord, increase our faith;' and at another, 'Lord, explain to us this parable;' whereby is shown zeal for hearing. And again thus: 'Lord, to whom shall we go? with thee we have eternal life.' And to them the Lord also says, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' But for what the prophet says, 'The tongues of them that were dumb shall soon learn to speak peace,' peace is not anything else than Christ. Christ is peace; that is the gospel; as the Lord himself also says, 'My peace I give to you; my peace I leave to you.' Then again the prophet says, 'And from henceforth they shall not say to the fool, Be ruler; neither from henceforth shall they say to thy servants, Be silent. For the fool will utter folly, and his heart thinketh emptiness. He doeth lawless things, even to speak of the Lord deceit, so as to scatter the souls of the hungry, and the souls of the thirsty to make dry. For the counsel of the wicked counselleth lawless things, to scatter the humble in judgment.'[1] These words of the prophet need no gloss: for they are the simple truth of the transgressors who obey not the commandments of the gospel. He has added, moreover, afterwards something of the holy legislation of the Apostles, saying, 'But the godly have counselled wisely; and that counsel shall stand:' that is, shall stand, and shall not be changed for ever. Though some may foist into it their own new and lawless enactments, still the Lord testifies, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' And elsewhere he says, 'There shall nothing pass away from the law until all be fulfilled.' And now already many of those things which were foretold by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his holy prophets and Apostles, have been fulfilled, or are fulfilling; wherefore those other things which follow after them will also be fulfilled.

And for those proud men who now have transgressed greatly, and, appropriating to themselves the honour and glory of God, have put under their own feet, under the feet of the horse and eagle, the prophetical mysteries, and the city of the Great King, 'God is known in his heavy visitations! The Lord is known in the execution of judgments: in the works of his own hands he takes the sinners!' 'He would not understand, that he might bless God.' No, he would not understand! 'I called unto the Lord, and he heard me, yea, and delivered me out of all my troubles.' He would not understand! 'Lo, the poor crieth, and the Lord heareth them, he saveth them out of all their troubles.' He would not understand! 'I was afflicted, and he saved me.' He would not understand! 'If the Lord build not the house, their labour is but vain that build it: if the Lord keep not the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' He would not understand! 'The Lord setteth up and casteth down; he maketh poor and maketh rich; he bringeth low and raiseth high.' 'Hear ye who now hold the multitudes, and boast yourselves of the peoples of the Gentiles; for the empire has been given to you of the Lord, and power from the Most High, who weighs all your works, and searches your thoughts. If, being servants of his kingdom, ye have not judged justly, nor have kept the law, nor walked according to the will of God, destruction shall speedily come upon you: for there is a most severe judgment against the eminent. For the small man deserves mercy; but mighty men shall be mightily searched with torments. For he shall not regard the persons of any rulers, nor shall fear the face of nobles: for he hath made small and great; and so his providence is over all. But for rulers there will be the most searching severity of trial' (Wisd. vi.). 'For the Lord our God he is God of gods, the great God, strong and terrible, who respecteth not persons, and receiveth not gifts; who executeth judgment for the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow. He will hear him who boasts himself of the loftiness of his throne, and of the multitude of his riches: God will hear him, and bring him down, even he who is from everlasting. For they will not turn, nor fear God.' 'For the Lord is judge; and there is no respect of persons with him.' He will hear them who now transfer the honour and glory of God to their own honour and glory, and so blaspheme the name of the Lord and his glory; as in one place the Apostle writes, 'For the name of the Lord is on account of you blasphemed among the Gentiles.' And elsewhere: 'And they blasphemed the name of God, who has power over these plagues; and repented not, to give him glory' (Rev. xvi. 9). He shall be known, who now distends himself with both the ecclesiastical and the secular dignities, when he shall have not to exercise jurisdiction, but to answer for himself, and that to the Judge whom he has offended.

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[1] The Slavonic printed Bible has now, 'to defeat humble words by unjust words, and to scatter the words of the humble in judgment.'

Again, O Answerer, thou writest: 'Matthew Blastar, explaining [in his Gloss on the canons] why the emperor entered within the altar to the holy mysteries, gives among other reasons this also, "because he is anointed of God; and therefore also they appoint patriarchs." They appoint patriarchs: And can they not then also choose archimandrites and hegoumens?' As for Matthew Blastar, from the laws of the holy Catholic Church we know not who he is. And so far as we have the laws of the holy Catholic Church, viz. those of the holy Apostles and of the holy Fathers of the Seven holy Ecumenical and the Nine Local Councils, well. But as for others, according to canon lxxxv. of the holy Apostles, and canon lviii. [lx.] of the Council of Laodicea, and by canons of the other holy Fathers, those most known, viz. the Apostolical Constitutions written by Clement, have been, on account of some corruption of them furtively made by heretics, rejected by the Sixth holy Ecumenical Council (in its canon ii.): and we also, in accordance with canon i. of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, reject them. If thou, or any other, pretending to be even an angel, preach anything new, be thou anathema, according to the divine Apostle. But for that thou sayest that the emperor entered into the sanctuary for this reason, that he is the anointed of God, in this also thou hast lied. He is anointed through the bishop to the empire. And no such rule in the orthodox canons do we find. But we find in canon lxix. of the Sixth holy Ecumenical Council these words: 'Except the emperor, none of the laity may go within the sanctuary.' The gloss: 'Let it not be allowed to any lay person to enter into the sanctuary. Nevertheless the power and authority of the emperor is by no means forbidden to enter it, when he wishes to offer gifts to God his Creator, according to a very ancient tradition of the fathers'[1] (K. fol. 77).

And these things are so. But the Tsar's majesty does not keep to this canon. Not only does he not offer to God his Creator according to a certain tradition of the old fathers; but even that which was offered before to the holy cathedral church by former religious Tsars and Grand Princes he has appropriated, the whole of it, to his own uses, property movable and unmovable, of which we have written above; though God himself has commanded, 'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty: every one shall bring of that which his hand findeth, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God with which he hath blessed thee' (Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20, Deut. xvi. 16, 17). And again elsewhere it is said: 'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty. For every offering of a just man made according to this commandment honours the altar: and its sweet savour is before the Most High. The sacrifice of a just man is acceptable; and its remembrance shall not be forgotten. With a good [*i.e.* an ungrudging] eye glorify the Lord, and do not diminish from the first-fruits of thy hand. In every gift make thy face bright; and with cheerfulness sanctify the tenth. Give to the Most High according to his liberality to thee; and with an ungrudging eye purify thy hands; for the Lord will recompense and will return thee sevenfold. For a gift made without pains he accepteth not; nor draweth nigh to the sacrifices of the unjust. For he, the Lord, is the judge; and with him there is no respect of persons. He receiveth not persons against the poor; and the prayer of the oppressed he will hear' (Sir. xxxv. 4-13). And who is oppressed now more than the holy cathedral church? She is now more wronged than any orphan or widow. 'But the Lord will not despise the prayers of the orphan and widow, when they complain to him of their wrongs. Do not the tears of the widow run down her cheeks, and her sobbing is against him who has troubled her? He who prays with a good will shall be received, and his prayer shall enter into the clouds. The prayer of the afflicted shall pierce the clouds; until it arrives it will not be appeased, nor desist until the Most High visits to judge for righteousness and to execute judgment. And the Lord shall not delay; and will not be patient with them, but will speedily crush the loins of the unmerciful, and will consume the multitude of the oppressors, and will break the sceptres of the unjust: and will repay a man according to his conduct, the sons of men according to their deeds and thoughts. He will judge his people with justice; and make them glad with his mercy. How beautiful is mercy in the day of afflictions! even as rain-clouds in a time of drought' (Sir. xxxv. 14-23).

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[1] Bever. i. p. 239. This gloss is the full canon itself.

But how dost thou make out that the Hossoudar may enter within the sanctuary at the time of the communion without doing anything of this kind [*i.e.* without making any offering to God], though the Lord says, 'If thou bringest thy gift before the altar, and thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go, reconcile thyself with thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift'? But against him, the Hossoudar, his mother the holy cathedral church, which bare him of water and the Spirit, and anointed him with chrism to the empire, having been wronged, complains weeping as the last of orphans, and as a widow insulted by the adulterous metropolitan of Kroutitz, and asks to be avenged, standing ever before his palace.[1] But he, the Hossoudar, not only does not avenge her, but he even approves of that adultery. And he himself has taken by force all the things that were hers to his own house. What was given to feed the children of the Church and the poor he has lavished upon bad men, upon falconers, and huntsmen, and upon other unthankful evil-doers, who do whatever pleases him. As also in the case of the patriarchs: whatever small matter there might be over after defraying the necessary expenses of the administration of the Church, and the customary relief of the poor, it all went into his hands: and thus a rule was made, I know not by what laws, that when the patriarch keeps the festival of the Assumption of our M. H. Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and on Palm Sunday, and the Decease of St. Peter the metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, the wonder-worker, on these three festivals the Tsar, with all his synclete, is invited by the patriarch and by all the sacred synod of the clergy to the service of the festival: and after the celebration of the holy festival the patriarch invites the Tsar to eat bread: and after the eating of bread (the banquet) the patriarch offers to the Tsar great gifts from the remains of the church revenues; and the Tsar receives those gifts, and sends them to his imperial treasury; and so all that remains over of the church revenues is made an end of from year to year. But it would have been fitting rather that on three such great festivals the Tsar himself, and the Tsaritsa, and the Tsareviches, and the Tsarevnas, and the princes and boyars, and all the nobles and all the people, should offer gifts, in accordance with what is written, 'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty. Every one shall give according to what his hand findeth, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God wherewith he hath blessed thee.' As also in another place the Lord commanded, saying, 'Command the children of Israel, and say unto them thus: My gifts, and my offerings and my oblations for an odour of sweet smell, ye shall observe to offer to me on all my feasts' (Numb. xxviii. 2). 'The first-fruits of thine oil-vat and of thy wine-press thou shalt not delay to bring to me; the first-born of thy sons thou shalt give to me. Likewise shalt thou do with thy calves, and with thy sheep, and with thine asses, and the first-fruits of thy shearing' (Ex. xxii. 29, 30, Deut. xviii. 4). But they, reversing this divine commandment in their own favour, when they all come together for a festival to the church of the Lord, bring no gifts whatever to the Lord; but after the celebration of the holy Liturgy they feed themselves to the full at the patriarch's table, and take gifts of him, and then go off to their houses glad and merry, having done no good thing before the Lord, nor having brought gifts, but having themselves taken tribute, as it were, from the property of God. Whom will such men spare, who spare not even God, and God's property? And they say, 'The patriarch has blessed this man and that with such and such a present;' while the patriarch under absolute necessity, like a serf who has to pay his obrok, buys what he needs to give as presents of this man and of that; and the ungrateful people, knowing the custom which obliges the patriarch to furnish himself against the festival, take two and three times more than the fair price for silver vessels, for sables, for gold-stuffs, and brocades, and damasks, and other things needed. Why should such men go at all to the house of God? They not only themselves bring no offering, but they even squander what has been laid up there. We have heard above how great an evil is wrong. And is not this a wrong? Yea, verily, it is a wrong, and no slight wrong, done to the holy cathedral church; since of fear and dread the patriarch cannot alter this, any more than if it were a law of God, or a vow made to Him. They themselves, the Tsar's majesty for one, in the holy church in holy baptism renounced Satan, and all his works, and all his service, and all his shame, and all his pomp, and joined themselves to Christ our King and God, and believed and confessed the holy creed, as the holy Church has received it. To join oneself with Christ is nothing else than to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Holy Trinity consubstantial and undivided in one Deity, and in the holy gospel, and in the faith of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers of the Seven holy Ecumenical Councils; as is witnessed by the prayers themselves at the beginning of the Form for making a Catechumen in order to Baptism, in which, laying on his hand, the bishop says—Hear here the very truth itself!:

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[1] The Cathedral of the Assumption was quite close, opposite to the Tsar's palace in the Kremlin.

'In thy name, O Lord God of truth, and in the name of thine only-begotten Son, and of thy Holy Spirit, I lay my hand on thy servant, to whom thou hast vouchsafed grace to flee to thy holy name, and to be kept under the shadow of thy wings. Separate from him that old deceit; fill him with the faith that is in thee, and with hope and love; let him understand that thou alone art the true God, and thine only-begotten Son, and thy Holy Spirit. Grant him to walk in all thy commandments, and observe to do all things that are pleasing to thee; because the man that keepeth these shall live by them.'

Seest thou, O thou Answerer, blasphemer of Christ, and trampler upon the orthodox faith, what the beginning of the holy office in the Ritual indicates? 'Grant him,' it says, 'to walk in all thy commandments, and to observe to do all things pleasing to thee; because if a man keep these things he shall live by them.' But if any one keepeth them not, shall he live by them? No, surely! And these words differ not from those of the gospel, when our Lord says to the Jews who came to him, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, that he that heareth my word, and believeth in Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into condemnation, but has passed from death unto life. But he that believeth not is condemned already.' As also in another place it is said, 'He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word which I have spoken, that shall judge him in the last day' (John v.). But what great thing does the Tsar's majesty according to the holy gospel, that we also should be witnesses of his good works? as it is written, 'that they may see your good works, and may glorify your Father which is in heaven.' Hast thou not heard that faith without works is dead? And if any man believes without works, such a one is dead before he dies the common death of all. The Lord testifies, 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I answer them, I never knew you: depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.' And if they who have wrought miracles in the name of the Lord shall be disowned, what of them who have done no good thing, but have even done things contrary to the gospel, where shall they be, O thou deceiver? But let us return again to the prayers of the Ritual. Then the bishop says what follows in the Office: 'Write him in the book of thy life: unite him to the flock of thine inheritance: let thy holy name be glorified in him, and that of thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of thy life-giving Spirit: let thine eyes watch over him ever for mercy, and thine ears to hear the voice of his prayer: make him to rejoice in the works of his hands.' See here also the exactness of the words used: 'that the *voice* of his petition should be heard;' not his mere wish without prayer. So also that he should 'rejoice in the works of his hands.' In what works? Not such as working in wood, and the like works, but in mercy and acts of goodness; as the word of truth says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' And afterwards he says to all them that are blessed for their works in common: 'Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven!' But again in yet another prayer we shall hear what is no less to the point.

(The fourth Prayer in making a Catechumen:) 'Thou, O Lord, our Lord, who madest man in thy image and likeness, and gavest him power to attain to everlasting life, who, after he had fallen by sin, didst not despise him, but didst ordain the incarnation of thy Christ to be the salvation of the world, do thou now also deliver this thy creature from the bondage of the enemy, admit him into thy heavenly kingdom, open the eyes of his mind, that the enlightenment of thy gospel may dawn on it.' So also in the Office for holy Baptism, in the first Prayer, the priest praying for him who is to be baptised says:

'Form the image of thy Christ in him that is to be born again through the ministry of my unworthiness, and build him on the foundation of thy Apostles and Prophets; and cast him not away, but plant him as a true plantation in thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; and pluck him not up, but let him advance in piety to the glory of thy holy name, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.' Seest thou how from on all sides he who is baptised is pledged to the commandments of the holy gospel, and to the doctrines of the apostles and prophets? So also in the last Prayer the priest prays as follows:

'Manifest thyself, O Lord, on this water, and grant that he who is baptised in it may be changed, so as to put off the old man, which is corrupt in deceitful lusts, and to put on the new man, which is renewed after the image of his Creator; that being made like in the likeness of thy death, by baptism, he may also be a partaker of thy resurrection, and may keep the gift of thy Holy Spirit, and having made increase of the deposit of grace, may receive the honour of the heavenly calling, and may be numbered with the first-born whose names are written in heaven, in thee our God and Lord Jesus Christ, together with thine unoriginated Father, and with thy most holy, good, and life-giving Spirit.'

And these things are so, as respects holy baptism, for every one who is baptised into Christ. Though a man be an emperor or king (a Tsar), it is nothing different for him, but exactly the same. The commandments and the promise to keep them are the same for all. And we know not what the Tsar's majesty may perform of the commandments of the gospel; but his own human commands he has everywhere preferred above those of Christ. Whether he, the Hossoudar, himself personally keeps the commandments of God, we know not. Nevertheless, in one way I know that he does *not* keep them. The Lord says, 'If ye love me, keep my commandments' (John xiv. 15). And again: 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me' (ib. 21). What commandments? No others but the same that the Lord spake to the teacher of the law: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first and the great commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.' And if the Hossoudar the Tsar had loved God, he would have loved me, as it is written: 'He that loveth God, loveth also his neighbour;' as the Lord himself also testifies, 'He that loveth me not, keepeth not my words: and the word which ye have heard is not mine, but it is the word of my Father that sent me.' And again: 'He who is of God heareth the words of God. Ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God.' This is the word of God; and it is unerring. And who shall make it void, though it be strange, and though any one who has not listened to these words may dislike them? But *our* duty is rather to follow the example set us in the scriptures, in the Acts, where it is related thus: 'But Peter and John, answering, said unto them, Whether it is right before God to obey you rather than God, judge ye: but we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.' And again elsewhere: 'But Peter and the Apostles, answering, said, It is right to obey God rather than man.' So also the Lord teaches: 'But fear ye not: for every one that confesses me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' What is more terrible than this, not to love the Lord our God, and to be rejected in heaven? But if any one loveth not his brother, how can he love God? 'If any one say that he love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar, and there is no truth in him. He that says that he is in the light, and hateth his brother, he is in darkness till now, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes. Every one that hateth his brother is a murderer; and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.' This is not my word: it is the word of the Apostle. And if he who loveth not his brother abideth in death, and is a murderer, and hath not eternal life abiding in him ('Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing'), what of him who loveth not God and the holy Church? what torments shall not he incur? For 'he that loveth not,' it is said, 'hath not known God.' For the Lord God has called both these two holy commandments *great*. 'To love the Lord thy God, this is the first and great commandment.' Every one then that transgresses it shall for this, the first and greatest commandment, be most punished. 'And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love,' he says, 'thy neighbour as thyself.' And again other words: 'I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink,' &c. (Matt. xxv. 42.) 'To him that asketh of thee,' it is said, 'give: and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thyself away.' And 'Ye shall love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you: ye shall bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' 'And when thou doest alms, do them not in public:' and 'Pray in thy closet:' and 'Forgive to your debtors their debts: and Forgive men their trespasses:' and 'Fast without making your faces sad, to make a show before men:' and 'Not to lay up treasures [on earth], nor to be careful what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, and wherewith shall ye be clothed:' and 'What we wish to be done to us, to do the same ourselves' in mind to others; these are the precepts for him who loves God and his neighbour. But what of him who not merely loves not, but even persecutes? who not merely does not feed, but takes away from others what they have? what torments will not he deserve? The Apostle says, 'Every one that doeth not righteousness is not of God.' And elsewhere: 'He who is not of God heareth not us.' And the Lord says: 'He who rejecteth you rejecteth me, and Him that sent me.' 'Hereby they shall know you that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' 'If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, for this cause the world hateth you. Remember the word which I spake to you, The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have cast me out, they will also cast you out. If they keep my word, they will also keep yours. And all these things they will do to you for my name's sake.'

And now is this enough for thee as an instruction for every one who has been baptised in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, concerning the commandments of Christ? Hence a man is to be known whether he be a Christian or not, even though he be an emperor or king (a Tsar) by rank, and according to his own idea of his rights. But for the precepts to fly from them that persecute us; not to love father and mother more than God; to love them that love God and do his holy commandments more than father and mother, and brothers and sisters; to wash feet; to give a cup of cold water in the name of the Lord; not to utter an idle word: for these [for them who do such things] there shall be the benediction, 'Blessed!' for every act; and no one of such acts shall lose its reward. The Lord thus testifieth: 'The servant who knew his lord's will and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.' And 'He that is unfaithful in little will be unfaithful also in much.' And 'The tree which bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down,' &c.

But how shall any one have the right to come within the holy altar who cares not at all about the holy and divine commandments, nor obeys the written law of the gospel which saith, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me'? And another scripture says: 'Brethren, obey your teachers, and be subject unto them; for they watch for your souls.' But how shall he be a disciple of God who does not listen to the divine teachers? Nay, such an one is even a rejecter of them. And not merely does he not hearken to them, but he even commands the bishops of God to hearken to himself, and not merely to hearken, but also to obey him. The word of God teaches us, 'If thy brother sin against thee, go and tell him his fault: if he hearken not to thee alone, take with thee one or two others, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. But if he hearken not to these, tell it to the Church: and if he hears not the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.' So also the divine Apostle, writing to Timothy, says, 'After a first and second admonition, from such turn away, knowing that such an one is perverted.' Of such it was written of old, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.' That is the same now as it was of old. Though thou wert even called an Israelite, but hadst a mind to do contrary works, it would be with thee as the Apostle writes, 'For not all who are of Israel are Israel, nor are all they who are of Abraham children of Abraham; but he who doeth the works of Abraham, he also is a son of Abraham.' So also not every one who has been baptised to be a Christian will be saved; but he who doeth christian works worthy of his profession, he, in proportion to his labour, shall receive his reward. For this cause Christ in many different ways has shown us of this; at one time saying, 'Why call ye me

Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' at another, 'Many shall say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name?' &c. In like manner he spake a parable of the man that built his house upon the sand, the ruin of which house was great: and of the sower which went forth to sow; and as he sowed, some fell by the wayside, and other fell on rocky ground, &c. And the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man who sowed good seed in his field; and while men slept, his enemy came, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way (Matt. xiii. 24, 25). And of the king who would take account of his servants: and one was brought unto him which owed him ten thousand talents; and when he could not pay he commanded him to be sold; and then mercifully forgave him the debt; but afterwards for his cruelty to his fellow-servant ordered him to be delivered to the tormentors (ib. xviii. 23-35). And of the kingdom of heaven being like unto a householder who went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard; and to him that grumbled he said, Take that thine is, and go thy way. Go where? Go, that is, into outer darkness. And of the certain man who had two sons; and he went to the first, and said, Son, go work to-day in my vineyard; and one consented to go, but went not, the other refused to go, but afterwards repented and went. And again he said, 'There was a certain householder who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went away' (ib. xxi. 33). And again he said, 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a king who made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: and they would not come' (ib. xxii. 1). And again he said, 'The kingdom of heaven is like to ten virgins who took their lamps, and went to meet the bridegroom; and five of them were wise, and five were foolish,' &c. And that 'a certain man going into a far country called his servants, and delivered to them his substance; and to one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one, to each one according to his ability: and he left them, and departed,' &c.

Seest thou now from these divine parables how little it will profit us to say Lord, Lord, if we do not what the divine commandments require? since the Lord himself says, 'Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.' For the Saviour himself renounced his mother and his brethren, saying, 'Who are my mother and my brethren? These here who hear the word of God, and keep it, the same are my mother, my sister, and my brother' (ib. iii. 31-35). But what shall any one be benefited by a house built without a foundation? by a sowing of seed not supplied with moisture? by being an unprofitable servant? by being a murmuring hireling? by being disobedient sons of the adoption? by being bad husbandmen in the vineyard? by despising the invitation to be guests at the marriage feast? by being of the foolish virgins? by having had a talent committed to us without increasing it? by having been baptised, without keeping the grace of baptism? by having neglected the commandments of Christ? Because faith without works will not save, unless we do Christian works, as has been said above. 'Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' And again elsewhere it is said, 'Not the hearers, but the doers, shall be justified.' 'Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.' Because 'if any man is a hearer only and not a doer, he is like to a man beholding his natural face in a glass. For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.' 'But why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' 'He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar.' Hear this, that 'if any man says, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' 'But why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?' Hear this, that 'no lie is of the truth.' Of such it was said of old, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain,' &c. Listen and hear what is an oath: 'And God promised to Abraham, since he had no greater to swear by, he swears by himself, saying, Of a truth in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thee,' &c. See the form of the oath. This is the form of the oath of God the Father to Abraham. Hear now the oath of the Son, when he swears, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, that he that heareth my words, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life.' And elsewhere again: 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, he that believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?' In like manner David also sware: 'I have sworn (he says) and am steadfastly purposed to keep thy righteous judgments,' &c. And again: 'He sware unto the Lord, and vowed a vow unto the God of Jacob.' See, an oath is nothing else than a covenant with God, as in baptism we renounce Satan and all his works. Then, after this, he who is baptised says, 'And I have joined myself to Christ,' that is, I have vowed myself to Christ. This is an oath; as also the Apostle says, 'Know ye not that so many of us as have been baptised into Christ Jesus were baptised into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him: knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace. What then? shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?' (Rom. vi. 3-16.) Consider this instruction of the Apostle, and see how little baptism will profit thee, if there are not also good works. The empty name of Christian will be no salvation: as Basil the Great also writes, in his canon xlv.:

'A Christian who blasphemes Christ has no benefit from the name.' The gloss: 'Faith without works is dead: and there is no profit from the mere name, if any one be called a Christian, but rejects the commandments of Christ, and by evil works blasphemes him.' But if any one who has been baptised into Christ Jesus doeth not the commandments of Christ, such a man is an oathbreaker; because he made a covenant with Christ to obey in all things, and to do his holy commandments; and he has not done so. But 'that servant who knew his lord's will and did not according to his will shall be beaten with many stripes,' as the Lord himself testifies. And not only he who doeth not the commandments of Christ, but whosoever also does not obey his holy disciples and apostles and teachers. 'And if any man will not receive you nor hearken unto your words, when ye go out from that house, or from that city, shake off the dust from your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city.' See how the Lord declares with an oath what shall befall them who have not received the words of his holy disciples and apostles and teachers. But he who has been baptised, and has made a vow to Christ to keep his holy commandments, and has not kept the covenant of God and his own vow, what torments does not he deserve? Will he not deserve more than they who did not receive into their houses the Apostles, nor hearken to their words? whom the Lord condemned more than the men of Sodom and Gomorrah. But for him who not only does not himself keep the commandments of God, but also persecutes them that keep them, and hates them in all manner of ways unjustly, and not merely persecutes, but has pleasure in them that are together with himself careless about the commandments of God, what shall come to him? The Lord saith: 'If any one abideth not in me, he is cast out as a branch withered, and men gather them up, and put them on the fire to burn them.' Of oath-breakers see canon lxiv. of Basil the Great:

'An oath-breaker, that is, he who has sworn to a lie, or who has broken a true oath, is to receive penance for ten years. Let him be two years a mourner: during three years let him hear the divine scriptures: for four let him be among the substrati: and one year let him stand with the faithful, and after that let him receive the holy communion'[1] (K. fol. 95). And canon lxxii. of the same St. Basil: 'He who swore [and broke his oath] under compulsion shall be received after six years; but he who swore [and broke his oath] without compulsion after twelve.'

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[1] Bever. ii. p. 107, Aristin.

The gloss: 'A certain man swore that he would not do so or so; as, for instance, a judge that he would not sign the sentence passed upon such a one, but afterwards, being compelled by superior power, he signed, and broke his oath: such a one incurs a lighter penance. But if, without any necessity, he breaks his oath, he is to be among the mourners two years, for three years he is to hear the divine scriptures, for five years he is to remain with the substrati, and during two years he is to stand with the faithful and communicate with them in the prayers; and so after the twelfth year let him be admitted to the Body and Blood of the Lord.' Seest thou as regards them that break their oaths how the law was laid down that such are not worthy even to stand in the church or to pray with the faithful? But does not either this alarm thee? Then hear Christ himself, who says to all, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' Hear also St. Basil the Great, canon lxxiii.: 'He that hath denied Christ shall pass all his life in penance.' The gloss: 'He that has denied Christ is to weep as a penitent all his life, but at the hour of death he is to be admitted to the holy communion.'[1]

But how sayest thou that it is for the Tsar to choose patriarchs, and metropolitans, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, when he has no authority to do so, and has in nothing kept his vow made to God; and on that account is not worthy even to enter the church, but ought to pass all the days of his life in penance, and at the hour of death only be admitted to communion? Whence dost thou adduce such lewd accursed laws, and sayest that 'the Tsar has a right to enter within the altar to communicate'? when the divine Chrysostom forbade any man who had broken an oath or only sworn profanely even to cross the threshold of the church, even though it were the emperor himself? But the Tsar has broken his oath not once only, but three times over. One oath which he has broken there was in his baptism. Another, when the bishop anointed him to the empire. Then he made a covenant with him, saying,

'Sire and Son beloved in the Holy Ghost of the holy Church and of our humility, Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich, Autocrat of all Russia! behold, thou art from henceforth appointed Tsar and Grand Prince according to the grace given to us from the M. H. and life-giving Spirit, by the imposition of the hands of our humility together with the sacred synod of the clergy in the holy Great Church of the Assumption of the M. H. Mother of God. And thou, O sire and son, divinely-crowned and orthodox Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Russia, have the fear of God in thy heart, and keep the Christian faith of the Greek law pure and unwavering, and preserve thine empire which thou hast now received from God pure and blameless. Love justice and mercy, and judge just judgment. To obedient subjects be gracious. To the holy catholic church (the cathedral church of the primate at Moscow) and to all the holy churches show faith and the fear of God. And give her honour, because in her, O Tsar, thou wert born again of the holy laver of baptism by thy spiritual regeneration. And towards the holy and honourable monasteries have great faith. And towards our humility and towards all thy holy beadsmen in the Holy Ghost show thy imperial spiritual obedience, according to the words of Christ's gospel, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth Him that sent me. And, in respect of this, know also that whatever honour any one gives to the bishop, that honour passes up to Christ himself, from whom they shall receive a reward a hundred-fold,' &c. More about this, and at greater length, has been written above. But he has done nothing of this kind, but has set at naught all.

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[1] Bever. ii. p. 126, Aristin.

A third time was when the Tsar, together with all the sacred synod, besought Nicon, then metropolitan of Novgorod, to undertake the patriarchate. And Nicon long refused so great a burden. And at length, after many entreaties from the Tsar and from all the sacred synod, Nicon the metropolitan spoke to the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Michaelovich in the holy Great Catholic and Apostolic Church [*i.e.* in the cathedral of the Assumption] calling to witness the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the M. H. most pure Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and the holy angels and archangels, and the holy and glorious prophet the forerunner of the Lord John the Baptist, and the holy, glorious, and all-laudable Apostles, and the holy Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and all the saints, before all the sacred synod, and before his imperial synclete, and before all the people, that if it pleased God that the metropolitan Nicon should be patriarch, and the metropolitan Nicon observed in the Tsar and Grand Prince any fault contrary to the holy commandments of the gospel or contrary to the canons of the holy Apostles and Fathers, then he Nicon, as it is written in the Psalms, should, without being ashamed, speak before the Tsar of the commandments of the Lord and of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers; and that he the Hossoudar the Tsar, and the Tsar's boyars, should hearken to him in all things. And the Hossoudar and the boyars all promised in the great and holy church before the Lord God, and before the M. H. Mother of God, and all the saints, and all the sacred synod, to hear attentively and to obey the commandments of Christ and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and to devise nothing otherwise by any vain subtlety whatever according to the tradition of men, and according to the elements of this world. And at the first indeed the Tsar was good, and meek, and obedient; and Nicon was patriarch. But when the Tsar and Grand Prince changed for the worse in his relations with the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and began to despise the holy commandments of God and the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and began not only not to listen to the patriarch Nicon, but even to speak sharp words to him in an unseemly manner, then the patriarch Nicon, having testified in the same great Catholic and Apostolic Church before the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and before our most holy, most pure, and most blessed Lady the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and the holy angels and all the saints, sent to the Tsar and Grand Prince by the kliuchar a letter written with his own hand to explain why he the patriarch Nicon was going away, viz. in order to give place to the Tsar's wrath. And he the Hossoudar—whether he read it or not I know not, but only I know that he—sent back that letter of the patriarch Nicon. And the patriarch Nicon, not many days afterwards [after three days] went away from the city-lodge of the monastery of Voskresensk to that monastery. And the Hossoudar the Tsar from that time to this present persists in his anger against the patriarch Nicon, for what cause I know not, and believes all manner of false accusers [who come with accusations against him], and has banished [on his account] many good men, priests and deacons and laymen, contrary to the divine commandments, and has taken upon himself the functions of the episcopal order and the ecclesiastical authority, contrary to the divine laws, and in breach of his own oath, which he three times separately swore, once in holy baptism, again when he was made Tsar, and the third time when Nicon was appointed to the patriarchate, that he would not be otherwise minded than as becomes orthodox emperors.

But he the Hossoudar not only dragged to his will bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, but many times he sought to force the patriarch Nicon also to be a litigant in his court with Roman Babarikin, and with Ivan Sitin, before his okolnik Osip Soukin, and before the dumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky. And the patriarch Nicon said to those people of the council and secretaries, that 'that was improperly done by the Tsar's majesty to cause us bishops, contrary to the divine canons, to be judged by secular judges. To judge a bishop (to say nothing of a patriarch) the patriarch [*i.e.* in Russia, or the metropolitan elsewhere] and all the bishops of the province are needed: or, if they cannot all come, there must be not fewer than twelve to judge him. To judge a priest there are required six bishops; to judge a deacon three. But a metropolitan cannot be judged without the patriarch.' And Osip Soukin said to the patriarch, looking at the Instruction of the Hossoudar, 'If thou wilt not plead in these cases in answer to Ivan Sitin and in answer to Roman Babarikin, the Hossoudar will give order to draw up an ukaz according to his own judgment of the case [on their statements], and to make a settlement of the matter he will send two companies (prikazes) of streltzi, and order them to make such a settlement as he thinks proper.' And the patriarch Nicon said that he feared not those threats of the Tsar; because Nicon has his own Tsar, the Lord Christ, who says, 'Fear not them that kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. Yea, I will tell you whom to fear: fear him who, after he has killed, has power also to cast into hell. Yea, I say unto you, fear him.' And Nicon said to the okolnik Osip, 'If ye have an ukaz from the Tsar even to kill me Nicon, Nicon is not afraid:' and, opening his breast, Nicon offered it to the okolnik, bidding him strike if he would. And he said, 'When there *is* such an ukaz from the Tsar, we shall not be ashamed [to execute it].' And Nicon said to Osip that 'Nicon cares neither about his own death, nor about any property: but he will not go to law [in the Tsar's courts] contrary to the divine commandment, which says, If any one will go to law with thee, and take thy cloak from thee, forbid him not to take thy coat also.' And Nicon bade his treasurer bring him all the money in silver which was in the treasury. On examination there were found 600 roubles. And they put them on the table in the entrance-hall. [Nicon said] 'If Nicon has wronged any man, let him come and take [his damages] in the fear of God; and if there is not enough, I [Nicon] will give order to let him have the sheathed icons in the church, and the church books, and the bells, and whatever cattle and sheep there may be found in the stables and cattle-sheds of the monastery.' And he Osip bade Roman Babarikin to take his money. And Roman, for the rye which had been cut (which Nicon had given order to cut on his own land, land which Roman had forcibly occupied), for 67 cheti of rye, took all those 600 roubles. (Now, when that rye was cut they were buying rye at a poltina for the Moscow chetvert.)

And after that, by ukaz of the Hossoudar, there were sent to the Voskresensk monastery from the Tsar and Grand Prince the dumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky, and the secretary Basil Zviereff, with many other people, with clerks and streltzi; and they spoke to the patriarch Nicon, that the patriarch should make a compromise with Roman Babarikin. And the patriarch Nicon said that he held possession of no land belonging to Roman, but only of his own land, which he had bought; and that Roman, without any pretence of right, had trespassed upon it. And they, the dumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky and the secretary Basil Zviereff, said, 'We have orders to put Roman in possession of that disputed land, according to his own affidavit.' And they drove to the land, in order to mark it off. And while they were about this, the patriarch Nicon went into the holy church of God with the brethren, and sang a moleben (παράκλησιν) to the holy and life-giving Cross of the Lord, and said holy prayers from the Psalms proper for them that are suffering violence, according to the rule of Athanasius the Great, archbishop of Alexandria. And on the second day the patriarch with the brethren sang again a moleben after the same manner. And at that time Roman was within the monastery, and present at the moleben; and he said nothing. But after that, having let a long time pass in silence, Roman informed against the patriarch Nicon that he had cursed the Tsar, with the Tsaritsa, and the Tsareviches, and the Tsarevnas, and all their house. And on that account

In the year 7171, July 18 (1663), there were sent to Voskresensk the boyar prince Nikita Odoefsky, and the okolnik Rodion Streshneff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and the captain (golova) of streltzi Basil Philosophoff, with streltzi, and with many other people, and with them the metropolitan of Gaza, as he called himself, Paisius commonly called Ligarides. But some say of him that he is not of the holy Eastern Church, but of the Western Roman Kostel: that he was [to the age of] thirty years with the Pope, and was a deacon; and that he also abode a long time among the Moldavians, and was full of the Roman heresy: that he often insisted that widower priests should marry again, and that young monks and nuns should marry, and should eat flesh. And the metropolitan of Moldavia wrote to the ecumenical patriarchs; and they anathematised him, and bade that he should be unfrocked. And he from Moldavia went off into Poland, where he was a long time with the king, and celebrated [mass] in all the kostels. And a testimony was brought forward against him by Theophanes, archimandrite of the monastery of Constantine on the Holy Mountain, viz. a little book, a commentary on the Magnificat, printed at Rome, which had in it the name which Paisius bore in the world [Pantaleon]. And here too he lives without observing in any way the rule for monks; and he goes not to the churches for the vespers, matins, and liturgy. Some say that he also eats meat. Theodore Tatianin himself saw him smoking tobacco. Also there was with them the Abp. of Astrachan Joseph, and Theodosius archimandrite of the monastery of the Theophany. And they arrived at the time of vespers. And after the vespers they sent to the patriarch Nicon to announce that he the boyar prince Nikita Odoefsky, with his colleagues, and the ecclesiastical dignitaries, were sent from the Hossoudar the Tsar to me the patriarch Nicon on a matter of state, in the name of the Hossoudar. And the patriarch Nicon said, 'If they, the boyar with his colleagues, are sent from the Great Hossoudar, let them come. But there is with them, it is said, the metropolitan of Gaza, Paisius: he too may come, *if he has letters dimissory from the ecumenical* *patriarchs*, as the canons of the holy Fathers direct, and *letters also to us from our brethren the ecumenical patriarchs.*' And the boyar said, 'Yes; he has dimissory letters from the ecumenical patriarchs.' And when the boyar and the ecclesiastical dignitaries were come to the patriarch, into the ante-chamber [where the patriarch met them], the patriarch said, according to the monastic custom, the Ἄξιόν ἐστιν κ. τ. λ. and the prayer for the Tsar and for the Tsaritsa and for the Tsareviches and for the Tsarevnas. And after the end of the prayer the boyar prince Nikita said, 'Great Hospodin, M. H. Patriarch Nicon, the great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, bade us to ask thee of thy health.' And the patriarch Nicon said, 'By the mercy of God, you see, I am alive! How is God gracious to [*i.e.* How is it with] him the great Hossoudar the Tsar and Grand Prince Alexis Mich., Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia?' And the boyar said, 'When we set forth he the Hossoudar by the grace of God was in good health.' And then the boyar said, 'Where am I to speak to thee the business of the Hossoudar? here in the ante-chamber, or in thy cell?' And the patriarch said, 'Will you not come into the cell?' And the boyars and the church-dignitaries went in, and [the boyars] stood in the place of honour, but the church dignitaries at the stove. And the boyar said: 'On the petition of Roman Babarikin there was sent by ukaz of the Hossoudar to mark off and award land the dumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky and the secretary Basil Zviereff: and when they began to mark off the land thou, with the archimandrite and the brethren, didst sing a moleben; and in the moleben thou didst say many prayers with a curse, and didst curse the Hossoudar the Tsar, and his imperial children.' And the patriarch said, 'That moleben I sang, and those psalms I said, according to the form of St. Athanasius the Great, as fit for a time of affliction. But I did not curse the Hossoudar. For the Hossoudar I prayed to God. And that is untrue that I cursed the Hossoudar: it would be unseemly to curse the Hossoudar: but I said holy prayers for his the Hossoudar's health for many years, and for the Hossoudarina the Tsaritsa, and for the Hossoudars the Tsareviches: and against them that were wronging us [I said] such prayers as were composed by David the king and prophet, who prayed in his afflictions and persecutions to the Lord God against his enemies. And I said those same prayers. But as for what is written in them, I cannot cut it out: as they are, without mutilation, the holy Church has received them; and every week she fulfils that rule [of reading through the Psalter unaltered]. But [if ye wish to know] how it was, ye have only to follow us into the church, and ye shall hear yourselves how it was.' And the prince Nikita refused the holy orthodox church, replying, 'We have many churches *of our own*, and we won't go with *thee*. But thou didst also place before the cross, and before the icon of the Mother of God, a letter of the Hossoudar, which thou hadst spread out: and after the moleben thou didst read that letter of the Hossoudar. Why didst thou that?' And the patriarch said, 'The letter of the Hossoudar I placed before the cross and the icon of the M. H. Mother of God, and read it after the moleben, for this reason, because the land about the Voskresensky monastery belongs to the Iversky monastery; and that land which they by ukaz of the Hossoudar took away and awarded to Roman Babarikin, was bought and dedicated to the M. H. Mother of God for the Iversky monastery; and that is my chief monastery. And in the letter of the Hossoudar it is written thus: "But if any man after us shall in any respect contemn this our imperial perpetual command, and shall in any way or on any pretext infringe this our Letter of Grant, or shall take away from the house of the M. H. Mother of God the Iverskaya those estates held in fee simple, villages, and hamlets, and rows, and pogosts, and pochinki, and wastes, and lakes, and fisheries, or any other rights and advantages, or shall not do for ever and behave in all respects so as is written in this our imperial Letter of Benefaction, may God judge him as he judged those trangressors of old whom for their great transgression the mercy of God endured not in this life, but destroyed them without mercy. And in the day of judgment may the Lord God recompense them like Judas and other evil-doers; and may such a one find God his adversary; and may God shut against him the gates of his mercy. And so long as we are alive here, for every wrong and for every disrespect there shall be inflicted punishment." And [I read the letter] because that curse of the Hossoudar was incurred by that man Roman Babarikin.' And the prince Nikita with his colleagues began to say, 'We have answers made during his examination by thy stroitel (intendant) Aaron, admitting that thou didst curse the Hossoudar.' And the patriarch Nicon said, 'Ye say that I cursed him;' and demanded to see the answers of the stroitel Aaron; but they did not show them. And the patriarch asked the boyars, 'Who examined him?' 'Eh! the metropolitans and archbishops examined him in the synod: and they have sent hither from the synod ecclesiastical dignitaries, the metropolitan of Gaza, and an archbishop, and an archimandrite.' And the patriarch asked, 'For what purpose have they sent them? and in virtue of what holy canons? But this man whom ye call the metropolitan of Gaza said that he had a letter from the ecumenical patriarchs; and he should now give it to us.' And the boyar said, 'Well; there is a letter which the Hossoudar has, from the ecumenical patriarchs.' And Nicon said, 'The letter which is in the hands of the Hossoudar is for the Hossoudar, not for us. We, according to law, require letters to ourselves, according to the rule of the Apostles and the holy Fathers. It is not becoming either for the Hossoudar the Tsar to receive such persons contrary to the divine commandments.' And the patriarch said, 'The Lord says, "I went forth from God, and am come into the world: for I am not come of myself, but he has sent me." And again elsewhere he says, "Because I am not alone, but I and my Father which sent me. And in the law it is written that the testimony of two men is true (John vii., Matt. xxiii., Eph. v., 2 Thess. iii.). I am one who bear witness of myself; and the Father who sent me bears witness of me. And I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, so I speak. And he who has sent me and who is with me is true. For I came down from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of my Father who sent me." And again, "He who speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory: if I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true." And again the divine Apostle says, "If any man comes to you, and brings not this doctrine, receive him not, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed, is a partaker in his evil deeds." And again the Lord commands, saying, "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them." And again elsewhere he says, "Beware that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name." And the divine Apostle says, "Let no one deceive you with vain words."

And again elsewhere he says, "But we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to separate yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not according to the tradition that he hath received of us. But if any man obeyeth not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no fellowship with him, that he may be ashamed."'

Also he sought out and read the divine canons:[1] Canon xi. of the synod of Antioch: 'A bishop, or priest, or deacon, who of himself alone, and unbidden by the metropolitan of the province, goes to the emperor, shall be excommunicated and deposed.' The gloss: 'The holy Fathers, altogether cutting off insubordination, and guarding piety, forbid bishops and priests, and all others of the sacred order, without permission and without a letter from their own metropolitan, to go off to the emperor, or trouble his ears by informing him of any matters. And on this account they order that a bishop or a priest who, without the cognisance of his metropolitan, goes to the emperor, is to be deposed from his rank and excommunicated.' Canon xxi. of the holy fathers of the synod of Sardica: 'He who arrogantly seeks to unsettle those constitutions which have been well and religiously enacted is no more a bishop. A bishop seen to be going to the [emperor's] camp is not to be hindered, if he be called [or be going regularly] for any of the causes mentioned above: but if otherwise, let him know that he is out of communion.' The gloss: 'He who does not observe the commandments which have been well and religiously enacted, but of folly and pride does anything contrary to what is canonical, is to be deposed from the honourable rank of the episcopate, it being laid down that a bishop is not to go to the emperor's camp in any other wise than if he be called by letters of the emperor. If a bishop be passing on his way to the emperor's camp, and be lodged with another bishop, the bishop of that diocese through which he is passing ought to ask him the reasons for which he is going. And if he find him to be going after such sort as we have described above, either on behalf of orphans and widows who are wronged, to plead their cause, or for other like matters, to the emperor's camp, he is not to hinder him in any way, but is to send him on with honour: and he should write of him to his brethren the bishops in his province, that they may all receive him without misgiving, as one going canonically and causing no scandal. But if he find him to be going after any other sort, either wishing to show himself to the emperor, or to ask him for any such things as are not proper for bishops to ask, in that case he is neither to communicate with him, nor to subscribe his letters, nor render him any sort of assistance.' Canon xxiii. of the holy synod of Carthage: 'A bishop is not to go across the sea unless he have received from the primate of his own country a dimissory letter for going across.' The gloss: 'Neither bishop nor clerk can properly go far from his own church without the consent and dimissory letter of his metropolitan, as the synods of Sardica and Laodicea also enact.' Canon cvi. of the same synod: 'He who for any necessary matter desires to go to the emperor must first make this known to the bishop of Carthage, and to the bishop of Rome, and receive from each of them a dimissory letter; or else he is out of communion.' The gloss: 'A bishop or clerk, if he wishes to go to the emperor, must first tell his reason to the bishop of Carthage, and obtain from him a dimissory letter: and he is then to go to Rome, and show it to the bishop of Rome, and tell him the cause for which he is going to the emperor. When the bishop of Rome has considered it, if the reason be judged sufficient, he shall take from him also a letter recommending him to the emperor. But if any bishop or clerk go off in any other wise to the emperor, he shall be out of communion, that is, he shall be excommunicated. And of this look to canon xi. of the synod of Antioch, and canon ix. of the synod of Sardica.' And therefore it is not right for the Hossoudar to receive men of whom he has no knowledge, and to send them to us, contrary to the divine commandments and to the holy canons. And who knows that this man is a metropolitan? or, even if he be a metropolitan, that he is not deposed and excommunicated? But he who prays with such will find something about himself in canon x. of the holy Apostles: 'He who prays with one excommunicated is himself excommunicated.' The gloss: 'If any one prays with heretics in a church, or in a house with persons excommunicated, he shall be himself excommunicated.' Canon xi.: 'He who prays with them that are deposed shall himself be deposed.' The gloss: 'If any one prays, for instance, if a bishop officiates in a church together with a priest whom his bishop has deposed from his order, he is himself also to be deposed.' Canon xii.: 'He who receives him who elsewhere is not received is himself not to be received.' The gloss: 'If a clerk, being examined by his bishop to ascertain whether he be worthy to be ordained priest in the holy Church of God, being conscious of his sins, and not enduring to be examined, goes away, and coming to another bishop is received by him without letters of commendation showing him to be blameless as to faith and morals, let both of them be excommunicated.' And for us, not only is it not proper to listen to him, but we ought not even to let him come into the monastery. But for him who acts thus, and shows no signs of his own amendment, canon xiii. of the holy Council of Antioch in Syria decrees thus: 'If a bishop, not being requested by any other, go off to another province, and there ordain or do any act of authority, let the acts done be null, and let him be deposed.' The gloss: 'You will find many canons about this, forbidding a bishop to go from his own province into another, and to ordain there, or do any other episcopal act; unless he be called in and requested by the bishop of the province. But for him who of himself goes into another province, and there ordains, or acts in ecclesiastical matters not belonging to him, the canons decree not only that all his acts are null, but also that he himself shall be deposed'[1] (K. fol. 28). Canon xxii. of the same holy council: like canon xiii. The gloss: 'So this also says that each bishop is to rule and to ordain priests and deacons within his own bounds, and not to go within those of another bishop, nor ordain, or do any other episcopal act there, without the will of the local bishop. But if he presumes to do anything of the kind, he is to be deposed, and the priest or deacon whom he has ordained incurs the same penalty.' Canon v. of the Fourth holy Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon: 'Let bishops who go from city to city be punished according to the canons made for them.' The gloss: 'It is said in canon xiii. of the synod of Antioch that a bishop is not to presume to go from his own province into another, and to ordain, or do any other episcopal act, without the consent of the local bishop. And if he does anything of the kind, let it be null and void, and let him be punished for his disorderly conduct, and be deposed from his rank by the holy Trinity. The same, therefore, is enacted here also by this canon.' Canon ii. of the holy Council of Sardica: 'If any one goes from city to city, and causes disturbance, seeking to himself partisans from the people, to say, We wish and entreat thee to be our bishop, he shall not be admitted to communion even at the hour of death.' The gloss: 'If any bishop proceeds to such audacity and madness, as to presume to go from one city to another, saying, that the people of that city desire to have me, and shows a letter which he has received from thence, written to him from all the citizens to entreat him to be their bishop (which shows that such a one of purpose and with cunning has been able to draw to himself by bribes and gifts and honour some few, that rising up in the church they make a disturbance, speaking aloud, and asking to have that man for their bishop), such a one as has had the audacity so to act, and has been discovered so acting, this synod has condemned very severely: for it decrees that he is not even at the hour of death to be admitted to communion, a severity of punishment which you will not find in all the canons decreed for any other sins.' Canon iii. of the same council: 'Let no bishop uninvited go to any other city. And if a bishop have a difference with another bishop, he is not to bring in any stranger bishop: but, if he be not content [with the judgment of the synod of the province], let the bishop of Rome judge [or refer the matter to the bishops of some other neighbouring province], and so stranger bishops shall come in.' The gloss: 'In divers canons it is said that no one is to presume to go from his own to another province, unless he be called in by the metropolitan of that province, and by the bishops who are with him. And this holy synod decrees the same. And if any bishop have a difference about any matter with another bishop, let him be judged before the synod of that province in which he is. And it is not proper to call in from another province any other bishops for the sake of their judgment, but he is to be judged by the bishops of that province only. And if he be not content with the judgment given, and thinks that it has been given against him unjustly, the metropolitan who has judged him and the bishops shall make known to the Pope of Rome in writing his case, and the judgment given upon it; and that he is not content with it. And he (that is, the Pope) shall either himself revise the case, and, if he finds the judgment right, write to them to this effect: or else he shall order the bishops of some other province bordering upon theirs to assemble a synod and judge the cause for the appellant over again.' Canon xii. of the same synod: 'A bishop who has come by invitation into another diocese, if so be the bishop inviting him be an unlearned man, is not to speak often in public: for this would bring obloquy on the ignorant bishop, and would look like seeking to supplant him: and both these things are criminal.' Canon xiii.: 'Without some grave necessity it is an evil for a bishop to absent himself from his church for any long time.' The gloss (on both these canons): 'If any bishop go to another city, being invited by the local bishop, and it chance that the bishop who invited him be unskilled in teaching, the bishop invited shall not teach sedulously the people, nor speak much in public; for to do this tends to cause disturbance, and to bring reproach on the bishop who invited him. He will appear by such ostentation to be courting to himself another church than his own, and drawing the people to himself, and to be desirous of giving up the church committed to him, and of removing to the other. So for this cause this holy synod has decreed that the bishop invited shall not remain absent from his own church more than three weeks, but shall within that time return to the people committed to him, unless some very grave necessity or difficult business forces him to remain longer away.' Canon xx. of the Sixth holy Ecumenical Council: 'A bishop in another city [than his own, and uninvited], is not to teach the people; and if he be found doing so, he is to be deposed from the episcopate, and to act only as a priest.' The gloss: 'A bishop who in another city than his own teaches publicly, and of pride and vanity wrongs the local bishop, as if seeking to shame and lower him, and courting to himself the chair of another, is deservedly to be deposed from the episcopate (for he who seeks what belongs to another shall be deprived of that which is his own), and is to be put down to the rank of a presbyter, and perform only priestly functions. And notice this, that here a bishop is put down to the rank of a presbyter: for canon xxix. of the Council of Chalcedon distinctly calls it sacrilege to degrade a bishop to the rank of a priest: and consider this [later Ecumenical] canon to be of more authority than that [earlier] Ecumenical canon.'

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[1] See above, pp. 5, 103, 38, 4, 500, 553, 2, 159.

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[1] Bever. i. p. 450. The gloss only of Aristin.

And the patriarch Nicon having written out these holy canons sent them out to the boyar and to the ecclesiastical dignitaries. And the metropolitan of Gaza, when he heard these holy canons, began, like one possessed, to cry aloud in *Latin*. And the patriarch Nicon said, 'Every evil tree bears also evil fruit:' so the Lord hath said. 'Thou wicked servant! out of thine own mouth will I judge thee,' that thou art not orthodox, since in lewdly reviling us thou usest the Latin tongue. And from that time the patriarch spoke no more to him. But the archbishop of Astrachan said nothing, except this only, 'Thou wert our father!' and stood with his eyes cast down. The archimandrite of the Theophany said, 'I was a priest before thou wert:' and other contentious unseemly words. And the boyar, the prince Nikita, said to the patriarch Nicon, 'Why, pray, dost thou deny our Hossoudar to be Christian?' And the patriarch Nicon said, 'If thou wishest to know, I will give it thee in writing.' And the boyar said in reply to that, 'Since thy tongue has become wicked God does not endure thee. It were well, aye, if thou wert confined to thy cell: so perhaps thou mightest become tamer.' And the patriarch Nicon said, 'I am not only ready to be confined to my cell by your wickedness, but I am ready even to die.' And the boyar said, 'Thou thyself [hast written thyself] "late-patriarch." Why "*late*-patriarch"? Therefore it is plain that thou didst give up the patriarchate.' And the patriarch said, 'The patriarchate and the episcopate I did not give up: but on account of your malice I went away, giving place to wrath, according as it is written, so fulfilling the commandment of Christ: "When they persecute you in this city, flee to another: for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? Fear them not therefore" (Matt. x. 23-26). And again elsewhere the Lord says: "Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch" (ib. xv. 14). And again: "Whosoever shall not receive you (the same receiveth not me), nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or that city, shake off the dust off your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment than for that city" (ib. x. 14, 15). "And the next sabbath-day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God. But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming.... But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium" (Acts xiii. 44, 45, 51). And if, when we went away for a legitimate reason, ye call us tauntingly on that account "late-patriarch," then ye through us blame also our lawgiver [who taught us to do as we have done], even the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who many times went away on account of the envy of the Jews. For already in his infancy he is exhibited to us as flying from the murderous Herod: "And when the Magi were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word" (Matt. ii. 13). Of whom is this written? And again: "Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee, and left Nazareth" (ib. iv. 12). Who is this? "And they were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill on which their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way" (Luke iv. 28-30). Of whom is this said? "And after these things Jesus walked in Galilee; for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him" (John vii. 1). "Then took they up stones to cast at him: but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by" (ib. viii. 59). "And they sought again to take him; and he escaped out of their hand, and went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John at first baptised; and there he abode" (ib. x. 39, 40). And again he said to his disciples, "Rise, let us go hence" (Matt. xxvi. 46; Mark xiv. 42). Who is there to compare with Peter for the witness borne to him by God himself? the rock of the faith; on whom the Lord built his church, "and against it," he said, "the gates of hell shall not prevail;" who has the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and "whomsoever thou shalt bind," he says, "on earth, he shall be bound in heaven, and whomsoever thou shalt loose on earth, he shall be loosed in heaven." Yet this Peter, being loosed by an angel, went out and fled from the prison. Who is there to whom greater witness is borne by God himself than Paul? the chosen vessel; who was caught up even to the third heaven; and heard words unutterable, which it is not lawful for a man to utter: yet this Paul, being let down in a basket by the disciples, fled from Damascus (2 Cor. vi. 33). "And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully and to stone them, they were ware of it, and fled to the cities of Lycaonia" (Acts xiv. 5). Will these also be "the late" for you because they fled from malice, and not also now and actually [what they are]? Is Christ our God for you "late-God," and the Apostles likewise for you "late-Apostles"? Why are they *now* to be "the late," and not from the first, when they first came to us? Why now dost thou call me "late," and not from the first when thou camest in to us? and why was our blessing at the first good and acceptable? and why after having thyself taken our blessing dost thou now revile it? As our blessing was from the first legitimate and good, so our refusal of blessing will abide upon you firmly. Ye yourselves have seen how we were at the time of the inroad of the Tatars at Moscow, and how we were received by the Tsar's majesty without any variation whatever from what was usual before, as he knew that there was nothing to blame in our departure. So also the Tsar and the Tsaritsa and the Tsareviches and the Tsarevnas all took our blessing; and ye too, the boyars, all of you. No one found any sort of fault with it. And canon xix. of the holy synod of Sardica says: "A bishop who is unjustly oppressed, though he remain out of his diocese until the oppression shall have passed, is to be received." The gloss: "Forbidding irregularities of self-will and pride, the holy fathers ordered that bishops should remain only a certain time in other dioceses than their own. But if any bishop for the confession of our pure faith, or because he was a defender of the truth, say, because he opposed even rulers who acted not according to the truth, is on that account driven out from his own city, and goes to another city, he is not forbidden to remain there till he be able to obtain a pacification and a cessation of the oppression that was upon him."' And the boyar said to the patriarch, 'Eh! thou givest thy hand to be kissed to all manner of people, after the fashion of kings or emperors (of Tsars). In that thou doest amiss.' And the patriarch said, 'Who bade thee speak of that? was it the Hossoudar the Tsar? Or sayest thou this of thyself?' And the boyar answered, 'The Hossoudar bade me say it.' And the patriarch: 'Why then does the Tsar himself kiss the hands of priests who were ordained by us; and himself, when he goes to take their blessing, bend his head? We wonder at this, why the Tsar forces bishops and priest to kiss his hands. They are not the hands of a bishop or of a priest. Though he the Hossoudar, for his excessive pride, may think priesthood to be a less thing than empire, he will know then the difference between empire and priesthood when we shall be known by that Judge who is no acceptor of persons, that is, Christ our God.' The boyar prince Nikita with his colleagues said, 'The Great Hossoudar the Tsar ordered us to say to thee that Ivan Sitin wishes to cut thee off.' And the patriarch said, 'Kings are set by God for the punishment of evil-doers. But he the Hossoudar, knowing the felonious purpose of Ivan Sitin, not only does not prevent him, but, since he himself bids you announce that his felonious intention, he favours it: whatever he allows they will do as it were on that the Hossoudar's hint. Only the patriarch fears not those threats, as it is written: Fear not, the Lord says, them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear Him, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell (Matt. x. 28). If thou hast any such command from the Tsar as to kill me, kill me: lo, I show thee where to strike with thy dagger or sword.' And the boyar said: 'Don't be in a hurry: the Great Hossoudar has proper people for that [when he wants them].' And the patriarch said to the boyar: 'Ivan Sitin presented repeatedly to the Hossoudar lying petitions against me the patriarch, as if I had taken possession of much land belonging to him, as if I had given orders to kill him Ivan Sitin, and as if I had given orders to hang a man of his, and as if the peasants of the patriarch had beaten and robbed his Ivan Sitin's people by my order; and as if I had bidden my peasants of Rojdestvensk to carry off forcibly a man belonging to him Ivan Sitin. And the Hossoudar sent expressly on that account his okolnik Osip Soukin and the secretary Basil Brechoff, and ordered them to say to the patriarch, that I the patriarch was to make a composition so as to satisfy Ivan Sitin in all, and that there should be from that time no more petitions whatever against the patriarch from Ivan Sitin; and if so be that I the patriarch do not so settle the matter by composition, he the Hossoudar would make order to send two prikazes of streltzi, and order them to make a compulsory composition according to his own imperial ukaz; but *how* the composition was to be made, that the Hossoudar did not specify.' And the patriarch said: 'I belong to God; and I fear not your Tsar: if he wishes to kill me, let him kill me; (This is not my word, it is the word of the Apostle) "for to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." If I do not die now by the Tsar, we shall die anyhow. I remember the sufferings of my Christ, as the great Chrysostom teaches, all that was suffered for the sake of our salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, and I am not alarmed. They called *Him* also a Samaritan; they said that he had a devil; and that he was a false prophet: one said, Behold a man eating and drinking, a friend of publicans and sinners: another, He casteth out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils: another called him "that deceiver." And what, think ye, when they led him to cast him down? O the miracle! Betrayed by his own disciple, and bound, they led him away as a malefactor: they beat him with a reed about the head; and clad him with a robe of mockery; and they crowned him with thorns; they saw him naked, and exposed on the cross with malefactors; they gave him gall to drink; and they bowed the knee before him in mockery, wagging their heads, and doing to him every kind of insult; and he remained naked unburied; and they taxed his resurrection with imposture, and maliciously said against it, that his disciples stole him away. But who am I that I should not hearken to my Lord when he commands me not to fear them which kill the body? What is there that the Jews did not to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his holy Apostles?' Then the metropolitan of Gaza and the archbishop of Astrachan said, 'Thou hast no right, and thou art no more to celebrate.' And the patriarch said, 'It was not from you that I received this grace. I ought not on these matters so much as to listen to you uttering thoughts contrary to the holy canons.' 'We forbid thee too to wear the episcopal mandya and klobouk.' And the patriarch said: 'The Jews stripped our Lord Jesus Christ of his usual raiment, and clad him in a robe of mockery, and instead of a royal crown they crowned him with a crown of thorns, and having mocked him they put him to death. But to our Lord Jesus Christ these things were counted for righteousness, and he is the king (the Tsar) for everlasting. From many of the Apostles and the holy martyrs who suffered for Christ they not only took away their decent clothing, but stripped them of their skins, and cut their bodies piecemeal: nevertheless they are on this account called priests by a double title both of God and of men. "And if any man does not take up his cross and come after me, he is not worthy of me. And ye shall be brought before governors and kings" (Matt. x. 18). "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own." And again the Lord says: "Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake" (John xv. 19-21). As for Ivan Sitin, I had done him no kind of wrong, nor had I given orders to kill him; but he wishes to kill me: nor did I take any land from him; but he took land from those that had been dedicated to the Lord. Nor did I give orders to hang any man of his: that man of his, for fear of his Ivan's intolerable severities, hanged himself. Nor did I give orders to rob his Ivan's people; but he Ivan himself, drawing out his mujiks, fell without provocation on a peasant of ours from Staroruss of the Spassky monastery, a dependency [of the Iversky]. And the Hossoudar did not believe my word for that; and he ordered the dumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky to make a special inquest: and on this inquest the people of the neighbourhood deposed to nothing making against us. But in the Code, ch. xxii. sect. 13, it is written: "If any rogues cause trouble among the people, and inform falsely against many people with a set purpose of roguery, such rogues for such their roguery shall be punished with death." But when by ukaz of the Hossoudar inquest was made respecting that roguery of Ivan Sitin, and the result of the inquest was that it was made clear by the evidence that in all his lying petitions he had been falsely accusing the patriarch, the Hossoudar nevertheless inflicted no sort of punishment upon him. But in other sections of the judicial [Code] it is written: "Whatever any man by a false accusation seeks to inflict on another, the same shall be inflicted on him." But there was no ukaz from the Hossoudar to inflict on such a rogue as this for such his great roguery any punishment whatever. Where, then, is that word of God which is spoken, "Thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to do judgment and justice"? In contravention of all the divine laws the Hossoudar the Tsar was pleased himself to be inquisitor and prosecutor against my humility respecting an unjust and lying accusation; but on the authors of the false accusation he inflicted no punishment for their lie.'

And the same day in the evening the boyars sent to the patriarch that he should send the archimandrite, and the vicar, and the priests, and the deacons, and the brethren, to be examined. And the patriarch said that 'the archimandrite is a consecrated person, and the vicar is a priest; and according to the canons there are required not fewer than six bishops to examine a priest. But for that ye make inquest about us by people of the commonalty, in that ye are all transgressors together. Lay people are absolutely incompetent to judge bishops, since the canons of the saints forbid them; and of bishops in all there are here only two; and of these one for his transgression does not deserve to be reckoned even as a layman; but they who communicate with him are all by the holy canons to be deposed, or, if laymen, to be excommunicated. And unless ye use compulsion and drag them by force, neither the archimandrite, nor the vicar, nor the priests, nor the deacons, nor the brethren will go to you: but let the scripture be fulfilled which saith, "Before all these things they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers" (Luke xxi. 12). And again, "And ye shall be brought before rulers and kings"' (Mark xiii. 9). And the boyar and the ecclesiastical dignitaries said, 'Thou, we know, callest us not Christians, and Jews.' And the patriarch: 'I can recognise in you nothing of Christianity; nor do I see in you anything but transgression and tyranny: your works bear witness: and the Lord bears witness, saying to the Jews: "If I had not done works such as no other doeth, ye had not had sin." So ye also. I have done you no evil; but ye wish to strip me even of my proper vestments, and to banish me, and shut me up in a cell lawlessly, when I know not what harm I have done you.'

And the same day, in the evening, late, they sent in different directions about the monastery streltzi, as is the manner of tyrants and persecutors, to take the archimandrite, and the vicar, and the brethren: and they examined them with the greatest iniquity, with the most overbearing heat, threatening them with tortures and distant exiles. And on the 19th July, it being Sunday, they sent during the Liturgy into the church streltzi to take the priests. And before the Dismissal, at the end of the Liturgy, they made a tumult in the church, during the moleben, at the gospel. But in the Code, chap. i. sect. 3, it is written: 'If any one during the holy Liturgy or any other church-service, goes into the church of God, and begins to speak improperly to the patriarch, or the metropolitan, or the archbishop, or bishop, or archimandrite, or hegoumen, or any one of the sacerdotal order, and thereby interrupts or disturbs the divine singing in the church, and that come to the knowledge of the Hossoudar, inquest shall be made about that till the thing be proved; and the author of such disturbance for that his crime shall be punished capitally in the market-place.' Well! it was during the Liturgy in the monastery of Christ's Resurrection (of Voskresensk) that they seized our sin-boyars, and carrying them off placed them in separate places of confinement under strict watch of sentinels; and they ordered that no one should have access to them. The same day they set around the whole monastery a watch of Moscow streltzi: and at the patriarch's cell they set a guard with muskets and cross-bows and with halberds, in the same manner as the Jews did with Christ. And the patriarch Nicon wrote out and sent to the metropolitan of Gaza extracts from the commandments of God, and from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, to the effect that he was acting improperly, contrary to the divine canons, by celebrating and doing acts of ecclesiastical government in a diocese not his own, to please the Tsar, and that by the holy canons such a one is deposed by the holy Trinity. And to this he made no answer. But on the 21st of July they sounded the bell that the brethren might hear and come together, to go and clear out a kiln of bricks. And the boyars sent to the patriarch the secretary of the council Almiaz and the archimandrite Theodosius. And having come into his cell, they said, 'Do not blame us because we come not to take thy blessing. [We cannot, because] thou justifiest thyself by this argument, that we come to take thy blessing.' And the patriarch said: 'It is written in the Psalms, "He desired not blessing; therefore also blessing shall depart far from him," &c. Let that which is written there be fulfilled.' And after that he began to say, 'We have heard that thou wishest to go out to the sheds, to bring in bricks; but thou art not to go out of the monastery: thou must remain in thy cell.' And the patriarch said, 'I am ready not only to be confined to my cell, but even to die.' From that time whenever the patriarch went to the church, or to the building-work that was going on, to inspect it, there followed him a corporal with ten men of the streltzi with their arms. And on the 28th of the same month there came the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky with his colleagues and the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and said, making a great noise: 'The Hossoudar the Tsar and the ecclesiastical authorities order thee to live in the Voskresensky monastery, but to keep within thy cell, and except to the church to go out no whither.' And the patriarch Nicon said to the boyars: 'On the ukaz of the Great Hossoudar I am ready to go even to prison: only hear thou the canons of the holy synod held at Constantinople in St. Sophia, which the Seventh Ecumenical Council confirmed. Canon iii.: "If any layman casts a bishop into prison, or beats him, without cause, or gets up some cause, let him be accursed." But for that a Judaical synagogue, as if possessed, contrary to the divine canons interdicts me, it is not proper that I should listen to that.' And the metropolitan of Gaza said, 'There is a letter of the synod, which we are ordered to read to thee, and do thou attend till it is read through.' And the patriarch said, 'On the authority of what canons is it written?' And the metropolitan said, 'Eh! it is written from the synod, not from canons: and it is for thee to listen to it.' And the patriarch said, 'I too myself know well that there are no such canons, and that it is from themselves that they are introducing for the first time such new laws as that a patriarch is to be judged by his own metropolitans and bishops, and those who have been ordained by himself. But such new laws by canon i. of the Seventh holy Ecumenical Council are anathematised. The canons of the holy Fathers do not allow even a metropolitan to be judged without the patriarch, nor a bishop otherwise than by all the bishops of the province; or if it is impossible for them all to come together, then not fewer than twelve bishops and his own metropolitan are to judge him.' And they, as if they were out of their minds, all cried out they themselves knew not what. And at last the boyar said, 'The Hossoudar the Tsar has made order that a captain of streltzi with his men is to be here on guard.' And the patriarch to this said, 'The Hossoudar's will be done: let it be as the Hossoudar pleases. We are ready thankfully to suffer for God's sake.' And with that for the last word they all went out; and getting into their carriages they all drove off from the monastery helter-skelter, whoever chanced first. And after that, a week later, the Moscow streltzi also, during the Liturgy, all went off stealthily from their posts to the strangers' hospice. And on the day of the Transfiguration the captain with his streltzi went away altogether to Moscow. Is not this persecution and iniquity? For many years such iniquity has not been heard of! The Lord God shall render to every man according to the work of his hands; as also he says, 'With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again.'

XXVII. REPLY AGAINST THE TWENTY-SEVENTH QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Thou sayest, O Questioner: 'What of one who calls our most powerful Tsar a tyrant, and dares to revile him as an unrighteous invader and plunderer; what ought to be done to him according to the canons?' Answer. Why dost thou write without naming him, '*One*, who calls our most powerful Tsar a tyrant'? If thou art speaking of us, we are not 'one' who make that assertion, but the whole creation is in pain together, and groans together with us, at our fierce afflictions, as has been before shown. We have been forbidden by the Lord our God to fear such, even though they begin to threaten death: 'Fear ye not,' he says, 'them which kill the body,' &c. But that there is iniquity and hostility in the Tsar is plain to all except to thee only. And thou, O Answerer, writest: 'Canon lxxxiv. of the holy Apostles writes, "Whoever reviles the emperor unjustly shall be *punished*,[1] and if he be of the spiritual order he shall be deposed, but if he be a layman he shall be accursed." ' That canon of the holy Apostles really writes thus: 'If any one reproaches the emperor or a prince (a nobleman) unjustly, if he is a clerk, he shall be deposed: if a layman, he shall be excommunicated.' Here the holy Apostles say: 'If any one reproaches *unjustly*, if he is a clerk, let him be deposed:' a 'clerk' is the word, not a 'bishop:' for 'there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars,' says the Apostle. And again he says, 'God has set first in the church apostles, secondarily prophets, then teachers,' &c. And again: 'As in one body there are many members, and the members have not all the same office' (for the head and the eyes are more honourable), &c. But the canon also adds this qualification, 'if he do it *unjustly;*' as also the Lord in the gospel has said, 'But I say unto you, that every one who is angry against his brother *without cause*, shall be in danger of the judgment.' But thou sayest, 'Whoever shall *revile* the emperor unjustly, shall be *punished* (kaznen):' and *that* in the canon *there is not*. There is mention made in the canon of two persons, a clerk and a layman. But as for the words that they 'are to be *punished*,' this thou hast falsely imputed to the saints and to the canons. As everywhere else thou hast lied, so here also thou hast lied twice over; firstly by making the canon apply to all persons indiscriminately, and secondly by putting in 'he shall be *punished*.' Again thou writest: 'The Church, it is true, has no sword. However Matthew Blastar makes a distinction, and says that he who vilifies the emperor may have done this with coarse stupidity as a fool, and that we must make an exception of such a man on account of his folly; or one may have to make allowance for him, because he did it from great anguish of mind; or he had been wronged in his rights, and for that cause it is reasonable to make allowance for him, and let him off: or, if the contrary be the case, it is right to *punish* him *with death*. But if the reviling be only written, and not divulged, and any one comes upon that abusive writing, and does not cast it into the fire, so that it may be consumed, but begins to read it, and divulges it to others, reason teaches us that he should suffer the same punishment as is awarded in the holy canons *of punishment by death*; of which *punishment by death* he also is worthy who has written a vituperative writing against the emperor.' As above thou hast lied, O wretched man, so now also thou liest, and speakest no atom of truth. Such a one as thou art is justly worthy of capital punishment, who corruptest in writing the Apostolical canons, and foistest into them 'punishments by death,' when in them such malice was not so much as mentioned. Christ, the truth itself, says: 'Woe to the world because of offences! . . . but woe unto him by whom the offence cometh. It were better for such a one that a millstone were tied about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea, rather than he should cause any one of these little ones to offend.' And another scripture saith: 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee,' &c. Listen to the gloss upon that canon of the holy Apostles, not that of Matthew Blastar, who is unknown to the Church. Gloss on canon lxxxiv. of the Apostles: 'The law of Moses says, Thou shalt not speak evil of the prince of thy people. And the prince of the Apostles, Peter, commands us to honour the king. And the great Paul commands us to pray for kings, and for all that are in authority, even then, when they were as yet unbelievers. And to revile the king or the prince is forbidden to all: but to reprove him, when he deserves it, is not forbidden, though the words of reproof, being very strange to him, may be accounted by him who is reproved as an insult. To reproach him without just cause is not allowed by the canon, as may be understood without making any distinction of cases: but he who with just cause reproves a king or a prince does not deserve punishment. In title iii. of book xvi. of the Basilica, chap. 13, it is said thus: "If any one shall speak evil against the emperor, he shall be punished by death with tortures; and no reference ought to be made about him to the emperor. But if he uttered what he did from want of understanding, without considering what it was, or if from vehement passion, allowance is to be made for him; or if he did it because he had been wronged, he is then to be pardoned."'

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[1] '*Kaznen*,' that is, punished by the civil power: and the word standing alone generally implies *capital* punishment.

Seest thou, O thou writer of falsehood, how they interpret the canon? saying, 'To revile the emperor or the prince is forbidden to all; but for bishops on proper occasion to reprove the emperor is not forbidden, though the words of reproof, if very sharp, may be taken by him who is reproved as an insult. To reproach him without just cause is not allowed by the canon, as may be understood without making any distinction of cases:

but he who with just cause reproves a king or a prince does not deserve punishment.' But how dost thou interpret the canon? To the effect that all who reprove the emperor for his injustice are to be punished with death! A great company has already been assembled with the Lord of those who have suffered evil for having reproved the unseemly actions of kings. And they cry with a loud voice, saying: 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?' (Rev. vi. 10.) See! they do not pray against the dead, but 'on them that dwell on the earth.' If it had been against past generations, they would not have specified 'them that dwell on the earth.' But what is the divine answer to them? 'That they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.' As also elsewhere it is written: 'And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood. And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy. And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments. And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire. And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory' (Rev. xvi. 4-9). And all these things have been fulfilled: since from the sun, during the infectious state of the air, men died by the fierce heat which brought the plague, and no one was able to heal them with medicine, and they died; and they that remained gave not glory to God, but blasphemed the name of God: and to such there shall be added the other following plagues. But the souls of those who were murdered for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God will reign with Christ. On them the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests to God and to Christ. Of whom do thou, O Christ our God, vouchsafe us also to be imitators. But as regards the iniquities of a king, it is no sin for any one and for every one to reprove him. It is written: 'And I spake of thy testimonies even before kings, and was not ashamed.' And the Lord preaches, saying: 'For they shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them. But when they shall lead you and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, or what ye shall answer, neither do ye premeditate: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist' (Luke xxi. 15). And elsewhere he says, 'For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in that hour what ye ought to say.' And, 'Every one that confesseth me before men, him will the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God.' And what insult is it to the Tsar, if any one preaches to him righteousness, and the Tsar, having become proud, does not listen to him, and, more than that, inflicts tortures also on the witnesses who witness to righteousness? It is not him, the man who preaches thus to him, that the Tsar reviles and rejects, but he rejects God himself. For 'he who heareth you,' he says, 'heareth me, and he who rejecteth you rejecteth me.' And it is not merely the witness of the word that he dishonours or kills, but he also irreverently dishonours or wounds him who gave the commandment. But they according to their labour shall receive a reward a hundredfold from the Lord God, and shall be pontiffs to God and Christ, as has been written above.

Boldness is one thing, audacity is another. If any one himself does the will of God, and testifies to them that do it not to do it, and if any one will not hearken to him alone, then before two or three others reprove him with boldness, as Christ commands, saying, 'Be of good courage; for I have overcome the world.' And, 'Fear ye not them.' And again: 'Fear ye not them who kill the body,' &c. And again elsewhere it is said: 'Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things which concern our Lord, with all boldness, no man forbidding' (Acts xxviii. 31). This is *boldness*. But audacity is when a man, being puffed up with pride, not only does not hearken to the commandments of God, but even swells against his Creator, and either ill-treats or kills them that reprove him.

By audacity Lucifer, being swollen with pride, fell from heaven, and had his head crushed on earth. For he said within his heart: 'I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Yet now thou shalt be brought down to hell' (Is. xiv. 13-15). Of whom Christ testified: 'I saw Satan, like lightning, fall from heaven.'

Taking to himself boldness, the archangel Michael, with a reasonable loyalty towards the Lord, having assembled the angelic choirs, said: Let us be watchful, and stand in good order . . . against the adversaries of our Creator, seeing Satan, and his ministers with him, who had been before light now become darkness. And Michael the archangel, with the rest of the heavenly hosts, cast Satan and all the multitude of the demons out of heaven, as John the Divine saw: 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven' (Rev. xii. 7, 8). The gloss: 'This may be applied also to the first fall of the devil from the angelic order for audacity and pride, the archangel Michael not enduring him. Ezekiel says that he was cast out from the cherubims, from the midst of the fiery stones; that is, I suppose, from the heavenly orders; because there were found in him transgression and iniquity. But at the coming of Christ, the angels which ministered to him after the temptation again abhorred him as a disgraced servant. But let this also be known, that it is the opinion of the Fathers that it was after the creation of the sensible world that he was thus by pride and envy cast down; and with propriety; for heaven endured not earthly wisdom. As also it is written in the Psalm, The weapons of the enemy have failed altogether. And by pride he was changed from an angel to a devil, and from light to darkness, from the divine glory to everlasting nothingness, from unspeakable joy to endless torment.' So also men, though they be emperors and princes, if they have the audacity to intrude into things not their own. But, however they may swell with pride now for the multitude of their people, they will not deliver themselves by wealth and pride from the judgment of God, as it is written in the Psalm, 'When a man dieth he shall carry nothing away, neither shall his glory descend after him. Though while he lived he blessed his soul; and men will praise thee when thou doest well to thyself' (Ps. xlviii. 17, 18).

Hear yet in addition of human pride: 'If they had not had the thought to become gods, they would not have eaten of the forbidden tree, and instead of their first clothing given them by God, found themselves naked.' This is audacity.

By audacity Cain brought offerings to God of the second sort, not of the first, and dishonoured God: and he not only did not repent of this, but he added, as originating from audacity, another sin, and slew his brother. Then, thirdly, he lied to God, saying, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' And what came to him? Knowest thou not with what punishment God punished him before the everlasting torment to come; namely, with this, that he should be groaning and trembling?

With boldness Abel offered sacrifice to God from the firstlings of his sheep, and from their fat: and the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering. See here audacity and boldness. And Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go into the field.' This is audacity. And Abel went as an innocent sheep following his murderer, his brother. This is boldness. And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that he slew him.

With boldness Lamech killed Cain, and was to be avenged seventy-and-seven fold. From such audacity as Cain's the earth was defiled before God, and was filled with iniquity. And the Lord said to Noah, 'The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.' And the Lord brought a flood upon the earth; and all flesh died that moved upon the earth.

With boldness Noah built the Ark, as the Lord God commanded him, for the salvation of himself and his house.

With audacity foolish men built a tower on the earth; whom the Lord scattered over the face of all the earth.

With boldness Heber consented not to the counsel of Nahor to build the tower; and from him issued the people of benediction.

With boldness Abraham, by the command of the Lord, went out from his own kindred and from his father's house; and it happened to him that he went down into Egypt on account of the famine.

With audacity the Egyptians beheld his wife, that she was very fair; the princes of Pharaoh also saw her, and commended her before Pharaoh; and she was taken by force into Pharaoh's house. And God did not suffer him in this, but plagued him long with plagues until he made her gifts and let her go.

With audacity Abimelec king of Gerar took from Abraham Sarah on account of her beauty; and God suffered him not to defile her. 'God came to Abimelec in a dream by night. . . . Therefore Abimelec rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and all the men were sore afraid. Then Abimelec called Abraham, and said to him, What hast thou done unto us? and what have I offended thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? Thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done. What thoughtest thou, that thou hast done this thing? And Abraham said, Because I thought, Surely the fear of God is not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake. And he let her go with very rich gifts' (Gen. xx. 3, 8-11).

With boldness Abraham, with three hundred and eighteen men of his household, overthrew five kings and three hundred thousand men.

With boldness Abraham believed God; and it was counted to him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God.

With boldness Abraham received God into his house, and treated him as a friendly guest.

With boldness Abraham drew near to the Lord, and said, 'Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? and shall the righteous be as the wicked? Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou also destroy and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that are therein? That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked. That be far from thee: shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes. And Abraham answered and said, Behold, now I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, who am but dust and ashes: Peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, If I find there forty and five, I will not destroy it. And he spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it for forty's sake. And he said unto him, O, let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak: Peradventure there shall be thirty found there.

And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there. And he said, Behold, now I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: Peradventure there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for twenty's sake. And he said, O, let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this once: Peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for ten's sake. And the Lord went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham' (Gen. xviii. 23-33). This is boldness.

With audacity the men of the city of Sodom compassed the house of Lot.

With boldness Abraham offered Isaac his son in sacrifice to the Lord God.

With boldness Lot, sitting at the gate of the city, met there two angels, and bowed himself with his face to the ground, and received them in his house.

With audacity the men of the city of Sodom compassed his house round, both old and young, all the people together. And they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night? Bring them out unto us, that we may be with them.

With boldness the angels smote them with blindness; and taking Lot, and his wife, and his two daughters by the hand, led them out to the mountain, and destroyed Sodom.

With audacity the wife of Lot looked back; and she became a pillar of salt.

Through audacity the sons-in-law of Lot which were to marry his daughters perished with Sodom, because they believed not Lot their father-in-law, but thought that he was mocking.

With audacity the daughters of Lot made their father drink wine, and lay with him.

With boldness Isaac, in obedience to the will of God, went to Gerar.

With boldness Isaac went out, and digged other wells.

With audacity Esau sold his birthright to Jacob. With boldness Jacob bought it. With boldness Jacob stole the blessing of his father. With audacity Esau opposed Jacob for the blessing wherewith his father had blessed him.

With boldness Jacob went to live with Laban; and taking his two daughters, his wives, rose up, and departed.

With audacity Laban pursued him.

With boldness Jacob wrestled with God; and having prevailed was named by God 'Israel.'

With boldness the two sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah, girded on each of them his sword, and went into the city without fear, and smote all the males, and slew Hamor and Sichem and his sons with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went forth. And the sons of Jacob spoiled all that was in the city, and all that was in the houses.

With audacity his brethren let down Joseph into the pit, and again sold him for twelve [twenty] pieces of silver into Egypt. And Joseph pleased the Lord, and the Lord was with him. And he was in the house of Potiphar, serving before his lord. And with audacity his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph, and said, Be with me. And with a good boldness Joseph consented not to be with her. And she lyingly accused him of unseemly conduct to her husband. And his lord, being moved to wrath, put Joseph in the prison.

With boldness Joseph stood before Pharaoh, and said, It is not without God that deliverance is revealed unto Pharaoh.

With boldness Jacob entered into Egypt.

With audacity the Egyptians hated the children of Israel, and made their lives hard and painful with excessive work, with clay and making of bricks, and with all manner of works in the fields, on which they compelled them to work as bondsmen.

With audacity Pharaoh ordered the midwives and his people to kill all the male children which were born to Israel. 'They ill-treated our fathers, so that they cast out their young children, to the end they might not live. In which time Moses was born, and was exceeding fair, and (by the boldness of his father and mother) was nourished up in his father's house three months.'

With boldness Pharaoh's daughter took him up, and bred him up as her own son; and Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

With boldness Moses, when he saw a man suffering wrong, said to him that did the wrong, 'Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow? And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Wilt thou kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?' (Acts vii. 19-28.) 'And Moses feared, and said, Surely this thing is known' (Ex. ii. 14). 'And Moses fled at this saying, and was a stranger in the land of Midian.'

With boldness he drew near to the bush to contemplate it. 'And the voice of the Lord came to him: I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Then Moses trembled, and durst not behold.'

With audacity Pharaoh oppressed the Hebrew race, forcing them to make bricks.

With boldness the children of Israel 'groaned by reason of their bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of their bondage: and God heard their groaning' (Ex. ii. 23, 24). 'And the Lord sent Moses his servant, whom he had chosen; and he did signs and wonders among them.'

With boldness Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and told him all that the Lord God had commanded, saying, 'Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.'

With audacity and pride Pharaoh answered, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice, to let the children of Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.'

With boldness Moses and Aaron said, 'The God of the Hebrews hath ordered us to go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God.'

With audacity and pride Pharaoh hearkened not to Moses and Aaron.

With boldness the officers of the children of Israel went in to Pharaoh, and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, 'Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants? and they are beaten.'

With audacity and pride Pharaoh answered them, 'Go now and work; for I will not give you straw, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.'

With boldness Moses and Aaron did great signs and wonders. And Moses was a god unto Pharaoh. He plagued him and Egypt until he let the people of God go.

And again of audacity and pride Pharaoh's mind changed concerning the children of Israel, and he pursued after them; and the sea divided.

And through audacity and his great pride Pharaoh was drowned in the sea; they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

With audacity the children of Israel murmured against

Moses at Marah, because they could not drink the waters, for they were bitter.

With boldness Moses opened the side of the stony rock, and the streams gushed out.

With audacity and fury Amalek warred against Israel.

With boldness Moses discomfited Amalek.

With boldness Moses' father-in-law Jethro counselled Moses to 'choose out of all the people able men, such as fear God; men of justice, and hating pride; [men of truth, hating covetousness:] and set them to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens: and let them judge the people at all seasons: and all the smaller matters they shall judge: and they shall lessen the labour for thee, and shall assist thee' (Ex. xviii. 21, 22).

With boldness Moses hearkened unto his father-in-law, and did as he bade him.

With boldness Moses went up to Mount Sinai before God, into the midst of the cloud, and was there in the mount forty days and forty nights.

With audacity the children of Israel, seeing that he delayed to come down from the mount, made a calf, and worshipped it.

With boldness Moses came down from the mount, and 'took the calf,[1] and burned it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it. And Moses commanded, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses; and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men' (Ex. xxxii. 20, 27, 28).

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[1] The 'calf,' seemingly, in Nicon's mind is the deification of the Tsar.

THE END.

CANONS

QUOTED FROM THE XLI. SECTIONS OF PART I. OF THE KORMCHAY OF A.D. 1653.

I. *From the* LXXXV. *Canons of the Holy Apostles.*

ii. Gloss on: Of exemption of the clergy from secular judges [The canon itself is of the ordination of a priest and a deacon, &c. by one bishop]. p. 315.

x. xi. xii. Of praying with one excommunicate; or with a clerk deposed; and of receiving such in another diocese. p. 500, 502, 550, 591.

xiv. A bishop may move to another see only by compulsion of a synod. p. 90, 160, 502, 504.

xxvii. Of a bishop, priest, or deacon striking offenders; and of Defensors. p. 176.

xxviii. Of a clerk degraded who continues to act. p. 160, 547.

xxx. Of obtaining a church by help of the civil power. p. 110, 135, 160, 501, 554.

xxxiii. No bishop, priest, or deacon from another diocese is to be received unless he brings to the local bishop letters commendatory (*συστατικὰς*, formatas); and then, besides, he is to be examined. p. 589.

xxxiv. In each province or nation the bishops are to have their primate, and to regard him as their head, and do nothing apart from him (Kormchay of 1834, fol. 4; Beveregii Synodicon, i. p. 27). p. 52, 54, 103, 138, 160, 501.

xxxv. A bishop is not to ordain or act out of his own bounds. p. 159, 502, 510.

xxxvii. The bishops are to assemble themselves in synod twice a year. p. 33, 34, 40, 42, 102, 160, 502.

xxxviii. The bishop is to administer the property of the church. p. 118, 547.

xl. The private property of the bishop is to be kept distinct. p. 547.

xli. The bishop is to administer the property of the church with full authority. p. 118, 119, 547.

xlv. Of clerks praying with heretics, or allowing them to officiate. p. 551.

lv. If a clerk insult a bishop. p. 54.

lix. Of a bishop or priest not giving to any clerk what is necessary for his maintenance. p. 134.

lx. Against receiving and using uncanonical books, &c. p. 37, 46, 95, 97.

lxii. Of a clerk denying Christ, or denying his own clerkship. p. 158.

lxviii. Against reordination. p. 13.

lxxii. [Can. lxxv. is wrongly quoted in the text] Of him who alienates vessels belonging to the church. p. 117.

lxxiv. A bishop accused is to be summoned by bishops once and again. p. 55, 56.

lxxv. A heretic is no witness against a bishop; nor one man alone, though orthodox. p. 11, 117.

lxxxiv. He who unjustly speaks evil of the emperor or a ruler is to be *punished*, if a clerk *by deposition*, if a layman *by excommunication*. p. 117, 604, 606.

lxxxv. Enumeration of the canonical books, with gloss proscribing the Clementine Constitutions. p. 32, 37, 46, 97, 156, 567.

[Sections II. III. and IV. are extracts from lib. viii. of the Clementine Constitutions, appended seemingly to the Nomocanon of Johannes Scholasticus Patr. of C. P. before the decree of the C. in Trullo, A.D. 691. They are II. *Of St. Paul* xvii. *canons*] III. *Of the Two Princes of the Apostles Peter and Paul jointly* xvii. From these Of Festivals to be kept, and Of Lent &c. p. 398.

IV. '*Two Canons of all the Apostles together.*'

[From lib. viii. ch. 46 of the Apost. Const.] Of observance of the Constitutions, as having the authority of God; and of keeping every man within his own bounds (Kormchay fol. 12, Bever. ii. Dd). p. 8, 303, 376.

V. *From the* XX. *of the First Ec. C. of Nice, of* CCCXVIII. *Bishops*, A.D. 325.

v. Persons excommunicate are not to be received by other bishops; but synods are to meet twice in the year (Korm. fol. 13; Bev. i. p. 16). p. 33, 40, 102, 160.

vi. The ancient custom as to the privileges of the chief sees is to remain in force. p. 50, 51, 97, 159, 504.

xiii. [In the text iii.] All penitents are to be admitted to communion at the hour of death; but if any one recovers, he must complete the term of his penance. p. 158.

xv. Of clerks going into other dioceses. p. 503.

xvi. Of clergy going out of their own dioceses. p. 160.

VI. *From the* XXV. *of the Local Council of Ancyra*, A.D. 314.

xviii. Of a bishop ordained, but not received, troubling other sees (Korm. fol. 19; Bev. i. p. 395). p. 91, 92.

VII. *From the* XV. *of the Local Council of Neocesarea*, A.D. 314.

xiv. Of chorepiscopi, who are like the lxx. disciples [In the Photian Nomocanon and in the Latin edd. this makes the end of can. xiii., which is about rural priests] (Korm. fol. 22; Bev. i. p. 413). p. 54, 65.

[VIII. *From the* XX. *of the Local C. of Gangra* (A.D. 379) there is no quotation.]

IX. *From the* XXV. *of the Local Council of Antioch*, A.D. 341.

ix. [Nearly the same with can. xxxiv. of the Apostles] The bishops in each province are to remember that their metropolitan has the charge of all the churches of the province (Korm. fol. 26; Bev. i. p. 441). p. 54, 160.

xi. A bishop is not of himself alone to go to the emperor. p. 5, 103, 139, 140, 553, 590, 591.

xii. An appeal to a greater synod is allowed, but not to the emperor. p. 102, 139, 553.

xiii. A bishop is not to go out of his own see, nor to ordain, or do other episcopal acts, &c. p. 2, 58, 65, 159, 160, 503, 504, 510, 592, 602.

xvi. A vacant bishop may go, but only by vote of a synod, to a vacant see. p. 160, 503, 504.

xvii. Of a bishop ordained to a see, and not going to it. p. 91.

xix. A bishop is to be appointed by the synod, with the concurrence of the metropolitan of the province; not otherwise. p. 554.

xx. Synods are to be held twice in the year. p. 34, 42, 102, 160.

xxi. A bishop may not leave his own see for another. p. 160, 503, 504.

xxii. Like xiii., against a bishop or clerk going out of his own bounds, and acting, &c. p. 159, 501, 510, 592, 602.

xxv. The bishop is to have power over the property of the church (Korm. fol. 28; Bev. i. p. 450). p. 119.

X. *From the* LVIII. *of the Local Council of Laodicea*, A.D. 365.

xiii. Elections of clerks are not to be made by secular people, *τοῖς ὄχλοις* (Korm. fol. 30; Bev. i. p. 459). p. 111, 135, 160, 501, 554.

xxxiii. Against praying with heretics or schismatics. p. 551.

xxxvii. No one is to receive the feast-bread from Jews or heretics; nor to keep the feast with them [Aristin's abridgment of canons xxxvii. xxxviii. and xxxix.]. p. 551.

xxxix. The bishops are to assemble themselves; and Of a bishop failing to attend a synod. p. 35, 42, 102, 160.

lix. lx. Against using private psalms and uncanonical books in the church [Canon lx. enumerates the canonical books]. p. 37, 567.

XI. *From the* VIII. *of the Second Ec. C. of C.P. of* CL. *Bishops*, A.D. 381.

i. Confirms the faith and decrees of the Council of Nice (Korm. fol. 34; Bev. i. p. 90). p. 376.

ii. Bishops are not to go beyond their own bounds. But according to the canons the chairs of Alexandria and Antioch are to hold their ancient privileges: and so of the other Dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. p. 98, 159, 160, 502, 504.

iii. The bishop of C.P., however, is to rank next after the bishop of Rome, because C.P. is New Rome. p. 20, 51.

iv. Of Maximus the Cynic, that he is no bishop. p. 38, 164.

XII. *From the* IX. *of the Third Ec. C. of Ephesus, of* CC. *Bishops*, A.D. 431.

i. To bishops prevented by some bodily or ecclesiastical hindrance from attending the council [Referred to as showing that the bishops are bound to assemble themselves in synods, and that when met they act by their own authority, not by that of the secular ruler]. p. 40.

vi. A layman or clerk resisting the council is to be excommunicated or deposed (Korm. fol. 36; Bev. i. p. 103-106). p. 376.

viii. The rights belonging to the local church are to be preserved to its bishop in full integrity; and every encroachment shall be null and void. p. 376, 377.

XIII. *From the* XXX. *of the Fourth Ec. C. of Chalcedon of* DCXXX. *Bishops*, A.D. 451.

i. Confirms former canons (Korm. fol. 37; Bev. i. p. 111). p. 60, 377.

v. Confirms former canons against bishops or clerks going from city to city. p. 2, 58, 160, 504, 592.

viii. Clerks attached to poor-houses, monasteries, &c. are to be under the local bishop. p. 500.

ix. A clerk having any matter against another may not seek a judgment from any secular court. p. 38, 55, 56, 61, 101, 136, 201, 303, 346, 500, 549.

xix. Synods are to be held twice a year. p. 35, 40, 42.

xxi. A clerk or layman accusing a bishop is not to be heard without previous examination. p. 11, 12.

xxiv. Monasteries once dedicated with the blessing of the bishop are never more to be secularised. p. 94, 117.

xxviii. Confirms canon iii. of the Council of C.P. giving to the chair of that city the second place, and giving to it the ordination of the metropolitans of the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian Dioceses. p. 20, 40, 42, 50.

xxix. To degrade a bishop to the priesthood is sacrilege [mentioned as having been superseded by later canons in the gloss on can. xx. of the Council in Trullo, called the Quinisext, or simply the Sixth Ecum. Council]. p. 6, 506, 591.

XIV. *From the* XXI. *of the Local Council of Sardica*, A.D. 347.

i. A bishop may not go off to take another see (Korm. fol. 42 ; Bev. i. p. 484). p. 503, 505.

ii. Nor may he do this on any pretence of being invited. p. 503, 505, 592.

iii. No bishop uninvited is to go into another see ; nor, having a difference, is he to call in as arbiter or judge any bishop of another province ; but, if he be not content, he may appeal to the Bishop of Rome. p. 3, 58, 505, 593.

viii. ix. [vii. viii. and ix. of the original full canons are made into canons viii. and ix. of Aristin] In what way only a bishop may send [or go] to the emperor. p. 5, 139, 140, 591.

xii. [xi. of the full Greek canons, xiv. of the Latin edd.] A bishop is not to teach in the see of another unlearned bishop. p. 3, 58, 594.

xiii. [Part of the full Greek canon xi. of Bev. and part of xii. of Aristin] A bishop is not to absent himself for long from his see : three weeks are allowed. p. 4, 594.

xviii. [xvi. of full Greek] Also clerks absenting themselves for long (as some stay long at Thessalonica) are subjected to the same rule with bishops, *i.e.* are not to be absent more than three weeks. p. 4.

xix. [xvii. of the full Greek and of Bev.] A bishop unjustly driven out or oppressed is not forbidden to live out of his see till he can obtain a pacification. p. 29, 142, 597. [Note that can. lxxi. of Carthage might have been urged against Nicon, as it forbids a bishop to transfer his residence from the chief church of his diocese to another ; but canon xix. of Sardica justifies him even if Voskresensk had been altogether out of his own diocese, or out of the patriarchate of Moscow.]

xxi. [xx. and xxi. of present Greek Πηδάλιον] A bishop who seeks to unsettle the decrees previously made is deposed : also he who goes to the emperor otherwise than is permitted by the canons. p. 438, 590.

XV. *From the* CXXXVIII. *of the Local C. of Carthage* [*i.e. from the code made in great part from the canons of earlier councils by the C. of Carthage of* A.D. 419.]

vii. [ix. of Justel, originally can. ix. of what is called the 'Second Council of Carthage'] Absolution is reserved to the proper bishop (Korm. 47 ; Bev. i. p. 522). p. 301.

viii. [Originally can. vii. of the 'Third Council of Carthage'] Of a bishop accused. The accuser is to clear himself first, before he brings a charge. p. 12.

ix. [vii. of the 'Second Council of Carthage'] Of him who receives to communion a man justly excommunicated. p. 551.

xii. A bishop accused not at the time of the synod is to be tried by xii. bishops [From can. x. of the 'Second Council of Carthage,' which adds : 'And a priest by vi. bishops, and a deacon by iii., with his own bishop']. p. 38, 201, 304, 305, 549, 601, 603.

xv. [Made by Aristin from xv. xvi. xvii. ; originally ix. and x. of the 'Third Council of Carthage'] Of criminous clerks applying to secular judges. p. 303, 304, 347, 500.

xviii. [xviii. xix. xx. xxi. of Bev. ; xxvi. of Greek Πηδάλιον : originally from can. ii. and iii. of 'Third Council of Carthage'] A synod of all Africa is to be held yearly, with two or more legates to represent in it each province [In the code of A.D. 419 there are added these words, 'according to the Nicene decree.' But this canon is modified by xcv. of the same code]. Also that the canons which he is to be bound to keep are to be made known first to him who is to be ordained a bishop, and he shall engage to keep them. p. 35, 58, 102, 122, 136, 151.

xix. [vii. of 'Third Council of Carthage'] A bishop accused must be summoned by the metropolitan (nearly identical with can. viii. above). p. 55.

xx. [viii. of 'Third Council of Carthage'] Priests and deacons accused are to be judged by five and by two bishops respectively, besides their own bishop. p. 549.

xxiii. [xxvi. Bev.; originally it is xxviii. of the 'Third Council of Carthage'] A bishop is not to cross the sea without the concurrence of his metropolitan. p. 5, 58, 589, 591.

xxiv. [xxxii. in the present Greek Πηδάλιον] Nothing but the canonical scriptures is to be read in the church. p. 37.

xliii. [xlvi. Bev.; originally from xxxi. xxxii. of 'Third Council of Carthage'] Priests may absolve only by license from their bishop. p. 301.

lvi. [lx. of Bev.; originally from xlii. xliii. of the 'Third Council of Carthage'] No new see is to be erected out of one previously existing without the consent of the local bishop. And of bishops who isolate themselves. p. 90.

lxxiv. [lxxvi. Bev.; lxxxi. in the present Greek Πηδάλιον] The day on which Easter falls is to be named in the formatæ of the previous synod; and Aug. 23 is to be kept to as the day for holding the annual synods. p. 35.

lxxvi. [lxxviii. Bev.] 'Let them not trouble the bishops: let there be Defensors' (ἔκδικοι). p. 177, 552.

lxxvii. [lxxvi. Bev.; lxxxiv. in the Greek Πηδάλιον] A bishop failing to attend a synod must be content with the communion of his own church. p. 35.

lxxxiii. [al. lxxxvii.; can. lxxxix. of Arist.; in the Greek Πηδάλιον xcv. or xc.] The bishops are to honour those who are their seniors by consecration. p. 63.

xcv. [xcviii. of Bev.; ciii. civ. of Greek Πηδάλιον] A general synod from all Africa is not to be held annually, but only when called for by circumstances; and then it shall be held in such place as may be most convenient. Otherwise the synods held in each province shall suffice. p. 36, 42.

xcvii. Of 'Defensors' (like lxxvi. above). p. 177, 552.

cii. [cv. Bev.] Men who put away their wives, or wives who put away their husbands, must remain unmarried. p. 146.

civ. [cvii. Bev.] Of a bishop who applies for a secular judgment. (But to apply to the emperor to obtain through him a superior spiritual judgment is allowed). p. 103, 140, 305, 347, 500.

cvi. [cix. Bev.] A bishop is not to go to the emperor except with letters from the bishops of Carthage and of Rome [and the gloss refers to can. xxviii. of the Fourth Ecum. Council]. p. 5, 103, 140, 347, 553, 591.

cxiv. If any one say that a man can keep the commandments without grace, though with difficulty, he is accursed. p. 377.

cxv. Likewise, if any one pretend that what St. John says, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves,' is said only of humility. p. 378.

cxxv. [cxxvi. of Bev.] Appeals of clerks are allowed only to ecclesiastical tribunals, and that only within Africa itself. p. 550.

cxxviii. A man excommunicated is not an admissible witness. p. 12.

cxxxii. An accuser may not bring witnesses from his own house. p. 512.

cxxxiii. A bishop who says that a clerk confessed this or that to him alone, the clerk denying it, is not to be believed against the clerk on his own bare word (Korm. fol. 65; Bev. i. p. 668). p. 513.

XVI. '*The Fifth Ec. C. of C.P. of* CLXV. *Bishops,*' A.D. 553 ['*The C. held at C.P.* A.D. 394, *concerning Agapius and Garadius;*' I. *Canon*, Bev. i. p. 678]: Of wronging bishops, or dragging clerks before lay tribunals. p. 347, 377.

XVII. *From the* CII. *of the Sixth Ec. C. of C.P., held in Trullo* [*The Sixth Ec.*

C. was really held A.D. 680 *with* CCLXXXIX. *Bishops, but this is the Council held* A.D. 691 *with* CCXXVII. *Bishops, and called the Sixth Ec. Council.*]

i. Confirming the Nicene faith, and the canons of the Apostles, and those of the six Ecumenical and seven Local Councils held previously (Korm. fol. 69 ; Bev. i. p. 159). p. 378.

ii. Rejecting the Clementine Constitutions, &c. p. 32, 567.

viii. It shall suffice to hold a synod once, instead of twice, in the year. p. 33, 36, 102.

xvii. A bishop may not ordain a clerk belonging to another bishop. p. 510.

xix. The heads of the clergy are to teach daily, especially on Sundays. p. 95, 97, 156.

xx. A bishop is not to teach in another city than his own. p. 6, 58, 65, 506, 594.

xxxvi. Of the precedency of the chairs of C. P. (as New Rome), Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem ; reconfirming canons iii. of the Second and xxviii. of the Fourth Ecum. Councils (though perhaps, at p. 20, canon xxxiv., against clerks conspiring, is meant). p. 20, 52.

From the Σύνταγμα Ἀλφαβητικόν of Matt. Blastar, of the character and qualities of a patriarch (Bev. ii. p. 219). p. 64.

xxxviii. If the emperor found or refound a city, the ecclesiastical order is to follow the civil. p. 91.

xlix. Monasteries once dedicated with consent of the bishop are never to be secularised. p. 94, 118.

lxiv. A layman is not to teach. p. 467, 497.

lxix. No layman may enter the sanctuary, except the emperor when he comes to offer gifts after an ancient custom. p. 567.

lxxxvii. Marriage is indissoluble. p. 145, 146.

xcii. [xciii. of Πηδάλιον; ciii. of Bev. i. p. 267 : originally from can. xxxi. xxxvi. and xlvi. of St. Basil.] Of a woman, whose husband has disappeared, marrying again (Korm. fol. 81). p. 147, 148.

XVIII. *From the* XXII. *of the Seventh Ec. C. of Nice, of* CCCLXVII. *Bishops,* A.D. 787.

Its Exposition, against all innovation. p. 350.

i. Enforcing the previous existing canons of the Church (Korm. fol. 82 ; Bev. i. p. 284). p. 8, 42, 48, 50, 58, 103, 138, 150, 168, 350, 378, 468, 502, 507.

iii. Princes are not to elect bishops. p. 110, 135, 160, 501, 502, 554.

vi. Synods are to be held once a year : bishops are bound to attend them. p. 33, 37, 40, 42, 102.

xii. Church property is not to be alienated. p. 118.

xvi. Clerks are not to use fine gowns, unguents, perfumes, &c. p. 20.

i. Of the chair of Jerusalem. p. 50 [or xxxvi. of the Sixth Ec. Council ?].

XIX. *From the* XVII. *of the Local Council of C.P., held in the church of the Holy Apostles, called the First and Second,* A.D. 859 *and* 861.

i. Without the bishop no monastery can be founded ; but once blessed by him, it is dedicated to God for ever (Korm. fol. 86 ; Bev. i. p. 384). p. 94, 118.

ix. Of a bishop striking, in order to correct, offenders. p. 177.

xiii. xiv. xv. Of a priest or deacon withdrawing from the communion of his bishop ; or a bishop from the communion of his metropolitan. p. 62, 63.

xv. Or a bishop or metropolitan from the communion of his patriarch. p. 62, 63, 110, 136, 506.

xvi. Under no pretence is any one to take the see of a bishop still living. p. 110, 136, 507.

XX. *From the* III. *of the Local Council held in the church of St. Sophia at C.P. which confirmed the Seventh Ec. Council*, A.D. 879.

i. Those bound, deposed, or anathematised by P. Damasus [' by the blessed Pope John,' *i.e.* John VIII.] are to be bound, &c. still [not 'still,' but by the Patr. Photius, and vice versâ]. p. 166.

iii. If any secular person imprisons or scourges a bishop, or trumps up a charge against him (Korm. fol. 88 ; Bev. i. p. 364). p. 59, 479, 603.

XXI. *From the* XCI. *canons of St. Basil the Great ; from Epistles to Amphilochius and others.*

vii. An adulterer is to do penance fifteen years. p. 147.

ix. If a woman leave her husband, she must remain unmarried, or be reconciled. p. 145, 146.

xiii. A soldier killing a man is counselled to abstain from communion three years. p. 17.

xv. A robber is to do penance twenty years. p. 151.

xxii. Penance for incest with a sister twenty years. p. 147.

xxxi. A woman who remarries, without knowing that her husband is dead, commits adultery. p. 148.

xxxv. To the same effect as canon ix. p. 146, 148.

xxxvi. Wives of soldiers remarrying are to be treated with less severity than others. p. 148.

xlv. He who blasphemes Christ has no benefit from the name of a Christian. p. 467, 497, 579.

xlvi. If a woman left by her husband remarries in ignorance. p. 148, 149.

lvi. Penance for voluntary homicide twenty years. p. 17.

lxiv. The oath-breaker is to do penance ten years. p. 517, 519, 580.

lxviii. To the same effect as canons ix. and xxxv. p. 146.

lxxiii. He who has denied Christ is to communicate only at the hour of death. p. 158, 467, 581.

lxxvii. To the same effect as canons ix. xxxv. and xlviii. p. 146.

lxxxii. He who under compulsion breaks his oath is to do penance six years, but he who without compulsion twenty (Korm. fol. 97 ; Bev. ii. p. 134). p. 516, 519, 580.

XXII. *St. Basil*, XXVII. *brief canons:* Of the time for penitents.

XXIII. *St. Basil:* Of the place of penances, *i.e.* of degrees of censures.

XXIV. *St. Basil's Epistle to a Priest:* Of the Divine Service ; and of the Holy Communion ; and of them that are careless about censures. p. 17.

XXV. *St. Basil: To St. Gregory the Divine:* On monastic discipline.

XXVI. *St. Dionysius, Abp. of Alexandria*, IV. *canons.*

XXVII. *St. Peter of Alexandria*, XIV. *canons.*

XXVIII. *St. Gregory Thaum. of Neocesarea*, XIII. *canons.*

XXIX. *Extracts from* IV. *Epistles of St. Athanasius the Great, Abp. of Alexandria:* of these the fourth, On the Canonical Books, is referred to at p. 37.

XXX. *St. Gregory [of Nazianzum called] the Divine, or Theologian:* Of the books prescribed ; and verses on the same books of St. Amphilochius of Iconium (Korm. fol. 50, 51). p. 37.

XXXI. *St. Gregory of Nyssa to Litoius*, VIII. *canons.*

XXXII. *Timothy, Abp. of Alexandria*, XV. *canons.*

XXXIII. *Theophilus, Abp. of Alexandria*, XIV. *canons.*

XXXIV. *St. Cyril, Abp. of Alexandria*, V. *canons ; and from other Epistles of the same*, III. *more.*

ii. Of secularising monasteries and their property (Korm. fol. 107). p. 118.

iii. It is unlawful for a bishop or priest to offer a written resignation. p. 22.

From the Epistle to Eulogius of Alexandria: To unsettle the determinations of the Fathers is not economy, but impiety. p. 9, 379.

XXXV. *The same St. Cyril*, XI. *canons:* Of the right faith, against Nestorius.

XXXVI. *A warning by the holy Fathers* [being three Epistles, of Gennadius, St. Basil, and Tarasius] Against ordaining for money.

XXXVII. *Missive from the Synod of C. P. to Martyrius, Bishop of Antioch:* How to receive heretics.

XXXVIII. *Heads of the Great Church of St. Sophia, sealed with the chrysobulla of the Emperor Justinian:* Of slaves who fly to the church, VI. canons.

XXXIX. *St. Demetrius Cyzicenus:* Of the Messalians called Bogomilæ, &c.

XL. *A Letter of Peter, Abp. of Alexandria, to the Bishop of Venice:* Of the Five Patriarchs; and Of Azymes.

XLI. *An Epistle of the ven. monk Nilus to the priest Heraclius:* Concerning his severity against sinners.

From these sections, which complete Part I. of the printed Kormchay, there are no quotations.

CIVIL LAWS QUOTED FROM PART II. OF THE KORMCHAY.

Part II. of the Kormchay, the paging of which is continuous with that of Part I. in the ed. of 1653, begins with a new paging in the later editions, in which also, since 1787, it has one section fewer than the Kormchay of 1653. Thus its first section, XLII., which begins on fol. 301 of the edition of 1653, begins on fol. 3 of Part II. in that of 1834.

The first Slavonic Nomocanon—the one used in Russia till its subjugation by the Tatars—was a translation from that of Johannes Scholasticus, a copy of which was sent to Bulgaria (after the baptism of the Prince Bogoris or Michael in A.D. 866) by the Patriarch Photius from Constantinople.

Johannes Scholasticus, while yet only a priest of the church of Antioch and its Apocrisiarius at C. P., had made a 'Collection of the Canons' based on that code of Chalcedon to which Novell cxxxi. of Justinian about the same time (A.D. 541) gave the force of law, but with the addition of the Council of Sardica, of the so-called Canons of the Apostles, and of lxviii. canons of St. Basil. The full text of all these canons he exhibited 'not in any chronological order nor according to the sequence of the canons themselves,' but digested according to their subject matter under L. Titles. Afterwards, when Patriarch of C. P., he added a Second Part—his 'Nomocanon' properly so called—which consisted of a repetition of the L. Titles with the canons belonging to each indicated now only by references, but with extracts subjoined to these references under each Title from the Code and Novells of Justinian. And after all he appended separately xxi. other extracts from the same Novells not placed before under any one of the L. Titles.

As time went on, various supplements were annexed to his work by transcribers. Such were those extracts from ch. xxxii. xxxiii. and xlvi. of lib. viii. of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' (not yet proscribed by the C. in Trullo) which still make sections II. III. IV. of the printed Kormchay; then, various canons of St. Basil and of other Fathers: also one canon of a Council held at C. P. in A.D. 394 under Nectarius, concerning the rival claims of Agapius and Gabadius to the see of Bostra; and an Account of the Council held at C. P. in Trullo, in A.D. 691, with some of its canons.

This Council, adding the 'Canons of the Apostles,' and those of Sardica and

Carthage, together with many canons and writings of St. Basil and other Fathers, and cii. canons of its own, to that code which had been sanctioned in the fifth century at Chalcedon, would have made it necessary 160 years before the time of Photius to recast and expand the Nomocanon. But the Council in Trullo of A.D. 691 being unconfirmed by the Popes, and having worded some canons in a tone offensive to them and tending to schism, could not be put forward as authoritative, so long as union was preserved with Rome, or so long as a permanent rupture was not intended. In fact, it was only in A.D. 879, at the restoration of Photius, or rather only in A.D. 912, when his name was reinserted in the diptychs, that it was decided synodically to identify the Council of A.D. 691 with the Sixth Ecum. Council, also held at C.P. and 'in Trullo' in A.D. 680, 681. Nor could Photius' second Nomocanon, prepared anonymously, after his last deposition in A.D. 886, on the basis of canon ii. of the Council 'in Trullo' of A.D. 691, and taking in not only that council and the Seventh Ecum. of A.D. 787, but also two other local councils of C.P. held under himself, come into use till after A.D. 912.

Photius, in his *first* edition of the Nomocanon, as is shown by its preface (retained, together with the preface to his second edition, in the printed Kormchay), recast (A.D. 858-866) the Nomocanon of Johannes Scholasticus thus:

Instead of the L. Titles, he digested the canons, those, that is, of the ten Councils of Joh. Scholasticus held before A.D. 553, with those of Carthage of A.D. 419 (which he added as containing many things useful, though mixed with local matters and Western customs at variance with Eastern), and with other useful canons of particular Fathers, under XIV. Titles, not writing them out under these Titles at full, but referring to them only. And under each of the subtitles or chapters, sometimes numerous, he appended a digest of the parallel civil laws, worked up partly in words taken from the original sources, and partly in words of his own. This is called his Κείμενον, or text. Then, in a Second Part, he gave first a Collection of the Councils, not exactly in chronological order, and the canons at full, all in their proper sequence; and afterwards those passages from the Novells which Johannes Scholasticus had given either under his L. Titles, or in his separate appendix of xxi. extracts, omitting, however, some, and adding others from the same Novells. All these passages Photius threw together under lxxxvii. heads, bringing them back (as he had also brought back the full text of the canons) from the dislocated patchwork into which they had been thrown, and following, on the whole, the order of the Novells themselves, but with some transpositions and omissions, designed to obtain a certain method, and to avoid repetition. These lxxxvii. heads, appended by Photius both to his first unenlarged, and again later to his enlarged edition of the Nomocanon (and never yet printed in Greek or Latin), were translated in the tenth century into Slavonic; and they are found in all the MSS. of the Kormchay, of which, in the printed editions, they make section XLII.

The whole of this section being referred to (at p. 217) by Nicon, who was inclined even to write it out, the heads of its contents shall be given below, with references both to the Nomocanon of Joh. Scholasticus and to the original sources in the Novells of Justinian; and such of the lxxxvii. extracts as are quoted separately by Nicon shall be also treated separately.

But first we must mention that the Nomocanon of Joh. Scholasticus, or Photius' improvement of it, received in Bulgaria, and after A.D. 988 also in Russia, other additions, partly of Greek and partly of Slavonian origin, which passed from it to the translation of Photius' *second* Nomocanon. This latter too received additions of its own. And all these additions, varying in copies made at different times and places, and Nicon's quotations from them, are only in part to be found in the printed Kormchay.

There is no trace of any translation of Photius' *second* Nomocanon being known in Russia before its subjugation by the Tatars; and every earlier mention of the Nomocanon must be understood of that of Joh. Scholasticus, or of Photius' re-edition of it; though, no doubt, such of the early metropolitans and bishops as were Greeks might bring with them into Russia from C.P. Greek copies of the later edition.

But the metropolitan Cyril II., a native Russian, who was consecrated at Nice in A.D. 1250, after the destruction caused by the Tatars, finding no Slavonic Nomocanon at Vladimir, where he had fixed his chair, sought and obtained one in A.D. 1270 from Bulgaria.[1] This he himself calls 'the book Zonar,' showing that it was a translation of the *second* Photian Nomocanon (the **Κείμενον**, however, being omitted, as it is in Part I. fol. 9, &c. of the printed Kormchay), with the glosses of Zonaras (who wrote about 1135) subjoined to the full text of each of the canons in the Collection of the Councils.

About the same time, or before A.D. 1284, when a copy made from it was sent to Riazan, there was brought to Kieff another copy of the same second Nomocanon of Photius, or rather an abridgment of it; for instead of the full canons in the Collection of the Councils, this copy gave them only in a shortened form (used for convenience at C.P.); and instead of the longer glosses of Zonaras, it gave those of Aristin, who, after the middle of the twelfth century, had glossed the short canons, often by only writing out a little more from the text of the full.

From the remaining MSS. it has been inferred that the two copies above mentioned were the sources of all those which were multiplied afterwards in Russia. But their transcribers, instead of reproducing them each faithfully, seem to have found the temptation to abridge too strong for them, since every copy made from the Zonarian original has been corrupted more or less by the substitution of the short canons for the full, and especially of the glosses of Aristin for those of Zonaras; while, on the other hand, every copy made from the Aristinian original has been patched with additions from the full canons, or from the glosses of Zonaras. Still, the two families of MSS. (called by Baron Rosenkampf the Cyrillic or Zonarian, and the Aristinian or Riazan families) are distinct the one from the other, the full canons predominating in the Cyrillic family, which was in more general use, and which received many native appendices; while of such appendices in MSS. of the Riazan family there are very few.

It was the unlucky introduction of the short canons with the glosses of Aristin that did more than anything else to darken the whole subject of canon law in Russia, and to disfigure the Kormchay in all its MSS. with numerous blunders and imperfections. And when, in A.D. 1649, under the patriarch Joseph, it was determined to print this book, the unlearned men employed by him, instead of collecting MSS. of the Zonarian family, and restoring the full text sent to the metropolitan Cyril II., began to print it, whether by accident or by choice, from a MS. of the Aristinian family. In A.D. 1652, when Nicon became patriarch, he found the work already far advanced; and it was too late to begin it over again. He cancelled, however, a preface borrowed from an edition printed in A.D. 1601, under Gideon Balaban at Lvoff, substituting for it three chapters containing Notices: I. respecting the origin and constitution of the hierarchy, and the exclusion of the Pope of Rome from the diptychs;[2] II. the introduction of Christianity into Russia, and the erection of a patriarchate at Moscow;[1] and III. the consecration of the patriarch Philaret Nikitich by the patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem[2] in A.D. 1619. He appended too, at the end of all, three other documents, viz. I. 'An account of this book the Kormchay, with an exhortation to the dear reader;' II. the 'Ordinance' [or Donation] 'of Constantine,'[3] which, having been accepted and reproduced by Balsamon, Matthew Blastar, and Hermenopulus, had from them found its way into Russia; and lastly, III. 'An account of the falling away of the Roman Popes and the other Latins.' These last two appendices, which are paged separately, and the account of the origin of the hierarchy, and that of the introduction of Christianity into Russia, which are prefixed to the whole work, were taken by Nicon from MSS. of the Zonarian family, one of which, inscribed with his autograph, is still at Moscow.

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[1] See the note at p. 374 of Blackmore's *Hist. of the Russian Church.*

[2] Quoted from by Nicon at p. 229, 230.

The latest re-edition of Photius' Nomocanon—viz. that published about 1191 by Balsamon, with copious glosses both upon Photius' Κείμενα and on the full text of the canons (on these often merely repeating Zonaras)—seems never to have been translated into Slavonic. Nor is this to be wondered at; for Balsamon's main purpose was to guide Greek canonists and bishops at C.P. in the use of the Κείμενον of Photius, by showing what laws referred to in it had since been omitted from the Basilica, or otherwise set aside, and what remained still in force, or had been substituted or added; whereas the Slavonians had from the first omitted to translate the Κείμενον of Photius, seeing in it a tissue of references to Greek laws, which as a body were unknown to them. It was otherwise with the still later and large work of Matthew Blastar, who wrote in A.D. 1335. His Σύνταγμα Ἀλφαβητικὸν was twice translated into Russ; and there are two short extracts from it in the printed Kormchay. The Πρόχειρον of Hermenopulus, another writer of the fourteenth century, in which the passages taken from the older Πρόχειρον of the Emperor Basil are marked with an asterisk, was also translated into Russ, and is quoted in the Kormchay. This Πρόχειρον, in conjunction with the Πηδάλιον, is still in use in the Danubian Principalities; but neither it nor the work of Matthew Blastar ever obtained any authoritative recognition in Russia.

The contents of Part II. of the printed Kormchay (ed. 1787) are as follows:

Sect. XLII. 'From the code of the Novells &c. of the appointment of bishops and clerks, and of the rest of the ordering of all the clergy, lxxxvii. heads' (of which we have spoken already), fol. 1.

XLIII. Three Novells of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (A.D. 1081-1118), on betrothals and marriages, fol. 34 overleaf, of ed. 1787.

These Novells, when brought into Bulgaria, may have seemed to some transcriber to be a sort of supplement to the earlier Novells of Justinian in sect. XLII.; but they are certainly out of place, dividing as they do from one another the very earliest appendices of the Slavonian Nomocanon, made by its translators themselves.

XLIV. From different Titles of the Novells of Justinian, a selection of different heads, fol. 49, overl.

These heads, xl. in number, are really from the Κείμενον of Photius, some extracts from which, when it was determined not to translate the whole, were translated and thrown together, somewhat in the same way as Photius himself had appended the lxxxvii. heads making sect. XLII., to which this sect. XLIV. formed a supplement. And from these heads all Photius' references to the numbers, titles, and chapters of the Novells, or books, titles, and constitutions of the Code, &c. are omitted, the titles and chapters referred to in them being the XIV. titles, and the subtitles or chapters of Photius' own Nomocanon, indicating the Κείμενον from which each extract was taken, sometimes with some slight adaptation of the wording to the needs or customs of the Slavonians. The place of this section, like that of the last, varies in different MSS. In one, as if to connect it with its source, it stands immediately after Photius' digest of the canons under the XIV. titles and their subtitles, which, without the Κείμενον (and so no longer, in the stricter sense of the word, a 'Nomocanon'), occupies fols. 26 to 55 incl. of vol. II. of the small folio Kormchay of 1787. Its proper place would rather have been in Part II., next after sect. XLII.

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[1] Quoted from by Nicon at p. 43, 47, 77, 230, 231.

[2] Ibid. p. 15, 232.

[3] Copied out and quoted by Nicon at p. 207, 305, 348, 379.

XLV. Extracts from the law given by God through Moses, viii. heads, fol. 63 of 1787.

This section too may well be thought to have been added by the translators themselves.

XLVI. '*Zakon Soudni*' (*i.e.* the law for judging the laity) of the Emperor Constantine the Great, xxxii. heads, fol. 72, overl.

The words 'of Constantine' are not in all the MSS.; and they mean only that it is from Greek sources. This it is plainly; but it is no translation; and it bears many traces of Slavonian authorship. Its immediate sources were the manuals or Πρόχειρα to be mentioned below. It was a supplement wanted from the first to hold the place of the Κείμενα of the last two Titles of Photius' Nomocanon XIII. and XIV., 'De Laicis,' and 'De omnibus hominibus generaliter,' fol. 72, overl.

XLVII. An account of heresies held by the Franks and the other Latins, xxvii. heads, fol. 78, overl.

We abridge these: i. They interpolate the Creed, barbarously confounding *mission* with procession. ii. They slanderously say that St. Peter &c. left them a tradition to celebrate in Azymes. iii. Bishops go out to war. iv. They fast the Sabbath, even if it be the Nativity or the Theophany. v. They begin the Lent fast only on the Wednesday. vi. They eat eggs &c. on Holy Thursday; and give their children lacticinia all through Lent. viii. They make no icons of saints, but only the Crucifixion, and that without colours. ix. They come into church, spit perhaps on the ground, then make the sign of the cross on the ground, kneel down and kiss it, then stand up again, and stand perhaps upon it. x. They say not 'Mother of God,' but only 'Holy Mary.' xi. Lay people enter freely within the altar; women even will sit in the episcopal seat. xii. They eat blood &c. xiii. Bishops wear scarlet robes &c., rings, and gloves. xiv. They baptise with water only, putting salt into the mouth; they spit on their left hand, and anoint from this spittle; they anoint with oil [*i.e.* they chrism] great boys and girls who have sinned; and they are *suspected* of rebaptising. xv. They bless water, and sprinkle themselves every day. xvi. They bless in a strange way, with the five fingers &c. xvii. From Wednesday in the first week of Lent to Pasch they sing no 'Alleluia.' xviii. Deacons, priests, and bishops, when ordained, put away their wives; and they preach to the priests in all the countries subject to them to put away their wives; but these are so far from obeying, that when their wives die they openly remarry (and some marry even a third time), and still celebrate without fear. xix. They leave a bishop after death eight days unburied; and then bury him, not crossing his hands over his breast, but stretching them down his sides; and they stop his nostrils, ears, and eyes with wax; and the like they do to lay people. xx. Priests celebrate three and four times on the same day, and in one church. xxi. A man gives his daughter to his neighbour's son, and takes the same neighbour's daughter for his own son or brother, &c. xxii. A bishop, though he be a monk, eats flesh-meat; and their monks, if the least ailing, eat meat; and in the refectory they all eat hog's lard. xxiii. They do not all fast Lent alike: the Liachs keep nine weeks; some keep eight; others more, others less; Italy (*i.e.* the Romans) six weeks only. xxiv. The cross on other days they reverence and kiss; but in Lent they cover it up and hide it away, and they leave off 'Alleluia.' On the Great Sabbath they bring it out, uncover it, and show it to the people before the altar, and then all sing 'Alleluia' for some hours. xxv. At the gospel the crowds sit and chat. xxvi. When they wish to communicate, the celebrant kisses them; and they take that in lieu of the Communion. xxvii. They ordain priests and clerks only at four fixed times.

Another document of the same class with this, entitled 'An Epistle of the Monk Nicetas Scythata, hieromonach of the Studeium, to the Latins,' printed in the Kormchay of A.D. 1653, in which it made sect. XLVII., and quoted by Nicon at p. 400, was omitted from the edition of 1787 on these grounds—that it was *superfluous*, that it was *of no authority*, and that it contained errors. (See Fabricii *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vi.)

XLVIII. Of the civil law, divers heads, under xl. titles (of which tit. xxviii. is of the appointment of bishops and priests), fol. 82-170.

Of these xl. titles, i. to xii. relate to marriage; xiii. to xix. to contracts &c.; xx. to xxv. to wills &c.; xxvii. to witnesses; xxviii. to bishops and priests; xxix. to xxxvii. again to wills and inheritance &c.; xxxviii. is of building houses, rights, and injuries &c., in 61 heads; xxxix. of punishments, in 87 heads; and xl. is of the division of booty.

XLIX. Of the Emperor Leo Sapiens and [his son] Constantine, [certain] chapters about betrothals and marriages, and various other matters, fol. 171-229.

Baron Rosenkampf, in his work on the Kormchay, after observing that there were three manuals of the civil law ('Εκλογαὶ, 'Επιτομαὶ, or Πρόχειρα) published as accompaniments to the three successive editions of the Basilica, by Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 869), by his son Leo Sapiens (A.D. 886), and by his grandson Constantine (about A.D. 945), identifies with the first two of these (viz. with the Πρόχειρα of Basil and Leo, which, he says, both have xl. chapters, and have both been printed in Greek, while the third, preserved in MS. in the Vienna Library, has not), sects. XLVIII. and XLIX. of the Kormchay. Only as regards the second (viz. the manual of Leo), the Kormchay, he says, instead of the whole number of xl. chapters printed by Leunclavius (*Jus Græco-Rom.* ii. p. 82-100), 'gives only xxix., omitting the first ten.' In the Kormchay itself, however, the chapters of sect. XLIX. are numbered as xvi. They are many of them long, with far fewer subdivisions than those of sect. XLVIII., two or three, perhaps, to each; only ch. xvi. is an exception, having forty-five. The contents of this section are as follows:

After a preface, which reads like the original preface of the Emp. Basil (and it may, in fact, have passed from the first edition of the Basilica to the Πρόχειρα, both of Basil and of Leo), ch. i. to iv. are about marriage; v. to vii. of wills &c.; viii. to xiii. of orphans &c., emancipations, and contracts; xiv. xv. of witnesses &c.; and xvi. has one head, its first, about the division of booty, and the remaining forty-four about punishments. At the end of all there is appended a Novell of Alexius Comnenus (so of the 11th century), of slaves flying to the Church and claiming to be free.

Sects. XLVIII. and XLIX. are manifestly both from one and the same source, though with a difference of arrangement, and of the degrees in which the same enactments are abridged. Most of the short heads too of sect. XLVI. are found again in these later and fuller appendices to the Kormchay.

If it be asked, what led to so large an introduction of Greek law even on purely civil matters, the answer is, that, after embracing Christianity, Slavonian rulers had long need to consult their metropolitans and bishops even in matters of civil legislation; while the bishops, having the privilege of judging not only clerks and monks, but all the lay people also living in their houses or on their lands, even in civil matters, had still more need of a full and sufficient code of laws for the exercise of their own jurisdiction.

For the same two reasons we find in almost all MSS. of the Kormchay, at least, of the Cyrillic family, not only the Ordinances of Vladimir[1] (A.D. 991) and of Yaroslaf[1] (A.D. 1054), granting to the Church the same rights and privileges as had been granted or confirmed by the Greek emperors, and other similar but later constitutions, as those of Sviatoslaff Olgovich of Novgorod (A.D. 1137) and Demetri Basilievich (A.D. 1390), but also a whole code, as it may be called, of native law on private rights, entitled '*Rousskaia Pravda*;' and in some MSS. there are two or more pieces of this same kind, varieties or supplements, closely resembling one another. The *Rousskaia Pravda* has been published in recent times, both in the Slavonic and in a German translation entitled '*Das älteste Recht der Russen.*' The only book of laws down to the 15th century being the Kormchay, and this being a rule for secular as well as spiritual courts, such a section naturally found a place in it. It intermixes sometimes parallel passages from the canons and the Greek laws, in the same way as references to the canons are intermixed in the Zakon Soudni and in the ordinances and regulations of Vladimir and Yaroslaf.

To these again, after the Tatar conquest, were added the yarliks of the Khans, one of which is written out at full from the MS. Kormchay by Nicon, at p. 332, to put to shame, even by the laws of heathen conquerors, those manifestations of the coming apostasy against which he was contending (see p. 329).

Some MSS. of the Cyrillic family have preserved the letters of the despot of Bulgaria, James Sviatoslaff, and of the transcriber of the book Zonar, sent with it to the metr. Cyril II. Some give also the canons of the synod held by the same Cyril in A.D. 1274, and two instructions by him; one to priests, the other to the Grand Prince of Vladimir Demetri Alexandrovich (A.D. 1276-1294), reminding him of the happiness of knowing God, and of the duty of obeying the canons; and how his ancestors and his father had endowed the Church with clergy, and books, and buildings, and tithes, in all the cities, and with ecclesiastical jurisdiction; how the churches now are lying wasted and plundered. Secondly, he reminds him of the grant of Vladimir to the Church of exclusive jurisdiction over all clerks, and of jurisdiction in other matters; and concludes with these words: 'All this jurisdiction and these revenues have been given by the law of God, by emperors aforetime, and by our Grand Princes. The prince and the boyars and the judges cannot meddle in these matters unasked.' And in a MS. of the earlier Slavonic Nomocanon (for there are some such still preserved) there is added: 'If any secular authority, trampling upon the canons of the Church, dares to strike a bishop, or to cast a priest or deacon into prison, let him be accursed.' This, or something like this, in those passages of the Hundred-Chapter Council which are appended to some MSS. of the Kormchay, and are printed in the Trebnik (office-book) of the patriarchs Philaret and Joasaph I., may be the source of that canon which is strangely quoted, and twice over, by Nicon, as if from the Fifth Ecum. Council, p. 347 and 377.

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[1] Quoted or copied out by Nicon at p. 217, 329, 348, 379.

Towards the end of the 14th century the metr. Cyprian (A.D. 1380-1407), himself a Servian, brought from Servia a copy of the Nomocanon, a fragment from the preface of which, much abridged, concerning the independence of the Servian church, and the title of patriarch taken by its primates, is distinguishable in the second of the three chapters prefixed by Nicon to the Kormchay of 1653.

In the 15th century the two streams of ecclesiastical and civil legislation began to separate. A separate statute-book (*sudebnik*) was put out in 1498 by John III. Basilievich (A.D. 1462-1506), who, after marrying Sophia the heiress of the Palæologi, adopting the double-headed eagle, and throwing off the Tatar yoke, already showed a disposition to lay hands on the property of the Church, but was checked by the remonstrances of the metr. Simon (see Blackmore's *Hist. of the Russ. Church*, p. 92). And in the following century, under John IV. Basilievich (A.D. 1533-1584), while the ecclesiastical code (*i.e.* the concordance of existing practice with the canons) was revised and set forth in some respects more distinctly and fully by the Council of the Hundred Chapters (A.D. 1551), especially as regards the jurisdiction and immunities of the clergy, a second separate civil code was also drawn up and promulgated (A.D. 1568) for the use of all civil tribunals. Both the code of 1498 and this of 1568 distinctly recognised the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its full former extent, and retained to the Church generally her exclusive jurisdiction over the laity living on her estates and over many others besides, as orphans and widows, &c. Still it prescribed certain limitations to these privileges, and set a bar, in accordance with a petition from the boyars, to any farther acquisition of landed properties by the clergy and monks, though grants and permissions continued to be made all the same by the sovereign himself.

John IV. in that later part of his reign which has obtained for him the surname of the Terrible, after causing the metr. Philip to be dragged from the altar and to be murdered, and after contracting his fourth marriage, demanded of a synod that it should forbid the monasteries to acquire any more landed property (an ukaz of his own also forbidding the same), and that it should restore to the sovereign those properties which had been granted to them by the Grand Princes of Moscow. This, in consequence, was done, A.D. 1570. (See Blackmore's *Hist. of the Russ. Church*, p. 120.)

With regard to those passages from the Council of the Hundred Chapters which are found in some MSS. of the Kormchay, or which were inserted by the patr. Joasaph I. (A.D. 1631-1642) in his printed Trebnik, it is remarkable that they contain, as if from some presentiment of the coming danger, very strong reassertions of the rights of the Church in respect of jurisdiction and property, and denunciations of all who should outrage them, especially chapters liii. to lxiv., an extract from which is quoted by Nicon at p. 344.

Soon after the accession of Alexis Michaelovich, in A.D. 1648, when he was only in his twentieth year, another code was drawn up under the influence of the boyars of the council, which not only repeated the prohibition of fresh acquisitions of landed property, but also made serious inroads upon the immunities and rights of the clergy, especially by the erection of a new court called the Monastirski Prikaz, in which judges named by the crown were to judge not only all the lay people belonging to the clergy or living on their lands, but even the clergy themselves, in civil causes, from the least to the greatest: so that at this point the civil and the ecclesiastical law, which had already for a century and a half been separate the one from the other, began to be at variance. This beginning of apostasy in the civil legislation was the chief cause of that conflict between the patriarch Nicon, who was unsupported by his bishops, and the council of the boyars with the Tsar (A.D. 1658-1667), which ended in the first instance in the deposition, degradation, and imprisonment of Nicon, and eventually, under Peter I., Peter III. and Catherine II., in the suppression of the canonical primacy, and the substitution of a 'Collegium' created by the civil power, together with the complete confiscation of all Church property.

It is *possible* that the selection of an Aristinian MS. from which to print the Kormchay in 1649 may have been owing to some influence indirectly used with the patriarch Joseph, who was an ignorant and narrow-minded man, that so the ordinances of Vladimir and Yaroslaf, and other like national documents confirming the rights of the Church, might be cast more into the background. At any rate the purpose of Nicon in prefixing and appending to the Kormchay before its actual publication those documents which have been mentioned above, and especially the 'Donation of Constantine,' is clear enough, viz. that they might serve as attestations and securities both in favour of those mixed privileges which were already attacked, and of those more essential rights which were at the same time endangered. We may now return to the printed Kormchay.

Sect. L. is of the sacrament of marriage, with an enumeration of degrees of relationship under V. heads, fol. 198, and 202 to 229.

Under the fifth head, on the relationship caused by adoption, fol. 226 overl., there is an extract from lib. iv. tit. 6 of Constantine Hermenopulus, and fol. 227 overl. another 'From ch. viii. letter B. of Matthew Blastar' (see Bev. ii. p. 45) and tit. 6 of lib. iv. of Constantine Hermenopulus; and at fol. 228 overl. an 'Answer of the holy patriarch of Antioch, Theodore Balsamon.'

LI. Of unlawful marriages, *i.e.* of incest; from the synodal roll of St. Sisinnius, patr. of C.P., Feb. A.M. 6509, Ind. 5 (A.D. 1001), fol. 229, overl. to 245.

LII. Ecthesis of the union of the Church, made in the time of the Emperors Const. Porphyr. and his son Romanus jointly reigning, fol. 245, overl. to 254.

This is the synod which restored Photius' name to the diptychs, and decreed that the synod in Trullo of A.D. 691 was to be received with its canons as ecumenical. 'The Latins,' says Matthew Blastar, 'being struck by it a mortal blow, reject it, and deny that it was ecumenical, because the Pope was not represented in it, nor approved it afterwards. But it calls itself ecumenical, and it would be *too great an affront to the Fathers who met in it to say that it is not so:* and all the four patriarchs were there in person or by their representatives, and the metropolitan of Gortyna, *i.e.* of Crete, who *testified personally* (ἰδίᾳ) that he was *commissioned to represent the Pope of Rome and all the synod of the West, and subscribed in that capacity.*' (Bev. ii. b. 3 præfat.) There is first a long preamble in praise of *unity*, and *against schism*. And, after quoting Christ's words, 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' &c. it proceeds thus: 'So it is abominable and *hateful to God*, for the *sake of pleasing men* to *transgress* his law. For the prophet says, God shall scatter the bones of the men-pleasers; and Paul says, If I pleased men, I should not be a servant of Christ. And Peter, It is right to hearken unto God rather than to men. And for God's commandments we ought to suffer even to death. And such as do thus suffer are blessed, and thrice-blessed. But they who do not purely of this divine wish, and for the fulfilment of the divine commandments, but for the sake of their own ease or covetousness, either of themselves pass from chair to chair, without a full synod, or mount to any by gifts, or sell to another, such are cut off, and are in the lot of the wretched Judas who sold the Lord, and of the Jews who bought him.'

'Thus also as regards bishops without sees is it right to judge. If any such has left his church for poverty, or has abdicated by a writing, or on account of some injuries which may have befallen him from bad and violent rulers of that region, or, after being ordained, has changed his mind, and been unwilling to go to his church, such are not only not to find any indulgence, but if they do not obey and go to the places for which they have been ordained, we decree that they be degraded and excommunicated. But such as are not received, or are driven out by heretics, or by barbarian inroads, and change of dominion, we would raise to vacant sees,' &c.

'Is. lxv. Behold, I will give you to the sword, &c. Behold, my servants shall eat and drink, but ye shall hunger and thirst,' &c. And they quote the first extract of the lxxxvii. of sect. XLII. from the Nomocanon of Photius, of obedience to the canons being the source of all good, fol. 250.

'Christ said that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church; that is, that by the preservation of the peace of the Church [in the very act of separating the whole East from the West] the scandal shall be turned upon his head [the head of the enemy]. And now, of his goodness, he has reconciled us. From this present year 6428, Ind. 8 [A.D. 920, but really 912], there shall be *no fourth* marriage,' &c. But in this Ἔκθεσις there is nothing said either about the memory of Photius, or about the Council in Trullo.

LIII. Canonical Questions of the monk John of the Holy Mountain, and Answers of the synod held at C.P. in the time of the patr. Nicholas (These xx. Questions are purely monastic), fol. 255 to 260.

LIV. Ten Answers of Nicetas metr. of Heraclea to Constantine of Pamphylia (ecclesiastical doubts, with cases put), fol. 261-264.

LV. Of St. Methodius patr. of C.P. Of such as have apostatised and defiled themselves in various ways. (In this he quotes the 'Nomocanon' improperly so called, of John the Faster, fol. 265. Distinctions of sins for confessors), fol. 265-273.

LVI. Of the signification of the sacerdotal robes; and penance of St. John the Almsgiver for priests who of pride or laziness neglect to robe, fol. 273.

LVII. Of St. Nicephorus of C.P. and the holy Fathers with him, xxiii. canons about matters of ritual and discipline, fol. 274, overl. to 276.

LVIII. Eight Answers of John bp. of Kitros to Cabasilas bp. of Dyrrachium (to other like questions), fol. 276, overl. to 279.

LIX. Of ordination, from the canons and the holy Fathers, to a newly-ordained priest by his ordainer (He reads it to him, lays it on the altar, and bids him take it thence), fol. 279 to 284.

LX. Twelve Canonical Answers of Timothy of Alexandria, fol. 284-287.

LXI. Of St. Basil, lxxiv. short censures [lesser penances] for monks, fol. 287-291.

LXII. Of the same, xx. like penances for nuns, fol. 292, 293.

LXIII. For the refectory xvi. different short penances, like the preceding, of different holy Fathers, fol. 293, overl. 294.

LXIV. From the new law of monks, fol. 294, overl. 295.

LXV. Of the robes of Aaron and of the Σχῆμα, of the tunic and the girdle, and the ποδήρης and the ephod, and of the four-cornered *riza*, and of the *ameta*, and the *kidar*, fol. 296, 297.

LXVI. Of the signification of the *schima*, fol. 297-299.

LXVII. Of the *mantia* of a patriarch, a metropolitan, and an archbishop; and of the meaning of the titles patriarch, metropolitan, &c. [The etymology is mostly correct: only '*diakon*,' a deacon, is made to be διώκων, 'pursuing (his course), driving away thoughts of earthly passions,'] fol. 299. The etymology of 'patriarch' is given by Nicon at p. 63.

LXVIII. xiv. Questions on different points addressed to St. Anastasius of Sinai, with his Answers at length. These are rather speculative, *e.g.* Why are not miracles wrought now among us as among them of old time? fol. 300, overl. to 311.

LXIX. Of Timothy, presbyter of the Great Church, and sceuophylax of our Lady at Chalcopratia: of the difference between some and others of those who come as proselytes to our orthodox faith. There are three classes [the sects coming under each of which are enumerated at length: the Latins are not named]: one of those who need to be baptised, another of those who need only to be chrismed, and a third of those who need only to anathematise their own heresy, and every other, fol. 312-315.

LXX. From book I. disc. lxiii. of the Ven. Nicon, hegoumen of the Black Mountain (circ. A.D. 1060), and from the preface to his book II.: An exposition concerning the divine Canons, Councils, and Fathers; that one holy Spirit wrought in them all, both in the Local and in the Ecum. Councils; and that it is the duty of Christians to keep even to the end of the world these holy canons, and not to think of excuses for sins: and that if any man shall begin to weaken or impugn any of the divine canons, he incurs anathema, fol. 315-319.

At fol. 318 there is the full text of canon i. of the Seventh Ecum. Council (quoted repeatedly by the patr. Nicon), followed by a mention of the Council in Trullo, of A.D. 691, as the Sixth Ecumenical, and of the Synod of C.P. of A.D. 912 (see above, sect. LII.), from which are quoted two canons with anathemas against all who disregard the Councils; and after these two canons, again, there follows a quotation from St. Cyril's Epistle to Eulogius. The full text of canon i. of the Seventh Council, followed also by the quotation from the Epistle of St. Cyril to Eulogius, is adduced by the patr. Nicon with the same references as above (*i.e.* from this sect. LXX. of the Kormchay, at p. 8, 9, 48, and 378 of his *Replies*). Also, at p. 120, he quotes an Epistle of the Ven. Nicon against sacrilege, from book II. serm. xxiii., which is not in the printed Kormchay.

Nicon's quotations from the above Sections.

'In the same way the laws of the great emperor Justinian, given to the Church in confirmation' [of her rights, or of similar legislation of Constantine and his successors] '*follow* in all things the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers.' See canon lxxxvii. [correct, and read 'see the lxxxvii. canons or heads], which, for want of time, we cannot conveniently write out. Thou mayest read them for thyself in the collection of the sacred canons,' [that is, in the Kormchay, Part II. Sect. XLII.] p. 217.

The lxxxvii. *heads of Sect.* XLII.

From Nov. vi. A.D. 535. Corp. Juris Civilis, ii. p. 484, Amstelod. 1681. *Of Ordination*, &c. i. (from the preface.) Two great gifts of God, priesthood and empire. Important above all things is the observance of the sacred canons (tit. I. of Joh. Scholast. in Voelli Bibl. Juris Canonici, ii. p. 604, Paris, 1661). ii. (from ch. 1.) Who is to be ordained a bishop (i. of the xxi. extracts appended by Joh. Schol.). iii. (ch. 2, 3; comp. Nov. lxxxvi. ch. 8.) A bishop is not to be absent more than a year: how he may approach the emperor (Joh. Schol. tit. XXIII.). iv. (ch. 4.) No illiterate person is to be ordained (Joh. Schol. tit. XXV. and ii. of the xxi.). v. (ch. 6.) Deaconesses, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. XXIV.)

From Nov. v. A.D. 535. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 480. *Of such as enter a monastery*, &c. vi. (from ch. 1.) A monastery is not to be founded without the bishop (not in Nomoc. of Joh. Schol.; but he has the same in effect from another Nov. in xvii. of his xxi. appended extracts). vii. (ch. 2.) A postulant is to be on probation three years (Joh. Schol. tit. XXXIII.). viii. (ib.) If after that he be claimed as a slave (Joh. Schol. ib.). ix. (ch. 4.) If one abandons the monastic state (Joh. Schol. ib.). x. (ch. 5.) Of the property of him who enters a monastery (Joh. Schol. ib.). xi. (ch. 6, 7, 8, 9.) If one goes off to another monastery (Joh. Schol. ib.); also if one, becoming a clerk, presumes on this (not in Joh. Schol.); and an hegoumen is to be appointed by the bishop (Joh. Schol. to the same effect from another Nov., xx. of the xxi.).

From Nov. lxxxiii. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 574. (It resumes Nov. lxxix. ib. p. 569.) *Of causes with monks and nuns. Clerks are to appear first before their own bishop.* xii. (from the preface and ch. 1.) Of clerks having a matter one against another (not in Joh. Schol.).

From Nov. xlvi. ib. p. 543 (and comp. Nov. vii. ib. p. 485, pref. and ch. 1, and Nov. cxx. ib. p. 613). *Of the sale, alienation, and letting of immovable property.* xiii. (from the pref. and ch. 1, 2.) Of the alienation, &c. (partly in xi. of the xxi. of Joh. Schol.)

From Nov. cxx. A.D. 541, ib. p. 613 (and comp. Nov. vii. ch. 3 ib. p. 487). *Of the alienation, &c.* xiv. (from ch. 6.) Of the letting or leasing of property (Joh. Schol. xii. of the xxi.). xv. (ch. 4, 6, 7; and comp. Nov. vii. ch. 6, Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 488.) Of churches &c. having debts (Joh. Schol. xiii. of the xxi.). xvi. (ch. 7; and comp. Nov. xlvi. ch. 1.) The Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem may sell houses (Joh. Schol. xiv. of the xxi.). xvii. (ch. 7; and comp. Nov. vii. ch. 11.) A monastery is not to be secularised (not in Joh. Schol., but to the like effect in his tit. XXXIII., from Nov. cxxiii.).

From Nov. lvi. A.D. 537, ib. p. 551. *Forbidding any admission fee* (insinuativa, or ἐμφανιστικὸν) *to be taken of clerks, except in the Great Church at C.P.* xviii. (from ch. 1.) No insinuativa, &c. (vii. of the xxi. of Joh. Schol.)

From Nov. lvii. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 551. *If clerks abstain from ministering, or retire, others are to be appointed, who shall also receive their emoluments. Founders may only present, not appoint.* xix. (from ch. 1.) If any cease from their ministry, or go off altogether, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. X., and viii. of the xxi.)

From Nov. iii. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 477. *Limiting the number of clerks to be ordained for the Great Church at C.P.* (And comp. Nov. vi. ch. 8, ib. p. 484, *extending the like to other churches.*) xx. (from the pref.) Of limiting, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. XIX.)

From Nov. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 534, 535. *With what interest loans made in corn, &c. to needy landowners are to be repaid in kind; and forbidding to take their land.* (Connect this with Nov. cxxiii. ib. p. 616, and Nov. cxxxi. ib. p. 630.) xxi. (from ch. 1.) With what interest, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. XIV.)

From Nov. cxxxi. A.D. 541, Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 560. *Of ecclesiastical titles and privileges.* (And comp. Nov. vi. ch. 1, ib. p. 482. *Of the qualifications of a bishop.*) xxii. (from the pref. and ch. 1.) The canons decreed or confirmed by the four Ecum. Councils are to have the force of law (Joh. Schol. tit. I.). [Here note that ch. 2 of this Novell, on the order of precedence of the patriarchs, 'following the decrees of the same councils,' enacts that the Pope of the elder Rome is the first of all bishops, and that the abp. of C.P. (New Rome) is to have the second place after the holy Apostolic See of the elder Rome, and is to be above all other sees. But the second clause, in favour of C.P., was omitted afterwards in the Basilica, probably in the time of the Emperor Leo the philosopher, when he desired peace with Rome; but both clauses are found in the Russian Kormchay.] xxiii. (ch. 5.) Church property is not to be burdened; only it is to contribute towards roads and bridges (Joh. Schol. tit. I.).

xxiv. (ch. 6.) A prescription of forty years is allowed to the Church (not in Joh. Schol.). xxv. (ch. 10, 12.) If any one leave money to found an Oratory, Xenodochium, &c. the bishop and the judge are to see that it is completed within five years (Joh. Schol. xv. of the xxi.). xxvi. (ch. 12.) A legacy is to be paid within six months (Joh. Schol. tit. XIV., and xv. of the xxi.).

From Nov. lxvii. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 559. *An oratory is not to be built without the bishop; and an endowment is to be provided first. Of alienation of property*, &c. (Comp. Nov. cxxiii. ch. 18 and 33; ib. p. 620, 622; or rather, Nov. v. ch. 1, ib. p. 480; and Nov. cxxxi. ch. 7, ib. p. 631: all nearly the same.) xxvii. (from the pref. and ch. 1, 2.) An oratory church or monastery is not to be founded without the bishop (Joh. Schol. xvii. of the xxi).

From Nov. cxxiii. A.D. 541. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 616 (and comp. Nov. vi. ch. 1, ib. p. 482). *Of bishops, clerks, and monks.* xxviii. (from pref. and ch. 1.) At the election of a bishop, the clergy and the chief men of the city are to elect three persons, and to make a declaration, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. VII.) xxix. (ch. 1.) If three are not to be had, one may suffice (Joh. Schol. tit. VIII.). xxx. If they elect not within six months, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. VIII.) xxxi. (ch. 2.) Of the accuser of a bishop elect (Joh. Schol. tit. XVI.). xxxii. (ch. 3.) What enthronistica or cathedratica (a largess to the clergy) are to be paid after ordination at Old Rome, C.P., Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, viz. not more than twenty pounds of gold (Joh. Schol. tit. XVI.). xxxiii. (ch. 4.) A bishop becomes free, *i.e.* from his father, his lord, or the curia, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. III. and XIV.) xxxiv. (ch. 5.) A priest or deacon may (a bishop or monk may not) become a curator, if the relatives are willing (Joh. Schol. tit. XIV.). xxxv. (ch. 6.) Clerks are to abstain from personal offices and secular business; but they may hold, rent, let, and lease property 'in commune' (Joh. Schol. tit. XIV.). xxxvi. (ch. 7, 8.) Bishops cannot be summoned as witnesses; nor, without an imperial order, be brought at all before a lay tribunal (Joh. Schol. iv. of xxi.). xxxvii. (ch. 10.) Against clerks gaming (Joh. Schol. tit. XXVIII.). [In the original Greek of Photius' extracts this was, 'Of holding annual synods for reformation, *and* against clerks gaming' (from Joh. Schol. tit. XLIX. and XXVIII.); but the first part is not now found in the Russian Kormchay.] xxxviii. No bishop is to be forced to dismiss his clerk (Joh. Schol. v. of the xxi.). xxxix. (ch. 11.) None are to be excommunicated without a trial; and of appeals (partly in tit. XV. of Joh. Schol.). xl. Bishops are not to strike any man (Joh. Schol. tit. XV.). xli. A bishop canonically deposed and contumacious is to be confined in a monastery (Joh. Schol. tit. XVII.). xlii. (ch. 12.) Of what sort are they to be who are to be ordained clerks (Joh. Schol. tit. XXV.). xliii. (ch. 13.) Of the age of clerks (Joh. Schol. tit. XXV.). xliv. (ch. 14, and comp. Nov. vi. Corp. Jur. Civ. p. 482, *Of Ordination of Bishops and Clerks.*) Of the accuser, *i.e.* at any ordination (Joh. Schol. tit. XVI. and vi. of the xxi.). xlv. A deacon or subdeacon, if single, must engage, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. XXV.) xlvi. If a priest or deacon or subdeacon marries after ordination, he is to be degraded (Joh. Schol. tit. XXVII.). xlvii. If a reader takes a second wife, or a widow, &c. he cannot be promoted (Joh. Schol. tit. XXVI.). xlviii. (ch. 15.) Curials, and officials generally, are not to be made clerks (Joh. Schol. iii. of the xxi.). xlix. (ch. 16.) A clerk, when ordained, like a bishop, may give what he pleases to the Church, only not to individuals (Joh. Schol. tit. XLVI.). l. (ch. 17.) When a slave may be ordained (Joh. Schol. tit. XXXIII.). li. Or an 'adscriptitius,' &c. (not in Joh. Schol.) lii. (ch. 19.) Clerks are to have their own property in their own power (Joh. Schol. tit. III.). liii. (ch. 20.) How clerks bearing false witness are to be punished (Joh. Schol. iv. of the xxi.). liv. (ch. 21.) If any one have a cause against a clerk or monk, he is to go *first* to the bishop,

&c. (Joh. Schol. tit. xv., and x. of the xxi.) lv. (ch. 21.) If a clerk be accused of any crime, &c. (Joh. Schol. x., and xviii. of the xxi.) lvi. (ch. 21.) But with an ecclesiastical cause the civil judge has nothing to do: the civil laws are to *follow* the canons (Joh. Schol. tit. xx., and comp. x. of the xxi.). lvii. (ch. 22.) A bishop having a cause against another bishop, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. I., comp. tit. XV.) lviii. (ch. 22.) In like manner, a clerk having a cause against a bishop, &c. (not in Joh. Schol.) lix. (ch. 22.) In no such causes is there to be any fidejussio or cautela (Joh. Schol. xviii., and xix. of the xxi.). lx. (ch. 23.) An econome, and every other administrator of a sacred house or church, is to give his account to his own bishop (Joh. Schol. tit. V. and VIII.), from whom he may appeal to the metropolitan, and to the patriarch; but not to any other tribunals. lxi. (ch. 23.) In like manner their heirs (Joh. Schol. ib.). lxii. (ch. 24.) A bishop being at C.P., unless already accused in the province, may be accused before the Præfectus Prætoriorum Orientis, or before imperial delegates (not in Joh. Schol.). lxiii. (ch. 25.) Apocrisiarii can act in causes, or convent persons accused, at C.P., only by express commission from their principals (not in Joh. Schol.). lxiv. (ch. 26.) Bishops during the time of their legation or ordination are not to be convented (not in Joh. Schol.). lxv. (ch. 27.) Of monks and nuns and clerks: how monitions are to be served upon them respectfully, and how they are to be brought to justice (Joh. Schol. tit. XXXIII.). lxvi. (ch. 27.) They may defend themselves by a procurator (Joh. Schol. ib.). lxvii. (ch. 28.) What fee, 'sportula,' may be taken from clerks (not in Joh. Schol.). lxviii. (ch. 28.) What for a monition carried into other provinces and served there (not in Joh. Schol.). lxix. (ch. 28.) Though there may be many clerks concerned, only one sportula is to be paid (not in Joh. Schol.). lxx. (ch. 28.) From a bishop a fee, sportula, may be taken only in his own personal cause; not in a cause of the Church (not in Joh. Schol.). lxxi. (ch. 29.) Priests &c. may not have living with them any subintroducta (Joh. Schol. tit. XXVIII.). lxxii. (ch. 29.) Nor may a bishop have living with him any woman whatever (Joh. Schol. tit. XXVII.). lxxiii. (ch. 30.) Deaconesses are to be beyond suspicion (Joh. Schol. tit. XXIV.). lxxiv. (ch. 31.) Of insulting a bishop or priest, &c. in the church, and disturbing the divine service or litanies (Joh. Schol. tit. XXI.). lxxv. (ch. 32.) Lay people are not to say litanies without the bishop or clergy (Joh. Schol. ix. of the xxi.). lxxvi. (ch. 33, and comp. Nov. v. ch. 1. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 480.) The ordination of an abbot is to be made by the judgment of the bishop (Joh. Schol. xx. of the xxi.). lxxvii. (ch. 35.) Postulants are to be on probation three years (Joh. Schol. xxi. of the xxi.). lxxviii. (ch. 37.) Any exclusion of a person from an inheritance in the case of his becoming a monk is invalid (not in Joh. Schol.). lxxix. (ch. 38.) The property of a monk belongs to the monastery, with certain reservations (Joh. Schol. tit. XXXIV.). lxxx. (ch. 38.) Nevertheless, he may divide even afterwards, so as to make up one fourth part of his property among his children (Joh. Schol. ib.). lxxxi. (ch. 39.) The arrhæ only of a man or a woman betrothed are to be restored. When a marriage contract is dissolved, the man restores the woman's dowry (Joh. Schol. ib.). lxxxii. (ch. 41.) Parents or children may not spite one another by excluding from inheritance for entering a monastery (Joh. Schol. tit. XXXII.). lxxxiii. (ch. 41.) Parents may not reclaim their children from a monastery (Joh. Schol. ib.). lxxxiv. (ch. 42.) If a monk goes from one monastery to another, his property still belongs to the first; much more if he runs away (Joh. Schol. tit. XXXIV.). lxxxv. (ch. 43.) If any one corrupts a nun or a deaconess, &c. (Joh. Schol. tit. XXIV.) lxxxvi. (ch. 43.) If the bishop does not claim any property or legacy within a year, it shall lapse to the Comes (not the same in Joh. Schol. ib.). lxxxvii. (ch. 44.) Lay people and actors are not to use the habit of a monk, nor in any way to insult religion (Joh. Schol. xxi. of the xxi. appended extracts).

These lxxxvii. heads are by no means a mere rearrangement of all the extracts of Joh. Scholasticus. On the contrary, some of his extracts are omitted, others abridged or enlarged; and others, viz. xii. xx. xxiv. xxxii. li. lxii. lxiii. lxiv. lxvii. lxviii. lxix. lxx. lxxviii. and lxxxvi., are added or substituted by Photius from the same Novells.

After referring to the legislation of Justinian embodied in sect. XLII. of the Kormchay, as confirming the rights and privileges of the Church, and following in all things the sacred canons, Nicon alludes also to the similar laws of other emperors, p. 217.

Such is what we find in the Code, lib. I. tit. ii. cap. xii. : Impp. Valent. et Marcianus, A.D. 454 : 'Privilegia quæ generalibus constitutionibus universis sacrosanctis ecclesiis orthodoxæ religionis retro principes præstiterunt firma et illibata in perpetuum decernimus custodiri.'

And Novell cxxxi. of Justinian, ch. I., even before the time of Photius, was quoted as giving the force of law, not to four only, but to seven General Councils : 'De quatuor sanctis conciliis. Sancimus vicem legum obtinere sanctas ecclesiasticas regulas quæ a sanctis quatuor conciliis expositæ sunt, *aut firmatæ*, &c. Prædictarum enim quatuor synodorum dogmata sicut sanctas scripturas accipimus, et regulas sicut leges observamus.'

And in like manner afterwards by the Basilica (lib. v. tit. iii. ch. ii.) all those canons and canonical writings which were confirmed by canon ii. of the Council of A.D. 691 in Trullo, as well as the canons of that council itself, and of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and those of two other local councils of C.P. appended by Photius, were, according to the Greek canonists, declared to have the force of law. It is noticeable, however, that there is *no express mention made of the Council in Trullo* of A.D. 690-691, but only of the *Seven Ecumenical Councils, and of the canons which they made or confirmed.*

Of the lxxxvii. extracts forming sect. XLII. of the Kormchay, those quoted by Nicon separately, and the sources of each, are as follows :

XLII. i. 'The Church receives and unites imperial laws in one body with the canons, as is declared in the preface to the Kormchay [of 1653], printed at the end, fol. 306 ; especially in the code of the divine Novells [*i.e.* in sect. XLII. of the Kormchay] : "Since we not only follow the canons of the fathers, but the empire also contributes something in the way of legitimate and acceptable supplement,"' &c. p. 176, 177.

This is really from a short preface prefixed by Johannes Schol. to **Τὰ** *συνάδοντα νόμιμα τῷ α' τίτλῳ*, under tit. I. of the L. of his Nomocanon, thus : *Πρόλογος α' τίτλου. Εἰς δόξαν . . . καὶ τὰ νῦν συντεθειμένα τοῖς ἱεροῖς κανόσι . . . μετέγραψα ἐκ τῶν σποράδην κειμένων ἐκφωνηθεισῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ μετὰ τὸν Κώδικα* (*post* codicem) *τῶν θείων νεαρῶν διατάξεων, αἵτινες* (Novellæ sc.) *οὐ μόνον τοῖς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἡμῶν πατέρων κανόσιν ἀκολουθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἰσχύος αὐθεντίαν χαρίζονται, μετὰ προσθήκης ἐννόμου τε καὶ θεαρέστου, τὸ συμφέρον πάσῃ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει θεομιμήτως περισκοπούσης, κ.τ.λ.* (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 603.) Hence it was taken by Photius, together with the extract from Nov. vi. by which it was followed, to stand at the head of his appendix of lxxxvii. extracts (see heading to sect. XLII. in the Kormchay).

XLII. i. 'The laws of Justinian follow in all things the canons,' &c. p. 217.

In the first of the xxi. extracts appended separately by Johannes Schol. there are these words : *τοῖς θείοις διὰ πάντων ἑπόμενοι κανόσιν, κ.τ.λ.* (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 660.) They are from Nov. vi. cap. i. : 'Sancimus igitur, *sacras per omnia sequentes regulas*,' &c.

XLII. i. 'The code of the Novells, ch. ii. [really sect. XLII. of the Kormchay, from the Novells published after the Code of Justinian, ch. i.] has as follows: "Preëminent &c. are the two great gifts of priesthood and empire,"' &c p. 178, 179.

This passage stands the first of four extracts headed *τὰ συνάδοντα νόμιμα τῷ α' τίτλῳ* of the Nomoc. of Joh. Schol. (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 603.) The original Latin source is in the preface of Nov. vi. as follows:

'Maxima quidem in hominibus sunt dona Dei . . . *sacerdotium* et *imperium;* et illud quidem divinis ministrans, hoc autem humanis præsidens ac diligentiam exhibens: ex uno eodemque principio utraque procedentia humanam exornant vitam. Ideoque nihil sic erit studiosum imperatoribus sicut sacerdotum honestas; cum utique et pro illis ipsi semper Deo supplicent. Nam si hoc quidem [sacerdotium sc.] inculpabile sit undique, et apud Deum fiducia plenum, imperium autem recte et competenter exornet traditam rempublicam, erit consonantia quædam bona, omne quicquid utile est humano conferens generi. . . . Bene autem universa geruntur et competenter si rei principium fiat decens et amabile Deo. Hoc autem futurum esse credimus si sacrarum regularum observatio custodiatur quam justi et laudandi et adorandi inspectores et ministri Dei Verbi tradiderunt Apostoli, et sancti patres custodierunt et explanaverunt' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 482).

XLII. ii. 'Of the engagement made by a bishop at his election, ch. ii. of [of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay, that is, of the lxxxvii. extracts from] the Novells of Justinian' (Korm. fol. 3 of Part II.), referring also at the same time to tit. xxviii. ch. ii. of the Zakon Gradski, *i.e.* of sect. XLVIII. from the civil law (Korm. Part II. fol. 51), p. 13, 136.

Under tit. vii. of the L. of Joh. Schol. 'From Nov. clxv. . . *Χρὴ δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα χειροτονεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος χειροτονεῖν λίβελλον ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ πιστούμενον πληροφορίαν, κ.τ.λ.*; and in i. of the xxi. extracts appended separately: . . . *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτὸν χρὴ τοὺς κανόνας, καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἴγε ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμολογεῖ τούτους φυλάττειν· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνας ἀντὶ νόμου φυλάττειν* (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 611 and 661).

The original source is Nov. cxxxvii. cap. ii., which has: . . . 'Exigi etiam ante omnia ab eo qui ordinandus est libellum ejus propria subscriptione complectentem quæ ad rectam ejus fidem pertinent,' &c. (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 640.)

And Nov. vi. cap. i. sect. 8: 'Sed etiam sic eum constitutum et ad episcopatum præparatum competens est [cognitas habere] venerabiles et undique probatas lege regulas ante ordinationem, quas recta et inviolata nostra suscipit fides, et Catholica Dei Apostolicaque disposuit et tradidit ecclesia; et dum ex frequenti earum lectione transierit qui ad ordinationem deducitur, tunc is qui ordinationem impositurus est interroget eum si sufficiens est custodire et agere quæ sacræ regulæ sancierunt. Et siquidem dixerit quia quantum homini est possibile complebit hæc quæ his continentur, tunc monere eum et dicere quia nisi hæc observaverit et a Deo alienus erit, et cadet a jam dato honore: et neque civiles leges delictum inultum relinquent; eo quod a præcedentibus nos imperatoribus et a nobis ipsis recte dictum est, oportere sacras regulas pro legibus valere: et si etiam sic permanserit causam amplectens, tunc super his professionibus unumquemque sacrum suscipere episcopatus ordinationem.' Ib. p. 482.

XLII. iii. 'From the Code of the Novells [*i.e.* from sect. XLII. of the Kormchay], canon iii. None of the bishops may live more than one year away from his church,' &c. (Korm. fol. 303; but in ed. of 1831, Part II. fol. 3), p. 6.

This was taken by Photius from tit. xiii. of the Nomoc. of Joh. Schol., and is an abridgment, rather than a translation from the original Latin text: . . . *πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἢ τοῦτο κατὰ βασιλικὴν κέλευσιν, μηδὲ προφασιζέσθω ὡς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ἐν δικαῖς καθισταμένης· ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τῶν κληρικῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκονομούντων, ἢ τῶν ἀπο-*

κρισιαρίων δεῖ γίνεσθαι· καὶ μήτε δίχα συστατικῶν ὁδεύειν, μήτε παραγινόμενον εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα ὀφθῆναι βασιλεῖ πρὶν ἂν παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἁγ. πατριάρχην ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἑκάστης διοικήσεως ἐξ ἧς εἰσιν ἀποκρισιαρίους, καὶ αὐτοῖς κοινοῦσθαι τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἦλθον, καὶ οὕτω συνεισιέναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ἐξέστω δὲ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις διὰ τῶν ῥεφερενδαρίων τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἢ διὰ τῶν ἀποκρισιαρίων τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἀιαφέρειν τῇ βασιλείᾳ· ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἢ δίκαια αἰτοῦντας τυγχάνειν, ἢ ἄδικα θᾶττον ἀναλύειν. (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 617.)

The original source is to be seen in Nov. vi. cap. ii. (we copy out only what is not identical with the Greek): 'Ne episcopus ultra annum &c. . . . nisi hoc per imperialem fiat jussionem. . . . [Nemo enim eorum talem suscipiat occasionem si dixerint propterea proprias derelinquere ecclesias propterea quod litium causas aut aliarum rerum propriarum aut ad sacras ecclesias respicientium circumlustrant . . . præsertim cum liceat, si quædam sint lites forte sanctissimis ecclesiis propter quas has occasiones afferunt, hoc per eos qui sub ipso sunt religiosos clericos aut apocrisiarios aut œconomos movere, et petitiones ad imperium dirigere, impetrare autem sperata.] Propterea sancimus, si quando propter ecclesiasticam occasionem inciderit necessitas, hanc aut per eos qui res agunt s. ecclesiarum (quos apocrisiarios vocant) aut per aliquos clericos huc destinatos aut œconomos suos notam imperio facere, aut nostris administratoribus, ut impetrent quod competens est,' &c. And in cap. iii.: 'Non autem aliter . . . priusquam episcopus literas acceperit proprii metropolitæ ad imperium . . . si vero metropolita sit, literas sumat ejusdem diœceseos patriarchæ . . . et non temere . . . proficisci . . . pro eo quod hoc divinis interdictum est regulis: et huc advenientes non præsumant per semetipsos se prius pronuntiare ad imperium, sed primitus aut ad patriarcham proficisci, aut ad uniuscujusque diœceseos ex qua sunt apocrisiarios, et cum ipsis conferant causas propter quas venerunt, et ingredi ad imperium ejus, et deinceps imperiali frui aspectu: mox quum imperanti adstiterint, liceat quidem petentibus episcopis aut per eos qui vocantur referendarii s. majoris ecclesiæ, aut per s. apocrisiarios cujusque diœceseos s. patriarcharum, suggerere se imperio et promereri responsum celeriter, ita ut, si aut justa ab imperio petierint, hæc accipiant, aut, si non justa quærant, velociter revertantur unde profecti sunt' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 483).

XLII. xii. 'From the Code of the Novells [*i.e.* from sect. XLII. of the Kormchay], constit. viii. [xii.] ch. ii. "The same Emperor Justinian to John, military eparch, twice eparch, and patrician," ' &c. p. 327.

This was x. of the xxi. extracts appended separately by Joh. Schol. to his Nomocanon, and it was somewhat abridged from the original Latin: Ἰωάννῃ ὑπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων, τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ πατρικίῳ . . . ἠτήθημεν παρὰ Μηνᾶ . . . καὶ τοῖς εὐλ. κληρικοῖς ταύτην δοῦναι τὴν προνομίαν, ὥστε εἴ τις ἔχῃ τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρηματικὴν ἀγωγὴν, πρότερον παρὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑφ' ὃν τελεῖ, καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν, καὶ ἀγράφου διακρίσεως ἀπολαύειν· καὶ εἴπερ γένοιτο τοῦτο, μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτὸν, μήτε ἕλκειν εἰς δικαστήρια πολιτικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἀγράφως καὶ ζημίας χωρὶς λαμβάνειν τύπον· ἴσως καὶ ἐγγράφως, εἰ τοῦτο τὰ μέρη βουληθείη· καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος . . . [But if the bishop cannot decide the cause, then it shall be lawful] καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἄρχοντας ἰέναι . . . καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ πέρας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῇ δίκῃ. εἰ μέντοι περὶ ἐγκλημάτων ἐνάγοιτο [τ.ἐ. κληρικός τις], εἰ μὲν περὶ πολιτικῶν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οἱ πρόσφοροι ἄρχοντες (ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν οἱ τούτων ἡγούμενοι) ἔστωσαν δικασταὶ . . . ὥστε σύντομον ἐπιτίθεσθαι πέρας τῷ πράγματι· ἐκείνου δήλου ὄντος, ὥστε εἴγε ὑπεύθυνον τὸν ἐναγόμενον νομίσειεν ὁ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡγούμενος, καὶ ποίνης ἄξιον κρίνειε, πρότερον γυμνοῦσθαι τοῦτον παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀξίας, οὕτω τε ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν νόμων χεῖρας γίνεσθαι· εἰ μέντοι ἐκκλησιαστικὸν εἴη τὸ ἁμάρτημα, κ.τ.λ. (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 663.)

The original source is the preface and ch. i. of Nov. lxxxiii., from which also we extract only what it may be worth while to compare with the Greek or Slavonic: 'Joanni gloriosissimo *per Orientem prætoriorum præfecto, iterum ex-consuli* et patricio. Præfatio. Plurimas s. scribentes *leges* . . . in quibus volumus *monachos* apud solos episcopos . . . conventiones suscipere, petiti sumus a Menna d. archiepiscopo hujus f. civitatis *et universali patriarcha* [καὶ, et] r. *clericis* hoc dare *privilegium*, ut, *si quis* habet adversus *eos* quamlibet *pecuniariam causam, prius* ad d. archiepiscopum [*i.e.* at C.P.; elsewhere ad d. episcopum] *pergat* sub quo *constitutus est* [clericus sc., contra quem rem habet], et interpellet eum, et ex non scripto judicium mereatur: et, si hoc fiat, nec *inquietet eum*, nec *trahat* ad auditoria civilia, *neque a sacro eum vocare faciat ministerio*, sed ex non scripto examinetur negotium sine damnis, et accipiat formam (*forsan etiam scriptam, si hoc quoque partes poposcerint*) et *liberentur alterutri certamine*. § 1. Si vero propter causæ naturam, aut propter quandam forte difficultatem, non fuerit possibile d. episcopo decidere negotium, tunc licentiam esse et ad civiles judices pergere, et, privilegiis omnibus custoditis quæ r. clericis s. præstant constitutiones, *et litigare* et examinationem fieri, et terminum imponi liti.

'§ 2. Si tamen de *criminibus* conveniantur [clerici sc.], *si quidem civilibus*, hic quidem competentes judices (in provinciis autem earum præsides) sive judices [read *sint* judices, ἔστωσαν δικασταὶ] non transcendente lite mensium duorum spatium ex quo litis contestatio sit, quatenus brevis ponatur causæ terminus. *Illud palam est* [where the Slavonic translator has been led by the mispunctuation of the Greek into a gross error], si reum esse putaverit eum qui convenitur provinciæ præses, *et pœna judicaverit dignum*, prius hunc spoliari a d. episcopo sacerdotali dignitate, et ita sub legum fieri manu. Cap. i. *Si vero ecclesiasticum sit delictum*, egens ecclesiastica castigatione et mulcta, d. episcopus hoc discernat, nihil communicantibus clarissimis provinciæ judicibus: neque enim volumus talia negotia omnino scire civiles judices, cum oporteat talia ecclesiastice examinari, et emendari animas delinquentium per ecclesiasticam mulctam secundum sacras et divinas regulas, *quas etiam nostræ sequi non dedignantur leges*,' &c. [in the Greek γιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν]. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 574. And the same is inserted more briefly in the Code, lib. I. tit. iii. 33, ib. p. 21.

The same Nov. lxxxiii., with others, is used in the Κείμενον of Photius to ch. i. of his title IX. (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 954-956). Balsamon observes, that neither Photius' 'tit. iv. const. vii. of the Code,' nor 'Const. iv. of the same' (which is this Nov. lxxxiii.), had been inserted in the Basilica; but that ch. xliv. of tit. i. in lib. III. of the Basilica is from Nov. cxxiii., and contains all the same enactments, and with more clearness and brevity (see Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 620; and below, of Nov. cxxiii. Nov. xx. and Nov. lxv.).

XLII. xxxvi. 'From the Code of the Novells, ch. xlii. [*i.e.* sect. XLII. of the Kormchay] canon xxxvi.: "None of the civil authorities may compel the bishops,"' &c. p. 479.

This is v. of the xxi. extracts at the end of the Nomoc. of Joh. Schol. (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 662.) The Slavonic version, by an error of its own, makes the *bishop* [the word 'judge' (ὁ δικαστὴς) having perhaps been omitted in the Greek MS. from which it was made] send some of his people to depose for him before the judge. But the omission of the words between the first and second occurrence of 'cinguli privationem,' destroying the distinction between the judge and the 'executor,' and their respective punishments, is an error inherited from the Nomocanon of Joh. Scholasticus (see too Cod. lib. I. tit. iii. 6, 7, 8; Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 16 and 20).

Nov. cxxiii. cap. vii. '*Ne episcopus dicendi testimonii causa evocetur.* Nulli vero judicum licebit d. episcopos cogere ad judicium venire *pro exhibendo testimonio:* sed *judex mittat ad eos* quosdam ex personis ministrantium sibi; ut propositis sanctis evangeliis secundum quod decet sacerdotes dicant quæ noverint. Cap. viii. *Ne propter quamlibet causam episcopus ad sæcularem judicem trahatur.* Sed neque pro qualibet pecuniaria causa vel criminali episcopum ad judicem civilem aut militarem invitum producere aut exhibere citra imperialem jussionem permittimus: sed judicem qui tale aliquid sive ex scripto sive ex non scripto præsumpserit imperare, post cinguli privationem [xx. librarum auri pœnam jubemus exsolvere ecclesiæ cujus episcopus produci aut exhiberi jussus est: executorem similiter post cinguli privationem] et verberibus subdendum et in exilium deportandum.'

The substance of the same is worked up (and without the error noticed above) in the Κείμενον of Photius, to ch. i. of his title IX. And Balsamon observes that Nov. cxxiii. is in lib. III. of the Basilica tit. i. ch. xlvii. to liii.; and that a bishop may not be brought before a tribunal is laid down in the same words in the Basilica, lib. III. tit. i. ch. xvii. (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 963.)

XLII. liv. 'Ch. liv. [*i.e.* of sect. XLII. of Kormchay] "If any one has any matter against any clerk or monk, *or deacon or subdeacon*, or nun,"' &c. p. 328.

This is part (lv. of the lxxxvii. being the continuation) of an extract placed by Joh. Schol. under his tit. XV. (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 620.) The original source in the Novells is followed exactly.

Nov. cxxiii. cap. xxi. 'Si quis contra aliquem clericum, aut monachum, aut *diaconissam*, aut *monastriam*, aut *ascetriam* [the Greek has only ἀσκητρίαν] habeat aliquam actionem, adeat prius s. episcopum, cui horum unusquisque subjaceat; ille vero causam inter eos judicet,' &c. The Slavonic varies only by substituting the words 'or deacon or subdeacon' (already implied under 'clerk') for '*deaconess*' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 620; see above, under xii., for Balsamon's Scholion to the Κείμενον of ch. i., under tit. IX. of Photius).

XLII. lvi. 'From the same Novell, ch. lvi. [*i.e.* of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay]: "If any one be called in question for ecclesiastical matters,"' &c. p. 328.

The same follows also in the Nomoc. of Joh. Schol. (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 620.) And both there and in the Latin source it is just as in the Slavonic version.

Nov. cxxiii. cap. xxii. 'Si autem ecclesiastica causa sit, nullam communionem habeant judices civiles circa talem examinationem, sed s. episcopus secundum sacras regulas causæ finem imponat' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. loc. cit., and tit. IX. ch. i. of the Nomocanon of Photius, Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 958).

XLII. lvii. 'Ch. lvii. If any religious bishop of the same synod,' &c. p. 101, 329.

This follows the two preceding passages under tit. XV. of Joh. Schol. (Bibl. Jur. Can. loc. cit.); but there it is only referred to, having been placed before under his tit. I. (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 605.)

The original source is the beginning of ch. xxii. of the same Novell cxxiii. '*Ut episcopi apud proprium conveniantur metropolitanum.* Si quis vero s. episcoporum ejusdem synodi dubitationem adinvicem habeat, *sive pro ecclesiastico jure* [this has dropped out of the text of the Nom. of Joh. Schol. in the Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 605], sive pro aliis quibusdam rebus, prius metropolita eorum cum aliis de sua synodo episcopis causam examinet et judicet: et, si non rata habuerit utraque pars quæ judicata sunt, tunc b. patriarcha diœceseos illius inter eos audiat, et illa determinet quæ ecclesiasticis canonibus et legibus consonant, nulla parte ejus sententiæ contradicere valente' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 620). The same is abridged in the Κείμενον to ch. i. of tit. IX. of the Nom.

of Photius (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 960), and Nov. cxxiii. is in the Basilica, lib. iii. tit. i. ch. xxxvii. to xl.

XLII. lviii. 'From the same Novell, ch. lviii. [*i. e.* of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay]: "If a clerk, or any other, have cause of complaint against a bishop,"' &c. (Korm. Part II. fol. 10), p. 39, 43, 101, 329.

This passage is not in the Nomoc. of Joh. Schol. It is the continuation of the last, and was added by Photius when he arranged the lxxxvii. heads to append to his own Nomocanon.

Nov. cxxiii. cap. xxii.: 'Si autem et a clerico aut ab alio quocumque aditio contra episcopum fiat propter quamlibet causam, apud s. ejus metropolitam secundum sacras regulas et nostras leges causa judicetur: et si quis judicatis contradixerit, ad b. archiepiscopum et patriarcham diœceseos illius referatur causa, et ille secundum canones et leges huic præbeat finem. Si vero contra metropolitam talis aditio fiat ab episcopo aut clerico aut alia quacumque persona, diœceseos illius b. patriarcha simili modo causam judicet,' &c. (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 620.)

The same, but compressed, is in the *Κείμενον* to ch. i. under tit. IX. of the Nomocanon of Photius from this Nov. cxxiii. ch. xxii. and from Nov. cxxxvii. ch. iv. v. (see Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 640, and Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 960, 963.)

The clause 'In all causes it is by their own metropolitan or by the patriarch, and not by any other judges, that bishops are to be judged,' absent at p. 39, but added at p. 329, is an addition or recapitulation made by Nicon himself. It is the substance of that constitution mentioned by Balsamon under the *Κείμενον* to ch. i. of tit. IX. of Photius' Nomocanon as inserted in the Basilica (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 955, 956), and the Latin source of which is as follows:

'Imperatoriæ Constitutiones. 3. *De foro competenti episcoporum, clericorum et monachorum.* Scias autem Novellam piorum imperatorum Heraclii et Constantini, quæ statuit ne episcopus vel clericus vel monachus ob pecuniariam criminalemve causam apud civilem vel militarem conveniatur magistratum, sed apud suos episcopos duntaxat, aut metropolitanos, aut patriarchas. Eadem etiam statuit aurea bulla celeberrimi imperatoris domini Alexii Comneni vulgata mense Julio, Indictione iv., anno 6589 (A.D. 1081).' Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 713. And in sect. 4 of ch. xxix. of tit. iv. lib. I. of the Code, there are these words: 'Has autem actiones, siquidem ad ecclesiastica negotia pertinent, necesse fore jubemus ut a solis r. episcopis aut metropolitanis aut a s. synodis aut a s. patriarchis cognoscantur' (ib. p. 35).

XLII. lvii. and lviii. 'In like manner [that a metropolitan may be judged only by his own patriarch, or by the patriarch of C.P.] from the code of the Novells, ch. lvii. and lviii. enact' (p. 101).

'Or by the patriarch of C.P.' is not in these extracts from lvii. lviii. of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay referred to above. Nor is it in tit. IX. ch. i. of Photius' Nomocanon, where the Latin version of the *Κείμενον* is worded thus: 'Et xxix. Constit. [Cod. lib. i. tit. iv. sic habet] Nemo prima vice apud patriarcham, sed apud episcopum suum clericum accusato. Si vero suspectum illum habeat, apud metropolitanum. Qui si quoque suspectus sit, oportet cum illo judicare loco totius synodi tres secundum ordinationis ordinem primores: et si judicatis non acquiescatur, *illius tractus patriarcham* advocari, atque tamquam ipse ab initio causam cognovisset, ejus judicatis obtemperari. Non enim patriarcharum sententiæ provocationem recipiunt. Idem etiam de iis qui episcopos in jus vocant dicendum est' (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 955).

In the original source, Cod. lib. I. tit. iii. cap. 29 (A.D. 530), instead of 'loco totius synodi' as above, there are these words: 'Sed si forte ne ei quidem [*i. e.* metropolitano] accusatio placuerit, ad s. ejus regionis synodum accusatum deducat; et cum metropolitano tribus convenientibus r. episcopis qui cæteris propter ordinationem præferuntur, de causa *coram tota synodo* cognoscatur... Si vero se lædi existimaverit, provocet ad illius provinciæ b. patriarcham, atque iis quæ ipse judicaverit omnino pareat, perinde ac si eum ab initio judicem esset consecutus: nam contra horum antistitum sententias non esse locum appellationi a majoribus nostris constitutum est. Hoc idem servandum est si episcopus ab aliquo laico, sive ab aliquo clerico, sive ab altero r. episcopo accusatus sit,' &c.

'Cap. 2. Enimvero, si *remissâ* causâ ad s. *patriarcham*, aut ad aliquem ex r. metropolitanis, aut ad alium Dei amantissimum episcopum sententia lata sit quæ alicui parti displiceat, ac *provocetur*, ad archiepiscopalem *hanc* sedem [*i.e.* Constantinopoleos] referatur appellatio, in qua [ut adhuc servatum est] lis cognoscatur,' &c. (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 35.)

Nicon in several places ascribes to the patriarch of C.P. *alone* a power of judging causes and receiving appeals from the other patriarchal dioceses, perhaps going upon the words 'equal privileges with the bishop of Rome,' p. 20, 51. At p. 39, 'to the patriarch of C.P.' really means only if the metropolitan to be accused is subject to him. But below, on the same page, it is interpreted as if the cause might be carried at once even from another patriarchate to the patr. of C.P. '*Or* it may be judged by the patr. of C.P. But this power &c. is given to no one of the other patriarchs,' &c. In the quotation from the Novells which follows, the original text has not 'patriarch of C.P.' but 'patriarch of that region,' and so is quite against the privilege asserted for the patr. of C.P. (see notes at p. 51, 52.) The same assertion is again made by Nicon, p. 61; and by Matthew Blastar, p. 65: *ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνος βασιλείᾳ ἐπικοσμηθεὶς ταῖς συνοδικαῖς ψήφοις πρῶτος ἀνηγορεύθη· οἱ θεῖοι αἷς κατακολουθοῦντες νόμοι καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς ἑτέρους θρόνους γινομένας ἀμφισβητήσεις ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκείνου προστάττουσιν ἀναφέρεσθαι διάγνωσιν καὶ κρίσιν . . . τῷ δὲ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προέδρῳ ἔξεστι καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων θρόνων ἐνορίαις . . . σταυροπήγια διδόναι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις θρόνοις γινομένας ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐπιτηρεῖν καὶ διορθοῦσθαι καὶ πέρας ἐπιτιθέναι ταῖς κρίσεσιν, κ.τ.λ.* (Bev. ii. Syntagma Alph. p. 219.) He also takes notice of the difference existing on this point between Zonaras and Aristin; Zonaras allowing that *μετὰ* implies some inferiority in the privileges of C.P.; Aristin, on the contrary, making *μετὰ* to be merely *post*, after in *time*. Balsamon in his **Συναγωγὴ** (p. 1243, vol. ii., Voelli Bibl. Jur. Can.), quotes from lib. i. of the Code the constitution, that questions arising in Illyricum are not to be determined 'præter sententiam archiepiscopi Constantinopoleos, quæ privilegia (*προνόμια*) Romæ veteris habet.' But that may refer only to Illyricum; as when Justinian gives independence to the metropolitan of Justiniana Prima 'as vicar of the Pope by concession of Pope Vigilius' (*ἐν ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπαρχίαις τὸν τόπον ἐπέχει τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου Ῥώμης*). At p. 1217, xvii., it is said, also from lib. i. of the Code, *ἡ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησία πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ κεφαλή.* However, both Zonaras and Balsamon confess that the civil laws had *not* '*reënacted*' the absolute equality of Constantinople.

XLII. lxv. 'Of the same Emperor Justinian on the same subject, of the episcopal jurisdiction, canon xxxvii.: "*No violence* is to be used towards *the monastic order* (whether they be monks or nuns) in any manner whatever; nor is *the ecclesiastical* [the *clerical*] *order* to be treated with *disrespect*; and whoever dares to do otherwise, he shall be *imprisoned*, and sent into banishment,"' p. 348.

This seems to be part—the substance rather than a transcript—of lxv. of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay, identical with an extract given under tit. xxiii. of the Nomoc. of Johannes Schol. (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 640); only that extract omits the punishment (added by Photius in arranging the lxxxvii. heads), and ends with the mention of a procurator.

The original source is to be found in Nov. cxxiii. cap. xxvii. . . . '*Clerico aut monacho aut monastriæ* (aut cuicumque monasterio, et maxime fœminarum) jubemus *sine injuria* et *cum competenti honore* admonitionem fieri, non tamen monastriam aut ascetriam monasterio *abstrahi;* sed procuratorem pro eis ordinari qui pro causa respondeat; . . . . Sciente qui hoc prævaricatur [judice aut executore, quia et cingulo spoliabitur et pœnam quinque librarum auri exigetur . . . executore videlicet super hoc] *verberando* [ill changed in the Slavonic to 'shall be *imprisoned*'] et in exilium dirigendo,' &c. (Corp. Jur. Civ. p. 621.)

This is worked up in the Κείμενον of Photius under his tit. IX. ch. i. (See Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 962.)

XLII. lxxiv. 'On the same subject [of insulting a bishop or priest in the church, and disturbing the divine service], from the books of the Emperor Justinian, ch. lvii. [really sect. XLII. of the Kormchay], canon lxxiv. "If any one,"' &c. p. 347, 348 (and comp. p. 602).

This stood under tit. XXI. in the Nomoc. of Johannes Scholasticus (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 628).

The original source is in Nov. cxxiii. ch. xxxi. '*De his qui in ecclesia episcopo aut aliis clericis injuriam inferunt.* Si quis, cum sacra ministeria celebrantur, in s. ecclesiam ingrediens episcopo aut clericis aut ministris aliis ecclesiæ injuriam aliquam inferat, jubemus hunc verbera sustinere, et in exilium mitti. Si vero hæc sacra ministeria conturbaverit, aut celebrare prohibuerit, capitaliter puniatur [hoc ipso et in litaniis in quibus episcopi aut clerici reperiantur, custodiendo]. . . . . Et vindicare jubemus non solum civiles sed etiam militares judices' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 622).

XLII. lxxxvii. 'Canon lxxxvii. of the same Emperor Justinian [of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay]: "We forbid all alike to do any dishonour to the monastic order,"' &c. p. 479.

This was the last of the xxi. extracts appended separately at the end of the Nomocanon of Johannes Scholasticus (see Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 671).

The original source is Nov. cxxiii. ch. xliv.: '*Ne liceat laicis et scenicis uti monachi schemate* [The heading of Johannes Schol. is more general: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδένι κεχρῆσθαι ἢ ἐμπαῖξαι εὐλαβεῖ σχήματι ἢ πάσῃ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καταστάσει, κ.τ.λ.]. Omnibus itaque generaliter in seculari vita conversantibus, et maxime theatralia exercentibus . . . interdicimus uti schemate monachi aut monastriæ aut ascetriæ [aut cujuscumque personæ hujusmodi imitari schema, scientibus universis præsumentibus aut uti tali schemate aut imitari] aut *illudere in quacumque ecclesiastica disciplina* [ἢ οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ ἐμπαῖξαι εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν], quia et corporalia supplicia sustinebunt, et exilio tradentur, providentibus huic rei non solum locorum episcopis, et qui sub eis sunt clericis, sed etiam militaribus civilibusque judicibus, et quæ sub eis sunt officiis, et locorum defensoribus,' &c. (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 623.)

Sect. XLIV. of the Kormchay: from the Κείμενον of tit. I. ch. xxxi. of Photius' Nomocanon. 'From the Novells of the Emperor Justinian, ch. xxxi. "Constitution ii. of tit. I. of the Novells says of clerks, priests, and deacons and subdeacons, readers and singers (Constit. lxiii. [vi.] of tit. iii. of lib. I. of the Code names also exorcists and ostiarii), that all these are to be governed and judged by their own bishops,"' p. 329.

Ch. xxxi. of tit. I. of the Nomocanon of Photius (in the Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 851) is headed thus: '*Quinam sint* clerici, vel ecclesiastici ordinis.' And after a reference to one canon only, viz. xxiv. of Laodicea, there follows τὸ Κείμενον. ἡ β′ διάταξις τοῦ α′ τίτλου τῶν νεαρῶν κληρικοὺς λέγει πρεσβυτέρους, διακόνους, ὑπο-

διακόνους, ἀναγνώστας, ψάλτας· ἡ μέντοι ϛ΄ διάταξις τοῦ γ΄ τίτλου τοῦ α΄ βιβλίου τοῦ κώδικος καὶ ἐξορκιστῶν καὶ πυλωρῶν μέμνηται. On which Balsamon observes that Photius' 'Constit. ii. of tit. I. of the Novells' is ch. XIX. of Nov. cxxiii., inserted in the Basilica, lib. iii. tit. I. ch. xlii.; and 'Constit. vi. of tit. III. of the Code' is also in the Basilica, viz. lib. iii. tit. III. ch. v.; but that in neither of the two places is it said who are clerks; but in the first, that the clerks named are to have power over their own property; in the second, that they are to have personal immunity. Still less, no doubt Balsamon would have said, if he had seen the Slavonic translation, is it said in either place that 'all these are to be governed and judged by their own bishops.' Nevertheless, perhaps both Photius and the Slavonian translator may be justified; since virtually there is an enumeration of clerks, and since other enactments by which that enumeration is surrounded, and the immunity itself from civil duties and judgments, implies that they are under the bishops. The original Latin sources are as follows:

Nov. cxxiii. cap. xxix.: 'Presbyteros et diaconos et subdiaconos, lectores et cantores, *quos omnes clericos appellamus* [res quolibet modo ad dominium eorum venientes habere in sua potestate praecipimus],' &c. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 620. And the same is in the Code, lib. I. tit. iii. 34; ib. p. 22.

Cod. lib. I. tit. iii. 6 (Impp. Valentin., Valens, et Gratian. AAA. A.D. 377): 'Presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, atque *exorcistas* et lectores, *ostiarios* [acolythos], etiam personalium munerum expertes esse praecipimus.' Ib. ii. p. 16.

XLIV. From tit. VIII. ch. viii. 'In like manner tit. VIII. cap. 50 [8] of [the Nomocanon of Photius, from] the Novells of the Emp. Justinian: "The metropolitans shall come together to the patriarchs, and the bishops to the metropolitans" [Korm. Part II. fol. 21; but 55 overl. of vol. ii. of 1787. And see a similar constitution above; not l. but lvii. of the lxxxvii. of sect. XLII.], p. 43.

ἡ β΄ καὶ ιζ΄ διάταξις τοῦ α΄ τίτλου τῶν νεαρῶν [Nov. cxxiii. ch. xiii. and cxxxvii. ch. vii., both inserted in the Basilica, lib. iii. tit. I. cap. xx. and xxi., but no longer observed in Balsamon's time] *βούλονται ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς τοῦ ἔτους* [here the Slavonic version in sect. XLIV. of the Kormchay begins, '*Twice* in the year, &c., in the month of June *and* in that of September, there is to be held *a* synod] *τῷ Ἰουνίῳ ἢ* [*or*] *τῷ Σεπτεμβρίῳ γίνεσθαι συνόδους τῶν μητροπολιτῶν παρὰ τοῖς πατριάρχαις, καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων παρὰ τοῖς μητροπολίταις, καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας ἃς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσι, περί τε πίστεως, καὶ κανόνων, καὶ πραγμάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, καὶ ἄλλων, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοὺς κανόνας ἁμαρτανόμενα διορθοῦσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες, καὶ αἱ τάξεις αὐτῶν μὴ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς μητροπολίταις καὶ ἐπισκόποις ὑπερτιθεμένοις ποιεῖν τὰς συνόδους, ἢ μὴ μηνύοντας τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἐσχάτως τιμωροῦνται* (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 941).

Of the original sources one, viz. Nov. cxxiii. ch. xxii., has already been treated of under lvii. of the lxxxvii. extracts in sect. XLII. The other, in Nov. cxxxvii. ch. iv. is as follows: 'Quando autem quod in canonibus cautum est de synodis s. episcoporum per singulas provincias congregandis hucusque minime observatum est, illud imprimis corrigere est necessarium. Sancti igitur Apostoli et patres definierunt, bis in unoquoque anno fieri debere synodos, &c. . . Nos autem . . . jubemus *omnibus modis* [*i.e.* saltem] *unam* synodum fieri singulis annis in singulis provinciis mense vel Junio vel Septembri: et convenire quidem apud b. patriarchas illos qui ab ipsis ordinati sunt et qui non habent jus alios episcopos ordinandi: at apud s. metropolitas cujusque provinciæ eos qui ab eis sunt ordinati. Quo in loco motas lites et interpellationes &c. . . . examinari, et eorum correctionem secundum sacros canones procedere, et secundum nostras leges.' And in ch. v.: 'Non solum autem in anniversariis synodis ista quæri volumus, sed etiam quoties quidam . . . accusabuntur . . . Et si quidem episcopus est is qui accusatus est, ejus metropolitanus examinet ea quæ dicta sunt: si vero metropolitanus sit, ejus archiepiscopus [*i.e.* patriarcha] sub quo degit' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 640).

XLIV. From tit. IX. ch. i. At p. 329, 'From the Novells of the same Emperor Justinian, ch. XXX.;' but at p. 348: 'Of the same subject (of the episcopal jurisdiction) from different titles of the Emperor Justinian [*i.e.* from passages from the Κείμενον of Photius put together in sect. XLIV. of the Kormchay], ch. i. [A secular ruler is not to drag before himself monks or nuns, or women, &c. But] "He who has anything against one of the monks,"' &c. p. 329, 348.

The Greek text of the Κείμενον to ch. i. of tit. IX. is wanting, at least in part, in the Bibl. Jur. Can. of 1661; but the Latin version of it has the following: 'Et Constit. XV. ejusdem tituli: Qui (inquit) adversus monachum aliquem, aut consecratam virginem, aut mulierem monasterio mancipatam causam habeat, ipsorum episcopum accedito. *Is vero illum aut illam per præsules, apocrisiarios, aliosve homines probos honeste producito,* [causam]que considerato. Qui [civilis] magistratus [huic rei] se immiscere tentaverit, *non admittitur* [οὐ διαδέχεται], et *una cum cohorte sua* decem libris [auri] fisco [inferendis] mulctatur. *Executores* vero in *cancellos* (κάγκελλα) *includuntur*, et pro merito castigantur, atque per episcopos de reliquo *executorum officio fungi* prohibentur.' Balsamon observes that 'Constit. XV. of tit. iv. of lib. I. of the Code' is Nov. lxxix. of Justinian, which is not in the Basilica: but in lieu of it one must attend to a Novell to the same effect of the Emperors Constantine and Heraclius, and a similar one of Alexius Comnenus, of A.D. 1081, for which see above, under lviii. of sect. XLII. of the Kormchay (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 955, 956).

For the original source in Nov. lxxix. ch. i. see Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 569. 'Si quis quamcumque habuerit causam cum aliquibus ven. [monachis] sanctimonialibus, aut sacris virginibus aut mulieribus omnino in monasteriis consistentibus, civitatis illius episcopum interpellet: ille vero mittat et cum omni honestate quæ sunt de personarum præsentia disponat; sive oportet per abbates, sive per *responsales*, sive per alios *quoslibet*, hoc fieri: ipsi vero cum omni veneratione sacerdotali causam examinent et judicent.' [Then Photius, and after him the Kormchay, omits 'et civiles non sint penitus eis judices, neque confundant eorum honestatem; cum idonei sint episcopi et quæ de lite sunt et de cautela judiciorum disponere, et judicare honeste atque sacerdotaliter et secundum leges nostras et sacratissimas regulas. Sic enim et qui aliquam rationem habere putantur, merebuntur justitiam, et honestas sacratarum inviolata intègraque servabitur.'] And in ch. iii. 'Sciant igitur qui præter hæc aliquid egerint, si quidem judex sit . . . quia *ab administratione repelletur* tamquam divinitati contumeliam faciens, et pœna x. librarum auri una cum officio suo mulctabitur s. nostro danda ærario. Executores autem præsumentes *afferre omnino admonitionem* ab ipsis d. episcopis prohibebuntur, et retrudentur in loca quæ *decaneta* nuncupantur, pœnas competentes passuri, *exactionem nullam* de cætero *agere permittendi.*' See too in the Code, lib. I. tit. iii. 33, the same compressed. Corp. Jur. Civ. ii, p. 21, &c.

It is easy to see, on comparing the two texts, that the Slavonic version in sect. XLIV. of the Kormchay is really from the Κείμενον of Photius. The first part of ch. xxi. of Nov. cxxiii. is to the same purpose, except that it joins in one enactment clerks and monks and nuns, and allows a reference to be made within ten days to the civil judge; and if he differs from the bishop, then there may be an appeal in due form to the higher authority.

What Johannes Schol. had under his tit. xxxiii. (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 640) on the same subject was taken from ch. xxvii. of Nov. cxxiii., providing that nuns should have procurators to appear and act or plead for them, and that monks and clerks might either have procurators or plead for themselves, as they liked best: also making the punishment for any civil judge interfering with them to be the loss of his belt and a fine of five pounds of gold, and that of the executor stripes and exile. (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 621.) This makes heads lv. and lvi. of the lxxxvii. in sect. XLII. of the Kormchay. Photius too has used the same in the *Κείμενον* to ch. i. of his tit. IX.

XLIV. From tit. IX. ch. ii. 'From the Novells of the Emperor Justinian, ch. xiv. [correct as above]. One witness alone is not to be listened to, &c. Also a heretic is inadmissible as a witness against orthodox Christians,' &c. (see Korm. of 1787, vol. ii. fol. 56 overl.), p. 513.

. . . *ἡ δὲ θ' διάτ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ κ' τίτλου* [*τοῦ δ' βιβλίου τοῦ κώδικος*, which, Balsamon observes, is in the Basilica, lib. xxi. tit. I. cap. xxxvi. thema 2] *φησὶν ὅτι εἷς μόνος οὐκ ἀκούεται κἂν μέγας εἴη ἀξιωματικός· αἱρετικὸς δὲ καθόλου οὐ καταμαρτυρεῖ ὀρθοδόξου εἰ μὴ περὶ βουλευτικῆς καταστάσεως ὁ ὀρθόδοξος ἐνάγεται, κ.τ.λ.* [referring to the Code, lib. I. tit. V. const. xxi., which is in the Basil. lib. xxi. tit. I. ch. xlv., and the Novell xlv., which is not in the Basilica, any more than the mention *περὶ τῆς βουλευτικῆς τάξεως καὶ καταστάσεως.*] Bibl. Jur. Can. (under tit. IX. cap. ii. of Photius' Nomocanon) ii. p. 964; and in the Nomoc. of Johannes Schol. under his tit. XVI. there are two extracts from the same sources, ib. p. 622.

Cod. lib. iv. tit. xx. const. 9: 'Imp. Constantinus A. ad Julianum præsidem, A.D. 334. Jurisjurandi religione testes . . jamdudum arctari præcepimus; et ut honestioribus potius testibus fides adhibeatur. Sect. i. Simili modo sanximus, ut unius testimonium nemo judicum in quacumque causa facile patiatur admitti. Et nunc manifeste sancimus ut unius omnino testis responsio non audiatur, etiamsi præclaræ curiæ honore præfulgeat.' Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 134. And Cod. lib. i. tit. V. constit. 21: 'Sancimus (A.D. 532) contra orthodoxos quidem litigantes nemini hæretico vel [etiam Judæo] esse in testimonia communionem; sive utraque pars orthodoxa sit, sive altera,' &c. Ib. p. 40.

XLIV. From tit. IX. ch. xxxvi. 'In tit. iii. of book xvi. of the Basilica, ch. xiii. it is said thus: "If any one shall speak evil of the emperor,"' &c. p. 606.

This is from the gloss of Zonaras on canon lxxxiv. of the Apostles (fol. 23 overl. of vol. i. of the Kormchay of 1787, and Bev. i. p. 55). There is one very curious error in the printed Kormchay, and some other errors in the MS. of Nicon's Replies and in the English translation, which make Nicon's quotation here much less to his purpose than it ought to have been . . . 'To reprove him, the emperor, when he deserves it, is not forbidden, though the words of reproof, if they be very sharp (*δριμύτερα ὄντα*), may be taken by him as an insult. To reproach him *without just cause* is not allowed by the canon, so that it is understood from the distinction made (*ὡς ἐξ ἀντιδιαστολῆς νοεῖσθαι*) that he who *with just cause* reproves a king does not deserve 'punishment.' In tit. iii. of book xvi. of the Basilica, ch. xiii. it is said thus: 'If any one shall speak evil of the emperor, he is *not* liable to punishment, *ἐάν τις κακῶς μνημονεύσῃ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπόκειται τιμωρίᾳ·* but the Kormchay has 'he *is* liable to punishment:' and the MS. of Nicon's Replies not only has 'he shall be punished,' but adds 'by death with tortures, *and no reference* ought to be made about him to the emperor;' though the Kormchay after the word 'punishment' has rightly 'but a report must be made about him to the emperor. For if he uttered such words of folly, he may be despised, but if of madness, he deserves to be pitied, or if he did it because he had been wronged, he is to be forgiven.'

But the canon to which this gloss of Zonaras is attached in the Kormchay is not the full canon glossed by him, but the short canon used and glossed by

Aristin. The full canon is, 'If any one reproaches (*ὑβρίζει*) the emperor or a ruler without just cause, *let him be punished* (*τιμωρίαν τιννύτω*); and if he be a clerk, let him be deposed; but if a layman, let him be excommunicated.' The true sense of this is *not*, as Paisius translated it, 'let him be punished corporally and even capitally, *and* (besides) let him if a clerk be deposed,' &c., but 'let him be punished if a clerk by deposition, or if a layman by excommunication.' But Aristin's shortened canon in the Kormchay is, 'He who reproaches unjustly a ruler or the emperor, if a clerk is deposed, if a layman is excommunicated;' which led Nicon into the error of arguing as if the words 'let him be punished' were not merely mistranslated but added altogether by Paisius.

Which is the true reading of the passage from the Basilica, 'is *not* liable' or '*is* liable,' will appear at once, if we compare another quotation from an older enactment, or rather from the source of the same passage in the Basilica, which is also to be found in the Kormchay in sect. XLIV., being taken from Photius' *Κείμενον* to ch. xxxvi. of tit. IX. of his Nomocanon (see vol. ii. fol. 58 of the Kormchay of 1787, and Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 1021).

In lib. ix. of the Code, tit. VII. constit. i., it is said: *ὅτι ὁ τὸν βασιλέα ὑβρίζων οὐ τιμωρεῖται, οὔτε τι σκληρὸν ἢ τραχὺ ὑπομένει· ἢ γὰρ ἀπὸ κουφότητος εἶπε καὶ περιφρονεῖται, ἢ ἐξ ἀνοίας καὶ ἐλεεῖται, ἢ ὡς ἀδικούμενος καὶ συγχωρεῖται . . ἀναφέρεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ποιότητος τοῦ προσώπου κρίνει εἰ ὀφείλει συγχωρηθῆναι ἢ τιμωρηθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. . . . κεφαλικὴ δὲ τιμωρία ὥρισται κατὰ τῶν ποιούντων φαμοῦσα* (famosos libellos) *καὶ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν λεγόντων τισὶν, ὡς βιβλίον θ' τίτ. λϛ', κεφ. α'.* On which Balsamon observes that Photius' lib. ix. tit. VII. ch. i. is lib. ix. tit. XXXVI. cap. xiii., which again is equivalent to lib. lx. of the Basilica, tit. LXIII. cap. i.

Matthew Blastar (though Nicon will not allow Paisius to quote him as an authority), in his *Σύνταγμα Ἀλφαβητικὸν* B. ch. vii., gives the short canon, like Aristin, without *τιμωρίαν τιννύτω*, and a gloss like that of Zonaras: 'etiamsi acerbiora verba iis injuriosa videantur;' and he subjoins from the *Κείμενον* of Photius, tit. IX. ch. xxxvi.: *ὁ τὸν βασιλέα ὑβρίζων οὐκ εὐθὺς* (non statim) *τιμωρεῖται, κ.τ.λ.*, as above; and farther on: *καὶ πᾶς ὁ εὑρίσκων φλυαρίαν κατὰ βασιλέως ἐν χάρτῃ καὶ μὴ παραχρῆμα καίων . . . ὑποκείσθω τιμωρίᾳ ᾗτινι ὑπέκειτο καὶ ὁ συντεθεικὼς τὴν φλυαρίαν* (Bev. ii. p. 41). But the greater part of what Nicon quotes at p. 605, as imputed to Matthew Blastar by Paisius, is only Paisius' own rhetoric and amplification.

XLIV. From tit. XIII. ch. iii. In reply to Paisius' assertion, that if a man has deserted or neglected his wife for four years, the canon allows her to marry again, Nicon quotes can. xcii. [xciii. of Bev.] of the Council in Trullo, and then continues thus: 'The gloss: "To the same effect with this canon is Novell xvii. [cxvii.] of Justinian in [ch. iii. of] tit. VII. of lib. xxviii. [xxvii.] of the Basilica. For that also ordains that if any woman,"' &c. (Korm. i. of 1787, fol. 204), p. 147, 148.

The same gloss of Aristin is given in the original Greek by Bev. i. p. 269, 270. It ends with the words, *ἀναλαβεῖν οὐ κωλύει* ('he is not forbidden to do so'). The woman is not to marry again, *εἰ μὴ πληροφορίαν σχῇ παρὰ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐστρατεύσατο, προκειμένων τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πράξεως ὑπομνημάτων ὁμολογούντων ὡς ταῖς ἀληθείαις ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπομνήματα λάβῃ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοιαύτην πληροφορίαν ἀναμείνῃ καὶ ἑνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ διάστημα, κ.τ.λ.* Nov. xxii. of Just., or ch. v. of tit. VII. of lib. xxviii. of the Basilica, requires a woman whose husband has been taken prisoner, and of whose fate she is ignorant, to wait five years, and then allows her freely to remarry. On which Balsamon observes, that this is repealed by the later Novell xxxiii. of Leo Sap., which enacts that a captive returning may *always* reclaim his wife; and that the last thema but one in cap. xi. of tit. XXXVII. lib. lx., enacting that a woman who on a false report of her husband's death has remarried in good faith is not punishable, is a remnant of the law of the Digests, which is repealed by the Novells just mentioned, ib. p. 269.

In the Κείμενον of Photius on his tit. XIII. ch. iii. there is the same in substance, but not exactly in the words: *e.g.* μὴ γαμείτω εἰ μὴ πρότερα δι' ἑαυτῆς ἢ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς ἢ ἑτέρου ἀξιοπίστου τοὺς πριόρας τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τοὺς χαρτουλαρίους ἐν ᾧ στρατεύεται καὶ τὸν τριβοῦνον ἐρωτήσῃ . . . κἀκεῖνοι τῶν ἁγ. εὐαγγελίων προκειμένων ἐν ὑπομνήματι κατάθωνται αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡ γυνὴ λαμβανέτω, καὶ μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν μενέτω ἐνιαυτὸν, κ.τ.λ. Balsamon observes that Nov. cxvii., here cited by Photius, is ch. iii. in tit. VII. of lib. xxviii. of the Basilica (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 1093).

The Slavonic version in sect. XLIV. of the Kormchay, from tit. XIII. ch. iii. of Photius, omits as usual his *references* to the Greek laws, and begins: 'If a soldier or *trader*, or any other common man,' &c., and adds at the end, that the wife of a trader &c. must obtain a certificate from her husband's employers or partners, like that to be obtained by a soldier's wife from her husband's commanders (Korm. ii. fol. 60 of ed. 1787).

Nov. cxvii. cap. xi. '. . . nisi prius accesserit . . . ad *priores numeri chartularios* in quo maritus militabat, seu tribunum (*si tamen adest*) interrogaverit . . . ut illi . . . sub gestis monumentorum deponant si pro veritate vir mortuus est. Et postquam hæc gesta monumentorum confecta mulier pro suo testimonio acceperit, etiam post hoc jubemus manere eam. . . . Si autem qui sub gestis monumentorum cum jurejurando testati sint convincantur etiam falsum postea deposuisse testimonium, ipsi quidem militia denudati decem auri librarum pœnam,' &c. (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 608).

This Novell repeals ch. xiv. of Nov. xxii., as Nov. xxii. had itself repealed or modified a still earlier enactment of Constantine the Great on the same subject. Ch. xiv. of Nov. xxii. is interesting both as illustrating the *gradual* influence of Christianity on the civil legislation respecting certain customs, and also as showing the source of that assertion of Paisius Ligarides against which Nicon is arguing from p. 141 to 180.

Nov. xxii. cap. xiv. '. . . Novimus autem et hujus f. civitatis conditorem (Constantinum) scripsisse legem secundum quam si quis in expeditione fuerit et *tacuerit* ad uxorem *per quadriennium*, et nullum ei fiat ab illo *signum ejus circa eam affectus*, tunc *licentia sit mulieri ad secundas nuptias veniendi*, &c. . . . Vehementer autem nobis *immature* habere illa constitutio videtur: actibus enim bellicis occupato marito uxoris privationem inferre non minor est pœna quam ab hostibus capi. Ideoque *non prius* ad virum veniat secundum hujusmodi mulier . . . quam etiam *decennii* transeat tempus, et hæc importuna quidem sit mittens litteras, aut per aliquos verbis utens ad eum, ille vero *aut aperte renuat nuptias ejus*, aut *absolute conticeat*: tunc quoque libellum offerat aut gloriosissimo magistro militum aut spectabili duci aut clarissimo tribuno, sub quibus ipse miles est: tunc enim licentiam damus et preces porrigere imperatori, et inde hoc promereri. Sciat autem quod si ultra hoc aliquid tamquam temerarie nubens legitimis pœnis subjacebit' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 512).

But Nov. cxvii. cap. xi., from which the Κείμενον of Photius, and the gloss of Aristin above mentioned and Nicon's quotation are taken, corrects this again, as has been said: '*Quod tempus expectare maritum in expeditione debeat mulier.* Quod autem a nobis sancitum est . . . melius ordinare perspeximus; et jubemus, *quantoscumque annos* in expeditione manserint, sustinere eorum uxores, licet nec litteras nec responsum aliquod a suis maritis susceperint;' and so on, as has been sufficiently abridged above (ib. p. 608, 609).

Sect. XLVI. 'From the Zakon Soudni of the Emperor Constantine the Great, ch. xxi.: "A witness from hearsay is not to be received . . . though they be princes,"' &c. (see Kormchay of 1787, vol. ii. fol. 76), p. 513.

Sect. XLVIII. Zakon Gradski, tit. xxvii., heads xxv. and xi.

Nicon, after quoting canon cxxxii. of Carthage, adds the gloss on the same, thus: 'Witnesses from one's own house are rejected also by the imperial laws: for ch. xxii. [xxi.] of tit. i. in book xxi. of the Basilica,' &c.; 'and ch. xxv. of the same says,' &c. p. 512.

This gloss of Aristin is at fol. 169, vol. i. of K. of 1787. 'Such are not admitted either in a criminal or in a civil case. But if another be the accuser, and he wishes to bring witnesses of the house of another, he is not forbidden. For from one and the same house both a father and a son under his authority, and two sons brothers, and both of these under authority, can give evidence both against a man and for a man; as ch. xv. of the same tit. i. of lib. xxi. enacts' (Bev. i. p. 667; and in Syntagma Alphab. of M. Blastar, both this and other like enactments, Bev. ii. p. 103, 101). The germ is in the Code, lib. iv. tit. xx. 3. 'Impp. Valerian. et Gallien. A.D. 256. Etiam jure civili domestici testimonii fides improbatur' (Corp. Jur. Civ. ii. p. 131).

The same is also in sect. XLVIII. of the Kormchay, Zakon Gradski, tit. xxvii. heads 25 and 11: 'For there is no harm in a number of persons from one house giving evidence about a matter concerning others not belonging to it' (Kormchay of 1787, tom. ii. fol. 130, 131).

XLVIII. Tit. xxvii. 'Of witnesses,' heads 1, &c. [see the Kormchay of 1787, tom. ii. fol. 130-133]. From the Civil Law (Zakon Gradski), tit. xxvii. canon i. 'Witnesses must be credible persons,' &c. p. 513. vi. 'On criminal charges,' &c. vii. 'In witnesses,' &c. viii. 'With regard to every witness,' &c. And it ought to end thus: 'and of this it is for the judge to determine whether they depose consistently, and whether they answer to the point obediently, and what signs ought to be admitted.' Then ix. 'It is to witnesses themselves,' &c. xx. 'He who has slanderously accused,' &c. xxi. 'He who has been a mediator,' &c. xxii. 'The very poor,' &c. xxiii. 'He is not admissible,' &c. xxiv. 'He who has been freed,' &c. xxv. 'He is not a credible witness who is able to give orders,' &c. But this is plainly wrong. In the original Latin source, viz. the Digests, lib. xxii. tit. v. 6, the words are 'idonei non videntur esse testes *quibus imperari* potest' [not qui imperare potest] 'ut testes fiant' (Corp. Jur. Civ. i. p. 344). It is the general principle on which the enactment quoted above, 'accusator ne de domo sua,' &c. is based. xxvi. 'He who has been condemned, &c. xxvii. 'A son,' &c. xxviii. 'A slave,' &c. xxix. 'He who has already given evidence,' &c. xxx. 'He who has *conferred* and combined about a matter cannot give evidence about it.' xxxi. 'No one is examined to make him give evidence against himself; but a witness ought in such way as he pleases to satisfy the man who calls him that he is *truthful*.' xxxiii. 'He also is forbidden,' &c. . . . 'when his father is inscribed as his heir in the will of another.' xxxiv. 'And he who is under,' &c. xxxv. 'And he who leaves,' &c. p. 513-515.

XLVIII. tit. xxviii. head ii. 'There is the episcopal engagement made acc. to can. xviii. of Carthage, and cap. ii. of the Novells of Justinian [see above, sect. XLII. ii.], and tit. xxviii. of the Civil Law [*i.e.* of this sect. XLVIII.], ch. ii. with the subscription of their hands. And the first words of that writing are as follows,' &c. p. 136.

Ch. ii. of tit. xxviii. of sect. XLVIII.: 'He who is ordained a bishop must give in first a written declaration of his faith: I believe in one God, &c.; and having written it, he also recites it aloud. He also recites the prayers,' &c. (Korm. ii. fol. 133 overl. 1787.) But the form of the episcopal declaration and oath from which Nicon proceeds to quote 'to keep the peace of the Church . . . in all things to follow and obey the ecum. patriarchs, and *after* them us also as their father, and our successors; and not to do anything by compulsion either of the Tsar, or of any number of boyars and princes, or of any multitude of the people, though they threaten me with death,' &c.: is not to be sought for in the civil laws, nor in any of the Greek canonists. Balsamon mentions that a written declaration is necessary, and that he has known some who got into very great danger by neglecting this (see the note at p. 151). There is a declaration made still by bishops in Russia; but the form is now very different from that quoted by Nicon. They are now expected—and on some occasions they have to swear unreservedly—to obey the Tsar as their supreme judge.

XLVIII. Tit. xxxix. head xv. 'In tit. xxxix. ch. xv. of the Civil Law: "Notorious robbers are to be hanged at the spots,"' &c. (Kormchay of 1834, Part II. fol. 61, but in ed. of 1787, fol. 162 overl.), p. 18, 151.

The original source is referred to also by Photius in his Κείμενον to ch. xxiii. of his tit. XIII. viz. lib. xlviii. tit. xix. digest xxviii. containing these words: 'Famosi vero, περιβόητοι, latrones quibus locis latrocinati sunt furca figuntur, aut cum bestiis depugnant.' And Balsamon observes that the same is in the Basilica, lib. lx. tit. li. cap. xxviii. thema 10 (Bibl. Jur. Can. ii. p. 1127).

'Famosos latrones in his locis ubi grassati sunt furca figendos compluribus placuit; ut et conspectu deterreantur alii ab iisdem facinoribus, et solatio sit cognatis et adfinibus interemptorum eodem loco pœna reddita in quo latrones homicidia fecissent: nonnulli etiam ad bestias hos damnaverunt' (Corp. Jur. Civ. i. p. 849, 850).

XLVIII. Tit. xxxix. head xlvi. 'Nov. lxxii. of the Emp. Leo Sapiens enacts that he who swears falsely shall on conviction have his tongue cut out,' p. 518.

It is Paisius metr. of Gaza who quotes this. The same is in tit. xxxix. ch. xlvi. of the Zakon Gradski (Korm. of 1787, tom. ii. fol. 166).

XLVIII. Tit. xxxix. head lxxx. 'Tit. xxxix. ch. lxxx. He who voluntarily kills any one, if grown up, is to be punished capitally' (Korm. ii. fol. 169), p. 19.

The same is also in sect. XLIX. of the Kormchay, ch. xvi. § 24 (Korm. tom. ii. fol. 195).

The following quotations and documents were all probably taken by Nicon from MS. copies of the Kormchay of the Cyrillic family.

'The constitutions of the Emperor Manuel which he wrote, "Of episcopal jurisdiction in respect of property: Whereas this also has reached the ears of my empire,"' &c. p. 318.

In the Corpus Juris Civilis, ii. p. 717, there is a constitution of the Emperor Manuel, which alludes to three other earlier constitutions of his on the same subject. One of these must have been the source of Nicon's quotation, portions of which occur also word for word in the later constitution. 'Manuelis Comneni Constitutio ix. Ut ecclesiarum et monasteriorum quæ sunt ad urbem immobilia, intacta sint a manu fisci. Potenti ergo et sancto nostro imperatori gratiæ agendæ sunt, qui apostolico canoni consequenter et præsenti constitutioni ecclesiarum et monasteriorum quæ sunt ad urbem intacta et integra immobilia conservavit a manu fisci, seu publici, per tres aureas bullas annorum 6654 Jul., 6655 Oct., et Mart. 6666 [A.D. 1146, 1146, & 1158], quæ ultima post prooemium et alia hæc expresse edicit. . . "Sed quoniam cavillatores quiescere non potuerunt, sed fisci seu publici prætextu eis gravem afflictionem intulerunt, imperialis mea majestas Deum placare et propitium efficere volens ob ea quæ ipsum ut homo offendit, simul etiam volens magni imperatoris, Christi scilicet, milites, qui vitam monasticam propter ipsum elegerunt, et spiritus armaturam induerunt, socios habere et strenuos defensores adversus hostes tam

illos qui videntur quam qui non videntur,"' &c. This is followed by two other long constitutions, x. and xi., on the same subject; and the second of the two, viz. const. xi., ends with the same words as the passage quoted by Nicon: 'Si quis igitur voluerit per avaritiam aut quampiam aliam causam ea contemnere quæ hac chrysobulla mei imperii oratione definita sunt, primum quidem s. Trinitatis splendorem, cum ad tremendum sistemur tribunal, non conspiciet, excidet autem et Christianorum parte, ut Judas duodenario: et præter hæc execrationem sibi conciliabit primogenitorum sanctorum, justorum et deiferorum patrum qui ab ævo præmortui fuerunt.'

Perhaps from a MS. Kormchay (though the work itself had been translated), 'a description of the office and qualities of a patriarch,' from the Σύνταγμα Ἀλφαβητικὸν of Matthew Blastar, p. 61.

From MS. Kormchay, the 'donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester,' p. 207, 252, 327, 379, 546.

Of the same emperor, Of the immunities of the clergy, and from the Chronicle of Constantine, p. 327.

The legislation of Justinian, as confirming and following the canons, p. 217.

The Ordinance of Vladimir, p. 217, 330, 379, 546.

The Ordinance of Yaroslaf, p. 332.

Yarliks of the Tatar Khans, p. 332.

Chapters from the Council of the Hundred Chapters of A.D. 1550 (Stogláv), p. 336, 344.

Perhaps the canon strangely quoted by Nicon as if from the Fifth Ecum. Council, Of doing violence to the clergy, seeking to judge ecclesiastical causes, or robbing the Church of her property, may be from the Stogláv Council, p. 347, 377.

And in like manner the passage quoted no less strangely, as if it were the gloss on canon ii. of the Apostles, 'The divine scriptures and the sacred canons and laws do not allow secular judges to judge priests,' &c. In this there are embodied extracts from the Novells of Justinian already treated of above, and from the Clementine Constitutions, p. 345, 346.

From the three chapters prefixed by Nicon to the Kormchay of 1653, and quoted in his Replies.

Ch. I. *An account why* [*the four patriarchs*] *cast out the Roman Popes from the divine Eastern Church, from the customary commemoration, and from the bond of charity, and ceased to seek from them their own confirmation.* [*Also of the assumption of the title of patriarch by the metropolitans of Bulgaria and Servia*] fol. 1 of K. of 1787. . . . 'But after the death of the holy Apostles it pleased the divinely-inspired fathers, their successors, that *instead of the two Princes Peter and Paul*, the Pope in Rome should take the apostolic chair: also that after these [*i.e.* the Popes] four patriarchs, *instead of the four Evangelists*, should have preëminence in the capital cities of C.P., Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, keeping concord as members of one body. . . . So then the supremest brother was the Pope of Rome, both because Rome was then the chief capital, *and* because the Pope was set there *instead of the two princes of the Apostles Peter and Paul*. And when any Pope died, another Pope, by the counsel of the four patriarchs, was raised to the apostolic chair. And in like manner when any patriarch died, his place was filled up by the counsel of the Pope of Rome and the other three patriarchs. And so, being governed well by these, our holy religion shone in the world.

'But the old serpent . . . found for his instruments certain men of fiery audacity but light-minded, like clouds without water carried about of winds, who, with sharpened tongues but confused minds, dared in the city of Rome itself to pervert the truth, and . . . to teach that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son; and to introduce certain other statutes not delivered by the holy Apostles and Fathers. And through them all the city of Rome, with many other countries and cities . . . was shaken off from piety, and fell with such a desperate fall that they can scarcely, I think, rise again: for they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God, and chose to walk after the distention of their own hearts. . . . And during many years they were admonished and exhorted by the four patriarchs to return to the tradition of the holy Apostles, and of the former holy Popes of Rome, Sylvester and the rest, and of the ecumenical patriarchs, and of the other holy fathers who were in the Seven Ecumenical and in the Local Councils: but they would not. And not only so, but they . . . drew others after them. And on this account the Roman Pope, with them that have followed him, has been and is cast out by the four patriarchs, or rather by the Ecumenical Church of God, from the customary commemoration and bond of charitable union; and falls from his primacy; so that thenceforth and now, the other patriarchs seek for nothing [*i.e.* no confirmation] from him, but have regarded and regard him as a heretic, and as having from a shepherd become a destroyer of the flock of Christ. But they themselves, adhering still to piety . . . taught and strengthened by God . . . have so continued many years . . . filling up vacancies caused by death by mutual counsel.[1] And when, for the sins [of men], the Greek empire was divided into a number of separate parts and subjugated by the heathen, and it became difficult on the death of any patriarch for the three others to send and make the usual communications, they made a rule that the patriarch in each region should be appointed [and confirmed] by his own metropolitans.[2]

'From C.P. there were appointed primates, *i.e.* metropolitans, for many places, as for Trebizond, for Thessalonica, for the Bulgarians and the Servians, for the Wallachians and the Arbanians, &c. And the Bulgarians, though they did not belong to the Greek empire, still, having received the faith from the Greeks, received also their metropolitans from the patriarch of C.P. And this so continued for a long time; but at length *the Greek bishops,* whether of covetousness and vainglory, or of extreme poverty, *no longer gave the episcopate gratuitously* . . . but they sent metropolitans to Bulgaria and to other parts for money. . . . And the Tsar of Bulgaria, seeing himself wronged, determined, *as being a Tsar,* to cause a patriarch to be consecrated in the city of Tirnovo by his own suffragan *bishops,* not departing from piety, but to escape from the arrogance and covetousness of the Greeks. And since then many metropolitans have been created by the patriarchs of Tirnovo; and at Tirnovo itself many of the primates have shone like the sun by their virtues, as our holy father Theophylact the commentator on the Gospels, and John, and Euthymius, and many others, whose relics are still uncorrupted at Tirnovo, and work many miracles of healing. Moreover, the province of Acrida (Justinianopolis), as belonging to Bulgaria, received its episcopate from the patriarchs of Tirnovo.

'But the Servians were established in the faith by the instructions of the son and heir of their king, the blessed Saba, named before his baptism Rastko. His father the king (krâl), Neman or Simeon, also renounced the good things of the world, and by his virtues, and by the prayers of his son the blessed archbishop Saba, obtained the grace of working miracles. Saba himself was so honoured by the Greek emperor and patriarch, that they gave him the privilege that the archbishop his successor in Servia should be elected and ordained by his own bishops; and so it was done. And though at times they suffered violence from the Greek bishops, still, under his successor the king Stephen the primates of Servia began regularly to be appointed by their own bishops; and in honour of the greatness of the kingdom they, like those of Bulgaria, were named patriarchs. For the name of patriarch is nothing else than 'father of fathers,' or more exactly 'head father,' the head and pastor of those under him, and chief or highest pontiff; for the Greek word πατὴρ is our 'father' (otietz), and ἀρχὴ is 'beginning;' and put together they make πατριάρχης, 'patriarch.' .. And not only in Servia, but also in the Iberias (Georgia), the metropolitans obtained authority, on account of the distance, to have their successors ordained by their own bishops, as is the custom to this day. And on account of these things there is no quarrel, but rather the orthodox faith shines [the more].

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[1] Compare what Nicon has written more or less from the same source, p. 228-230.

[2] Compare p. 230.

Ch. II. *Of the conversion and baptism of Russia; how, by the providence of God, the Russian nation received from the Eastern Church,* i.e. *from C.P., the Christian faith and all its order.* (Fol. 7 of Korm. of 1787). '. . . . St. Andrew [preached in various parts], of which we will mention only Byzantium, the spiritual chair of St. Andrew, where he founded a church, and ordained for it a pastor, the blessed apostle Stachys. However, he is himself the first pastor and patriarch of C.P. . . [St. Andrew] having the Greek lands for his lot, went about the coasts of the Black Sea, and then [*i.e.* from Kherson in the Crimea] by sea to Russia; and he ascended by the Dnieper to the site of Kieff, and there planted a cross on the heights, and prophesied of the city to be built there, and of the conversion of all Russia;[1] and thence he went to Novgorod, and there he converted and baptised many; and then, by way of the German Ocean, he went round even to Rome, and so returned to Greece, and was crucified in Achaia at Patras. This was the first providence of Christ's holy will, and the first conversion of the Russian nation, given as a testimony to the chair of C.P.

(*Of the metropolitan Michael.*) 'This was in A.D. 886, when the blessed Photius was patriarch, and Basil the Macedonian[2] emperor at C.P. Of him John Zonaras and the Russian chroniclers write thus: "The emperor Basil agreed to make peace with the Russian nation on condition that they should come to the knowledge of the Christian faith. And when they had promised to be baptised, he sent to them a bishop named Michael to be their metropolitan, and other bishops. However, they found it hard to change from their old customs to our Christian faith; and they said to the bishop: Unless we see a miracle from thee, we will never receive thy doctrine nor become Christians. Then he said: Ask what ye will. [So they asked that the book of the Gospel should be cast into the fire; which was done, and it was taken up from the ashes undamaged;] the barbarians thenceforth began to believe and to be baptised."

(*Of the baptism of the Grand Princess Olga.*) 'In A.M. 6463 (A.D. 955), in the time of the emperor John Tsimisces and the patriarch Basil Scomadrenus, the chroniclers relate that the Princess Olga, grandmother of Vladimir, being left a widow by her husband Igor, went to C.P., and was there baptised by the name of Helena; and after her return she drew many of the Russians to Christ (and she had brought back ecclesiastics with her). This was the third conversion.

(*The fourth conversion, viz. the baptism of Vladimir and of all Russia.*) '.. The Grand Prince Vladimir, grandson of St. Helena, or rather of the root of Augustus Cæsar of Rome, who ruled over the whole world, received the faith from C.P., and was baptised A.M. 6496 (A.D. 988) by the name of Basil; and he baptised all his sons and boyars, and all the Russian army of Kieff and of the other cities and their territories; and after his baptism he married the Princess Anna, and confirmed the peace with the Greek emperors, receiving from the Greeks teachers of the faith, viz. a metropolitan *Michael*,[1] bishops, priests, icons, books, and singers, and all the ritual of the Church. And thenceforth the metropolitans were ordained by the patriarch of C.P., ordaining themselves the other bishops.

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[1] See pp. 230 and 229.

[2] See p. 230.

'And when[2] the Turkish Tsar, alas, for our sins, had completely established his dominion over the Eastern Church and the four patriarchs, and they could not go for ordination to C.P., an agreement was come to, through one communication with the four patriarchs; and by their consent the Russian metropolitans also obtained from the patriarchs of *Palestine* authority that they should no longer go to C.P. for ordination [or institution], but should be elected and ordained to the metropolitan chair by their own bishops. And they determined that in honour the Russian metropolitan should be preferred before all other metropolitan sees; and that whenever there should be a council from all the world, he should sit above all the rest, next after the patr. of Jerusalem; and so it was to the time of the Tsar John IV. Basilievich and of his son Theodore Ivanovich.

(*Of the coming of metropolitans.*) 'To him there came from Jerusalem and from C.P., and from other places, many metropolitans, &c., seeking alms and help in their distresses . . . and he helped them to redeem holy places seized by the Turks, &c.

(*Of the coming of the patriarch Jeremiah.*) 'And there came to Moscow Jeremiah abp. of C.P. and ecum. patriarch,[3] and with him Hierotheus metr. of Monembasia, and Arsenius abp. of Elasson, and many others, archimandrites and hegoumens, for alms. . . . And so after a few days . . . by the zeal and counsel of the Autocrat, and of the ecum. patriarch Jeremiah, and of the other Greek and Russian bishops . . . in the Church of the Assumption, instead of the metropolitical, there is erected a patriarchal chair, and there is elected and raised to it the metropolitan of Moscow and all Great Russia, Job, Jan. 26, A.M. 7097 (A.D. 1589), who had before been bishop of Kolomna.[4]

'And from that time till now there has been a patriarchal chair at Moscow. The patr. Job erected in Russia four metropolitan chairs, viz. those of Novgorod, Kazan, Rostoff, and Sarai and Podonsk; and he made archbishops and bishops. . . . . And the patr. Jeremiah gave to the Russian chair authority, that on a vacancy, according to the canons of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers, a new patriarch should be elected and made by his own metropolitans *and bishops*. . . . And "for the sake of a perfect blessing let a communication," he said, "be made about this to the four patriarchs, if it be possible, *not* in the sense that the Russian patriarch is not [to be] raised to the chair without their election, but for the sake of perfect humility; or rather, and especially, that the Church of God may exhibit visibly the bond of love in Christ Jesus, that we may be, as he says, one member and one body, having for its head Christ Jesus."

'And the Great Autocrat sent a letter to the other patriarchs also . . . . "Though," he wrote, "for certain pressing reasons, and on account of the pressure of the barbarians, it should not be possible to have missives sent about this, let there be all the same, without prohibition, in Russia the election and creation of the patriarch by his own metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and by all the sacred synod [of the clergy], and let there be no doubt at all about this; but let him be appointed and raised to the most exalted patriarchal chair, and ordained by the senior metropolitan of those under him, as the patriarchs of C.P. &c. are elected and instituted and ordained." . . .

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[1] See p. 230. [2] Ibid.

[3] Compare p. 231, where this is referred to.

[4] Compare the documents referred to and partly written out by Nicon at p. 14, 46, 53, 231, and Blackmore's translation of Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russian Church*, the two appendices of the coming of the patriarch Jeremiah, and of the coming afterwards of the metr. of Tirnovo Dionysius, p. 15, 46, 232.

'And this exposition for a perfect attestation the [Tsar Theodore] and the patr. Jeremiah of C.P. and the newly-created patriarch Job of Great Russia, with the joint sacred synod and with the Tsar's Council (Sovietom), ordered to be written on paper with gold and purple colours, and to be sealed with the seals of the Tsar and of all the bishops, to be kept in the Tsar's archives, that the Russian Church might have a conciliar exposition of the appointment of the patriarch, and [might appoint them] in time to come unchangeably according to this pattern and ordinance so long as it may please God. And this writing on paper, which is preserved to this day in the treasury in the Catholic and Apostolic Church, is thus written:

"By the blessing, &c. [twelve folio pages besides the fifty-two signatures] . . . there came to us the patr. Jeremiah, &c.; I consulted with the Tsaritsa, and told my thought to the patr. Jeremiah: Since we received the faith from C.P., and our primates the new thaumaturges Peter, Alexis, and Jonah, &c. were appointed thence, and thou, Jeremiah, holdest by succession that chair, we wish thee, &c. . . . . And the patr. Jeremiah thanked God and praised the thought . . . And he spake thus: O religious Tsar . . . . in truth the Holy Spirit abides in thee; and such a thought as this, coming from God, will rightly be carried into effect by thee: it is for our humility and for all the sacred synod to complete this great work.

"For since Old Rome has fallen by the *Apollinarian heresy*, and New Rome, C.P., is under the dominion of the godless Turks with the descendants of the Hagarenes, but thy great Russian empire, a *third Rome*, has in piety surpassed all, and all orthodoxy is [now] concentrated in thy single empire, and thou alone under heaven art named a Christian Tsar throughout all the universe, among all Christians . . . by the providence of God, &c. . . . and by thy imperial prayer to God and by thy imperial counsel this great work may be completed. And . . . . the patr. Jeremiah . . . *according to the canons of the holy Apostles and holy Fathers*, and by counsel of all the metropolitans, &c. . . . *elected* and made patriarch . . . . the most rev. Job metr. of all Russia. And then . . . . for confirmation, for the sake of perfect piety . . . . Jeremiah patr. of C.P. and Job patr. of Moscow and all Russia, with all the metropolitans, &c. [Greeks and Russians], consulted together, and synodically decreed that there should be in the Russian empire four metropolitans; in the grand principality of Novgorod, in the capital cities of Kazan and Astrachan, in the grand principality of the city of Rostoff, and [to act as a vicar-bishop] near the capital city of Moscow at Kroutitz, and six archbishops, and eight bishops. Present in all these acts, besides the Tsar were the patriarchs Jeremiah and Job, followed by twelve names in all of bishops enumerated in the document. And these, with the archimandrites and hegoumens and all the sacred synod, synodically decreed that in future years also by the will of [the Tsar Theodore Ivan.] and the blessing of the patr. Jeremiah of C.P. there shall be elected [on occasion of a vacancy] . . . a patriarch: that the patriarch, after his appointment, shall write and notify it to the patr. of C.P. for his consent, and the patr. of C.P. in like manner shall write and notify his own appointment to the patr. of Moscow; but all the Russian metropolitans &c. shall be appointed &c. by the grace of the Holy Ghost with the consent of the [Tsar Theodore] and by election of all the sacred synod by the m. h. patriarch of Moscow. And of all this the Tsar and the patriarchs Jeremiah and Job and the metropolitans &c. decreed that it be so observed firmly and unchangeably for ever. And for this statute we [the Tsar &c. with the patr. Jeremiah &c. and the patr. Job &c. with the metropolitans &c.] have ordered this letter to be written for a confirmation for ever. And for the greater security we have ordered that there be affixed to this letter our imperial seal. But the patriarchs also and all the bishops affixed their seals and subscribed with their hands . . . . at Moscow, A.M. 7097, the second of the Indiction in the year of our reign vi., but of our imperial kingdoms (Tsarstv) of Russia xliii., of Kazan xxxvii., of Astrachan xxxv., in the month of May." [Then follow the subscriptions[1] of xiij. bishops and xxxix. archimandrites and hegoumens.]

'And after this the Tsar gave abundant alms to the patr. Jeremiah and to them that had come with him, and let them return to their own countries.'

Then follows a subtitle, '*Of the arrival of the patr. Jeremiah at C.P.*;' and another Act, *i.e.* Letter of Institution, 'Jeremiah,' &c.; the same that is referred to by Nicon at p. 231, 232, and by Jeremiah himself at p. 53, with the subscriptions of two other patriarchs, viz. *Joachim* of Alexandria and Sophronius of Jerusalem, and lxxix. other bishops. The act is dated A.M. 7098, May 8 (A.D. 1590). It is in the name of the patr. Jeremiah himself, who recites in it how the Tsar had desired him 'to make an archbishop of Moscow, and name him also patriarch . . . *with synodical and canonical deliberation:* wherefore, our humility seeing the extent . . . of his empire, and that he is at this day the only great Tsar upon earth who is also orthodox, judged it not proper to disregard his request, but accepted his thought, and appointed as patriarch of Moscow the lord (hospodin) Job, by the indication and grace of the All-holy Spirit; and we gave him a patriarchal letter, a chrysobulla, to the effect that he the same Job should be a fifth patr., and . . . for ever. This we did there on the spot. But when we had returned to C.P., and had made known what had taken place at Moscow, . . . the other m. h. patriarchs, of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, consented, and approved this; and it seemed to them acceptable and reasonable, and necessary and convenient. And, behold, now again our humility, with these patriarchs and with this ecumenical synod, with one mind and consent and will in the Holy Ghost, write and declare by this present synodal letter [as follows]: "First, we ratify and confirm the appointment made on the spot at Moscow and the patriarchal title of the afore-named patriarch the lord Job: next, we confirm also the patriarchal chrysobulla given to him, in which all relating to this matter was written at length, declaring synodically that the newly-created patriarch of Moscow, the lord Job, is to be named patriarch, and to be reckoned with the other patriarchs, and to have his place and commemoration after the patr. of Jerusalem, being bound [for his part] to commemorate the names of ourselves and of the rest. And he is to treat and regard as his chief (nachalo, ἀρχὴν) the apostolical chair of C.P., as do also the other patriarchs. And this benefit and honour and name of the patriarch, now given to Kyr Job patriarch of Moscow, we decree and declare to be publicly acknowledged and unchangeable, not only for him, but we also decree that such as shall be appointed after him primates of the synod of Moscow are to be named patriarchs, after the rule and precedent made and begun in the case of this patriarch of Moscow Kyr Job, the brother beloved in the Holy Ghost and fellow minister of our humility. For the which end also this synodal roll is written for a perpetual confirmation in the year 7098, May 8 (A.D. 1590).''

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[1] See p. 15 and 231.

Then follow the signatures of Jeremiah himself, the patriarchs *Joachim* of Alexandria and Sophronius of Jerusalem, and lxxix. other bishops.

The patriarch of Antioch, alluded to above as also assenting, seems to have been dead or dying at the date of this act: and soon afterwards *Meletius* having become patr. of Alexandria, and having expostulated with Jeremiah for having acted of himself alone, this led to a fresh application and special mission from the Tsar; and Meletius having been persuaded to take the lead in a fresh synod, the whole subject of the institution of a patriarchal chair at Moscow was treated *de novo*, as if nothing had yet been done: only Jeremiah himself afterwards alludes (p. 53) to his having *acted* in this matter by anticipation, and having also made a *declaration* concerning the same *in a writing* to the Tsar. And the synod then *reënacted* unchangeably the same. The account of this later synod and its act was inserted by Nicon in the Skrijal which he published in 1655, and is copied out from thence at p. 46-53 of his Replies.

Ch. III. *An account of the appointment of the Great Hossoudar the most rev. Philaret Nikitich metr. of Rostoff* [*father of the Tsar Michael Theodorovich*] *to be patriarch of Moscow*, A.M. 7127, *June* 24 (A.D. 1619), fol. 25 of K. of 1787, referred to by Nicon as showing that Philaret was then re-ordained [which it does, Theophanes using the word 'roukopolojen' both of him and of the first patr. Job] at p. 15; and at p. 233, 234 Nicon copies out much of the exhortation addressed to the Tsar Michael and to the boyars respecting their duties.

'Theophanes, by the mercy of God patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and all Palestine: . . . I testify by this my writing in truth . . . When I was at Jerusalem with my predecessor the patr. Sophronius . . . I saw in the East and South the desolation of the holy churches of God caused by the pagan *Hagarenes*, and how the *orthodox* Christians of the *holy Greek law* suffered great violence, threatening them with destruction; and there is no comfort from any quarter; only the fame of the orthodox Christian Tsar of Russia, as he is the only sovereign in the universe who is a keeper of the undefiled faith of Christ. But for the rest, though some of them are Christians in name, yet they have gone away far from the truth, and have been more bitter persecutors of the orthodox faith than even the accursed Turks; and there is no protection in those countries; and especially in the holy city of Jerusalem. . . . Only their hearts were gladdened with hope in the religious . . . Russian Tsars . . . and they expect that perhaps it may please God by them to give liberty and deliverance from oppression to the Greeks who are held in bondage. But no small grief was it to the Christians in those parts to hear that that holy Russian Empire was suffering great calamities and straits from the neighbouring countries, on which account [the fathers there made many prayers for it] and for this cause it pleased them to *send* me, their brother and fellow minister, that I might see the face of the Tsar and seek his aid for our needs, for the redemption of our brethren who are in slavery under the accursed Turks, &c. So I gladly set forth, and it is now the third year since I left our country, and [after many sufferings and hardships, at last] reached Russia; but found it still unsettled and threatened by the enemy of man and his servants. However, God . . . vouchsafed me to reach Moscow . . . and the holy *Apostolic* church of the Russian chair . . . [then also to see the face of the Tsar Michael, and to kiss his hand], on whom when I looked as upon the Greek emperors of old time, my spirit rejoiced greatly. . . . However, one thing remained that was painful to see not only for me but for our . . . Tsar himself, viz. that the holy Apostolic Church was still without a pastor [as it had been for nine years past, waiting for the liberation of Philaret, who was detained a prisoner in Poland.' Then he relates his liberation, mentioning how he had been sent as ambassador and had been unjustly detained:

also that he was maternal uncle to the former Tsar Theodore Ivanovich, and that he had been the first boyar of the council under the same Tsar, and before under his father, and that afterwards he was made metr. of Rostoff. He describes how all went out to meet him, and how he, Theophanes, at the head of all, entreated him to accept the chair and engaged the Tsar too to persuade him]. 'And by the grace of God we found him (the Tsar) compliant to our humility. And for a true attestation and confirmation of the Russian patriarchate we found in the treasury of the cathedral church a letter of the patr. of C.P. Jeremiah, who when he was at Moscow in the time of the Tsar Theodore did a memorable act by consecrating and *ordaining with imposition of hands* the first patriarch for that capital city; and afterwards . . . they sent by Dionysius metr. of Tirnovo . . . a very important document . . . signed by the *four* patriarchs and other bishops, in all lxxxiii.' And he recites its contents. Then he relates how, June 24, he raised Philaret to the patriarchal chair . . . 'and by the grace given us of the Holy Ghost *ordained* him *with imposition of hands*, and consecrated and instituted him with a public admonition [both to him and to the Tsar his son and to the boyars and people, all which is repeated at length, and the same is partly copied out by Nicon; and, after begging his prayers for himself, he continues]: and we, unworthy as we are, not only in your holy Russian empire, with all the fathers of the clergy, but also in our own country, and especially at the sepulchre of our Lord . . . are bound to pray unceasingly for your religious son the Tsar Michael . . . and for your high pontificate . . . and that it may please God to subdue the enemies of our holy faith under the feet of your religious Christian Tsar Michael Theod., so that he alone may reign over all the universe, as a true Christian Tsar and Lord and Autocrat, and that God may unite into one his wasted and much-injured empire, and multiply and extend it from sea to sea, and from the rivers even to the ends of the world; and may his enemies lick the dust, and may he that blesses him be blessed, and he that curses him be cursed . . . And I pray that your religious empire may last for many years. And since I have understood from the written document of the m. h. Jeremiah patr. of C.P. and the other patriarchs, &c., that they gave authority &c., I also give the same from generation to generation, and by no means derogate from it. Rather, I even entreat that this may be observed unchangeably even to the end of the world; and that the patriarch himself appoint the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops and other ecclesiastics under him of the Russian province, as the Church has received by apostolic tradition and by the canons of the holy fathers. And for the greater confirmation of the patriarch Philaret Nikitich now appointed by us, and of the rest who shall be after him, I the humble Theophanes patriarch &c. . . . and the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops &c. have determined to write this, and to subscribe it with our hands, and to confirm it by our seals . . . Amen. Written in Moscow A.M. 7127, June.'

After this follow short notices of the ordination, in accordance with the above documents, of

ii. The patriarch Hermogenes, previously metr. of Kazan, A.M. 7114:

iv. The patr. Joasaph, previously abp. of Pskoff, Feb. 6, A.M. 7142:

v. The patr. Joseph, previously archimandrite of the Simonoff, March 27, A.M. 7150; and lastly of

vi. The patr. Nicon, previously metr. of Great Novgorod, July 25, A.M. 7160.

All these were, by common counsel of the spiritual unity in the governance of the Holy Ghost, *ordained with imposition of hands* by their own metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and all the sacred synod. And so it is to be done in all future years.

Lastly there is a notice that 'This account of the establishment in Great Russia, in the catholic apostolic church, *i. e.* in the Cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow, of a patriarchal chair, is printed in the book of the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers by the blessing of the Great Hospodin the m. h. Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch of Moscow and of all Great Russia, A.M. 7161, June 3.'

The above three chapters fill thirty-seven leaves of vol. I. of the Kormchay of 1787, and are followed by another separate paging of fifty-five leaves, containing an account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils; another account of all the Councils Ecumenical and Local; and then the two Prefaces of Photius to his two editions of the Nomocanon, and the translation of his XIV. titles with their sub-titles, but without the *Κείμενα.* After all this a notice on one leaf, and then with a separate paging the full collection of the canons 'with the gloss of Aristin.'

At the end of Part II. of the Kormchay there is appended after section LXX. 'An account of this book called the Kormchay;' and an 'Exhortation to the dear reader.'

Of this the commencement may possibly have been already written (as B. Rosenkampf says it was) under the patriarch Joseph; but all the rest, the Exhortation, is a tissue of texts from the Scripture, put together with the force and earnestness characteristic of Nicon. The whole extends from fol. 320 of the ed. of 1787 to fol. 325. On fol. 320 overl. 'To see this rudder-book now, in these last times of the world, neglected and trampled under foot . . . the wisely-steering steersman and large-minded craftsman, who holds the throne of Great Russia [*i.e.* the Tsar Alexis], endured not, but . . . like a second Moses with Aaron [*i.e.* with the m. h. Joseph patriarch, &c.] having first sought from God and written [it] on the tables of his own heart, afterwards published it also by typography, for the cutting off of malice. For seeing this ship of Christ's Church . . . buffeted by the waves of the enemy, and wasted mercilessly by wolves not sparing the flock—I mean especially the Papists, who are with truth named wolves—so that I think St. Paul also hinted at them, when he said to the Ephesians, "For I know," &c. (Acts xx. 29). For these, preaching perverse things, have turned many aside after them, and depart far from God, and from the four ecumenical patriarchs, impugning the divine doctrines, and especially these canons of the holy Fathers; not erring merely in any lesser point of faith, but in that which is the very head of all the other traditions, saying that the Holy Ghost proceeds also from the Son, and celebrating the unbloody sacrifice in the old azymes which have been annulled by Christ: and many other bad things have through them sprung up; and many have been made to drink of the wine of their fornication, *i.e.* of their doctrine, as in the Apocalypse the Divine writes, speaking thus: And one of the seven angels having the seven vials came, and said to me, Come, and I will show thee the judgment of the great whore, who sits upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed adultery, and they that live on the earth have made themselves drunk with the wine of her fornication. . . . And I intend to allude in a lesser degree to our own people also, *who buy ordination for money.* . . . Therefore, remembering those words of the prophet: The zeal of thine house has even eaten me,—he has given to her [to the Church] . . . this book . . . [to help the pastors to steer] in this fierce tempest of them that persecute the Church, viz. of these Papists and new Simoniacs. . . .'

And at the end there is a notice that 'this book of the Kormchay, in Greek Νομοκανὼν, in Slavonic *Zakona-pravilo,* was begun to be printed by command of [the Tsar Alexis], in pursuance of the counsel and with the blessing of [the patr. Joseph], in A.M. 7158, Nov. 7 (A.D. 1649) . . . and that [to obviate all doubt or dispute] many translations were collected [and collated] for a testimony to the printed work, among which and above all was the testimony given to this book by a Greek Kormchay of ancient date, belonging to the m. b. Paisius, patriarch of Jerusalem, the same patriarch Paisius being then at Moscow. But in the interpretations of the holy canons, all the translations agree together. And when the whole was printed, they [the patr. Nicon, with his sons and fellow ministers, the metropolitans, &c.] corrected, by common consent, all the errors found in it [*i.e.* in the synod of A.D. 1653] : and so [by command &c. and by the blessing &c.] 1,200 copies of it have been sent to the churches, for the instruction and correction of the clergy, and for the concord and good union of the Church, which keeps the tradition of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, and of the Seven Holy Ecumenical and the other Local Councils, A.M. 7161, June 15 (A.D. 1653).'

Then, paged separately,

I. *Of the first Christian Emperor, the holy and blessed and apostle-like Emperor Constantine the Great ; his Imperial Ordinance done and given to the Holy Catholic (Sobornicy) and Apostolic Church.*

'In the name' &c. [then follows the whole legend, with the prescription of the bath of infants' blood, the vision of the Apostles, &c. before coming to the words, 'On the first day,' &c. from which Nicon begins to copy out at p. 207, &c.]

The whole extends from fol. 1 of the separate paging to fol. 10. Then another appendix,

II. *Of the Roman falling-away ; how they fell away from the Orthodox faith and from the Holy Eastern Church.*

'In the time of the Emperor Constantine and his mother Irene, the Pope at Rome was Hadrian, who was in the Seventh Ecum. Council. After him Leo. Of him the relations of Hadrian were jealous, and drove him from the chair and from Rome. He sent to C.P. for help, but obtained none, there being discord at C.P. between the emperor and his mother, besides an invasion of barbarians. So the Pope went to the Franks, to their king ('regou') Karl ; and Karl helped him with a high hand, and restored the Pope to Rome, and to his chair. And having consulted with the Roman bishops and princes . . . that the empire might again begin from Rome, or of gratitude to Karl, he called to him the prince Karl, and, according to the Greek order, crowned him to the empire in Rome ; but with a mixture from the Jewish law, I know not with what thought, he anointed him from head to foot with chrism. Hereby the original bond between the cities was broken ; between the mother and the daughter there came a sword, severing and cutting with ruthless blade the fair damsel New Rome, *i.e.* C.P., from Old Rome. Karl himself, by his father and grandfather, was a Christian, and respected the laws of Christ ; but he brought with him priests and teachers who held secretly the Apollinarian heresy, and those of Macedonius, and of Severus, and of Dioscorus, and of Origen, and of Eutyches ; and they began to pervert the Lord's people, and to teach their heresies, not only secretly, but openly, as being protected by the emperor, saying that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son, and that it was right to celebrate in azymes, and teaching many other heresies. And Pope Leo, seeing God's people perishing, as they took a liking to these doctrines, and not having at Rome any wise teachers to refute and expel such bad and heretical doctrine, desired to send to C.P. for some, but could not, because the Emperor Theophilus then reigning was an iconoclast. So he sent to Jerusalem, to the patriarch Thomas, to send him learned men to refute and expel that heresy. The patriarch chose and sent [four, who went first] to C.P. to refute the Emperor Theophilus, who tortured two of them to death, and mutilated and branded on the face with iambic verses the other two, and sent them into exile, where one presently died. So none of them could reach Rome. And Pope Leo, seeing God's people perishing through those heretics of Karl, and no help from any quarter, was at a loss what to do. So he engraved on tablets the confession of the orthodox faith, and set them upon the wall in the church, that all who went in should say and confess that the Son is begotten of the Father, and that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, &c. After the death of Leo, Benedict [Benedict III., A.D. 855] became Pope, a Latin by birth, but knowing Greek as well as Latin: and he wrote in both languages the confession of the orthodox faith, *i.e.* the Creed: I believe in one God &c., and bade all Christians so to say it, both Greeks and Latins, for the confutation of the aforesaid heretics, and not to listen to their deceit. Also he wrote to the four patriarchs . . . desiring them after his death not to receive the names of any popes to be commemorated in the Church till they make a written confession of their belief, because, so he said, there has rooted itself in Rome a pernicious heresy, and all are going to destruction, regarding the Holy Ghost after a servile manner, and saying that he proceeds from the Father and from the Son; and they celebrate in azymes, and disseminate many other pernicious heresies. After Benedict, the first pope was *Hadrian* [Nicholas I.]; the second, *Leo* [Hadrian II.], [A.D. 847]; the third, Stephen [IV. A.D. 816]; the fourth, Paschal [I. A.D. 817]; the fifth, Eugenius [II. A.D. 824]; the sixth, Valentinus [A.D. 827]; the seventh, Gregory [IV. A.D. 827]; the eighth, Sergius [A.D. 844]; the ninth, Leo [IV. A.D. 847]; the tenth, John [VIII. A.D. 872] (genus Angelicum); the eleventh, Benedict [III. A.D. 855]; the twelfth, Nicholas [A.D. 858] (at that time at C.P. Photius was patriarch, in the reign of Basil the Macedonian); the thirteenth, Hadrian [II. A.D. 867]; the fourteenth, John [VIII. A.D. 872]; the fifteenth, Martin [Marinus, A.D. 882]; the sixteenth, Hadrian [III. A.D. 884]; the seventeenth, Stephen [VI. A.D. 885]. All these were orthodox, and of one mind with the four ecum. patriarchs.'

'But after Stephen, in the days of the Emperor Leo the Philosopher the son of Basil, there was made Pope at Rome Formosus [A.D. 891], who came from Gaul [Γαλλ], and held the Apollinarian heresy, and the Macedonian, and that of Origen, and the other heresies secretly held by those Carlovingian heretics. And the orthodox people, not discerning in him his heresy, made him Pope. He wrote a confession of the orthodox faith deceitfully, and sent it to the four patriarchs, feigning himself orthodox. But when they had made [*i.e.* confirmed] him Pope, he began to teach his heresies to God's people, saying that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son, and he bade them celebrate in azymes . . . according to the Jewish law, or like the impious *Apollinaris*, to make in the Liturgy a *dead* body. Our saying is, that what has not fermented has not risen, and what is without salt is without mind. Also he taught another strange doctrine, what is called in the Roman tongue Purgatorium, *i.e.* purifying fire, which he took from the heresiarch Origen. And he bade teach the people in the streets that *sinful* souls are purified by a purifying fire, and pass from torments to Paradise, and to the quoir of the just; forgetting the Lord's parable of Dives and Lazarus, and the great gulf which Abraham says cannot be passed. And so the Latins all easily received the pernicious doctrine of Formosus, and were severed from the Greek empire and from the four patriarchs.

But after this first Pope Formosus, who was the heresiarch, the second Pope was Boniface [VI. A.D. 896]; the third, Romanus [A.D. 897]; the fourth, *Stephen;* the fifth, Theodore [II. A.D. 898]; the sixth, John [IX. A.D. 898]; the seventh, Benedict [IV. A.D. 900]; the eighth, Leo [V. A.D. 903]; the ninth, Christopher [A.D. 903], who were of one mind with the heretic Pope Formosus; and they wrote to the four patriarchs, and laid down a rule of this kind, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son, and that it is right to celebrate in azymes, together with many other heresies, like Pope Formosus. Now from the Seventh Ecumenical Council to Pope Christopher there were 256 years [A.D. 787 +256=1043]. But the patriarchs did not receive them on their appointment to the chair. But in the reign of Basil, called Bulgaroctonus, the patriarch of C.P. was Sergius. In the year 6552 (A.D. 1044) he, by a letter, made trial of the Pope of Rome [*i.e.* Christopher, who sat only a few months in A.D. 903, an anachronism of 140 years], by the counsel of the other three patriarchs, from the divine Scripture, to see if he would return to the original orthodoxy. But he fixed himself to abide in his error, and refused to return. Thus they were all cast out from the Greek *empire*, and from the four patriarchs of orthodoxy, and took to themselves Rome, and became mortal enemies of the Greeks, and persecutors of all orthodox Christians; and they drew away many other countries and cities to their error, of which we will mention some. The Paeonians or Hungarians saw how in Russia, from being heathens, they had received holy baptism; and three of their princes went to C.P. and were baptised there, and returned to their own country; but the Greek bishops [who were sent] did not succeed in getting thither [owing to an attack of the barbarians upon C.P.], so as to instruct them, and give them the divine Scripture, since the Hungarians had then no books in their own language. And one of these princes, named Stephen, presently died, after having done many good works. But the Latins, seeing that the Greeks were powerless, and having come from Rome to the Hungarians, deceived them, and drew them over to their heresy. So also did they with the peoples near them—the Oudi and Pidi and Niemtsi (Germans), and the Poliani and the Liachi (Poles), and the Chékhi (Bohemians), and other peoples lying towards Rome—and drew them over to their Latin error. But the patriarch Sergius and the other ecumenical patriarchs not only did not make commemoration of the Roman Pope in the church before the rest, but they cast them out, and delivered them over to anathema. And in the reign of the Greek Emperor Michael the Paphlagonian, the patriarch in C.P. was Kyr Lari (Cerularius). He likewise anathematised the Latins, who had become manifest heretics, as insane and senseless, and as not knowing discernment, but as lifted up with pride by their own superstitious arrogance, and in many things having fallen away from the grace of God. After that *Peter the Fuller* obtained the Roman chair; and this lawless wretch altogether cast off the Christian faith, and troubled all Italy, and disseminated many pernicious heresies. He bade priests take seven wives apiece, and of concubines as many as they pleased, without treating it as a sin; and he bade them play on organs and drums and musical instruments in the churches; and that every man, and even women, should shave the beard and moustaches and breast. And he bade them give absolution without penances and without repentance, and to forgive sins for years to come, upon his concession (indulgence?). Also he changed the Synaxaria—that is, the daily commemoration of the saints, and the festivals—to another fashion. And he allowed men to fast on the Sabbath, after the way of the Jews; and he allowed incestuous marriages, and to eat everything unclean, even with dogs from the same dish. And many other abominations *that lawless man* disseminated and introduced—schisms and unseemly rules, and indecorum and degradation in the Church of Christ. On account of all these things, and on account of the many heresies that were before these things, the Latins were cast out from the Church, and delivered to anathema. And in the time of Constantine Monomachus the patriarch of C.P., Michael, assembled a council by advice of the emperor, and in the same way delivered over the Pope of Rome and all his heretics to anathema. And let them be anathema and bound.

'The Popes repeatedly set up an emperor from the Latins at Rome; but these emperors never nor in any wise were willing to obey him [the Pope of the time being]. But the Pope, having consulted with the Romans for such a plan, sent to Britain to the prince of the Allemains, that is of the Niemtsi (the Germans), to humble them. For the island of Britain had already in the time of Constantine received holy baptism; but having no books in their own tongue, they had books in Latin; and these were always enemies of the Romans. So the Pope condescended to them and made terms with them; and having fixed them by many strong oaths that the Allemains should for ever keep peace with the Romans, and believe one and the same faith, for that the Pope promised them to make an emperor in Britain. And they, for the sake of the imperial title, and in order to have books in the Latin tongue, made peace with the Romans. And the Pope in all ways deceived them by his doctrine, and drew them into all his heresy; and he invited their prince to Rome, with all his captains, and made him emperor, and wrote a statute that the Pope should be appointed from the Latins in Rome, while in Britain there should be an emperor from the Allemains instead of the Greek Emperor. Also in the chief cities, instead of the four orthodox patriarchs, he appointed four patriarchs of his own, whom they call cardinals. And so they completely and absolutely departed from the orthodox faith, and became enemies to the Greeks and to the orthodox faith, and to the holy Catholic Church.

QUOTATIONS FROM DIFFERENT WRITERS.

St. Justin Martyr, in the gloss on the Apocalypse, p. 414. St. Hippolytus bishop of Porto, of Antichrist, p. 72. Clement, quoted by Paisius, p. 31, 398. Athanasius, p. 282, 305, 585. Ambrose, p. 8, 9, 31. Leo the Great, p. 8, 9, 318. Basil, p. 29, 40, 55, 272, 281, 307. Gregory of Nazianzum, surnamed Theologus, p. 22, 38, 92, 114, 281, 282, 305-307, 392-398. John Chrysostom, p. 18, 29, 40, 275, 305, 321, 527. Life of St. John Chrysostom, p. 312. St. John Climax, p. 122. St. Ephrem Syrus, p. 73. Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome, surnamed Dialogus, p. 418. St. Andrew, hom. ix. on Revl. p. 73. St. John Damascene, p. 79. St. Methodius, quoted, but erroneously, as Methodius bishop of Patara, who was martyred A.D. 311; see Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. v. p. 258: 'Apocalypsis, sive Revelationes, Methodii haud dubie junioris sunt, ac diserte patriarchæ Constantinopolitano hujus nominis tribuuntur in codice Hottingeri. . . . In cod. Vindob. *τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου Πατάρων καὶ μάρτυρος περὶ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων παρατάξεως, καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς παντελοῦς ἐκτόξεως καὶ ἀφανισμοῦ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας·* quoted by Nicon, p. 18, 72, 126, 409, 412, 417, 557. Athanasius [junior], *πρὸς Ἀντίοχον Δοῦκαν*, sive *ἄρχοντα*, inter opera St. Athanasii supposita, tom. iii. p. 218. Ejusdem Responsiones ad Quæstiones cxxxvi. (see Fabric., Bibl. Græc.); quoted by Nicon (who had printed the whole document in his Skrijal of 1655), p. 82. Gregorius Sinaita, on the meaning of the ecclesiastical vestments, p. 181, 184. St. Nicon of the Black Mountain (A.D. 1060). Besides other quotations (which are to be seen in sect. LXX. of the printed Kormchay, for which see above at p. 8, 48, 378), Nicon quotes his epistle to the Prince N. and the Princess Marina against sacrilege, p. 120. St. Germanus, patr. of C.P., mentioned by Streshneff, p. 78. The book entitled Margarita, or the Pearl, p. 186. History of a certain Jew, p. 227.

ANALYTICAL INDEX.

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spoliation of Church property, p. 509-548. It enacts unequal penalties, p. 475. It imposes the taking of oaths, &c. p. 510-533. It imposes penalties to deter the clergy from rebuking the vices of the great, p. 487, 488. All the boyars at Nicon's election to the patriarchate swore, together with the Tsar, to obey him in spiritual matters, p. 200, 583. All took his blessing as if he were still patriarch, when he came to Moscow in A.D. 1659, p. 101, 105, 597. Of innovating legislators who prefer the praise of men to the glory of God, p. 172. They say to the Tsar before his face, Thou art a god upon earth; and he, though admonished, forbids them not, p. 178, 391, 400, 401. They urge the Tsar to act against Nicon, p. 122, 134, 258. Simeon Streshneff makes his dog mimic the patriarch blessing, and the Tsar looks on, p. 16. They rage madly against the Church, and against the priesthood, p. 322, 499. They say, 'We need no patriarch: the Tsar alone is great; and he has monks in plenty: the metropolitan of Kroutitz [acting under the Tsar] does just as well,' p. 299. 'The Tsar,' they say, 'committed to Nicon the supervision of all ecclesiastical causes, and gave him the same privileges which Constantine gave to the Pope of Rome Sylvester, and he can take them back, p. 189, 207, 256, 270, 285. 'Nicon was nobody: the Tsar promoted him; and now he is ungrateful,' p. 206. 'We have churches of our own, and need not that of his New Jerusalem,' p. 588. They invent all sorts of calumnies, p. 515. They seek out and put forward all sorts of people to be accusers; even setting free the leaders of the Raskolniks (whom Nicon had caused to be imprisoned), and bidding them accuse him, p. 116. They accuse him of pride, covetousness, vanity, innovation, cruelty, robbery, meddling with state affairs, &c. p. 41. Of being puffed up with the privileges granted to him by the Tsar, p. 257. Of having a wicked tongue, p. 595. Of inveighing against the Tsar, because he established the Monastery Court, and put laymen to judge in it, and because he appoints archimandrites, &c. p. 292. They say that he reviles the Tsar, and so deserves to be capitally punished, p. 288. They accuse him of saying that there is little of Christianity in the Tsar; and that the Tsar is not a Christian, p. 144, 595. They say, Nicon calls us all Jews, not Christians; and the Tsar he calls a tyrant, persecutor, and plunderer, p. 601, 604. They make attacks on the properties of his monasteries, and seek in the Tsar's name to force him and his monks to plead before them, p. 586-588. They put to the question, imprison, and exile those who visit him, or show religious sympathy for him, p. 116, 200, 583. They would confine him to his cell, p. 595, 601. They even threaten his life, and say that the Tsar is half inclined to put an end to him; and that whenever the Tsar gives the word they are ready without any misgivings, p. 115, 117, 144, 598, 599. They forbid him to give his hand to kiss, p. 597; or to wear episcopal vestments, p. 599, 601; or to celebrate or ordain, p. 599, 601. They drag his clerks before them, and examine them with violence, p. 601. They confine Nicon himself to his cell, p. 603. And set a guard about his monastery, p. 602. Laymen of vicious lives and excommunicate accuse him to a vagabond Greek bishop, excommunicated by his own patriarch, and apart from that deposed and excommunicate on other grounds by the canons, and ask of him leading questions, which he answers in the sense agreed upon between them, p. 1-12, and passim. And now they have sent a secret mission by suborned agents to deal with the Eastern patriarchs against him (Jan. A.D. 1664), p. 46.

V. *Of the Bishops.* Lawless bishops, with the princes and boyars, stand by the Tsar, and have gathered themselves together against the Lord and his Christ, p. 322, 603. The Russian Church has been *over-fed;* therefore it is that the Tsar has fallen in love with her; and therefore it is that she has been ready to commit adultery, p. 142, 143. Bishops cannot judge their own metropolitan, still less their patriarch, p. 38, 42, 52, 56, 59, 61, 63, 101, 103, 136-138, 140, 201, 549, 584, 601, 603. Bishops who take or hold any church, or who act in any way contrary to the canons by command or by aid of secular rulers, are deposed, p. 102, 103, 110, 111, 135, 138, 139, 159, 165, 192, 207, 303, 500, 501, 554, 601. Pitirim metropolitan of Kroutitz has been administering the patriarchate now for six years (A.D. 1658-1664) only by order of the Tsar, p. 110, 111, 154-172, 176, 240, 501, 502, 507-510, 569. He and all the Russian bishops had sworn to obey the canons, and to obey Nicon as their patriarch, p. 136, 137, 138, 140. They have all foresworn themselves, p. 30, 136, 138, 140, 152. And for this they are all deposed by the canons, p. 138, 500, 501, 507. Also for accepting secular judges, p. 500, 501, 601. Also for receiving and acting with Paisius Ligarides metr. of Gaza, p. 550, 552, 581, 591, 601. Also for acting by command only of the Tsar, p. 102, &c. as above. All ordained by such are, by the canons, unordained; and all baptised by them are unbaptised, p. 500, 501. Unless Pitirim and all taking part with him be cut off, the *whole body* must perish, p. 408, 500, 510, 569. Of Paisius Ligarides, received at Moscow contrary to the canons, and even made by the Tsar his chief instrument and president in the synod of the clergy, p. 2-12, 23, 31, 38, 46, 57, 98, 145 (where he is called 'a new Luther'), 149, 150, 151, 237, 240, 550, 551, 586, 595.

VI. *Of the Tsar Alexis.* Born March 9, A.D. 1629; ascended the throne July 13, 1645, p. 354. Oath or vow of the Tsar Alexis Mich. on his baptism, p. 571, 573. Oath at his coronation in 1645, p. 255, 256, 581. His birthday in Lent, p. 399. In his twentieth year, the third of his reign (A.D. 1648), he commissions the Prince Nikita Odoefsky and others to draw up a new code of laws, p. 354. He promotes Nicon, seeking then only to follow the will of God, and to cooperate with the grace of the Holy Ghost [*i.e.* he causes him to be made archimandrite of the Novospass in 1646, and metropolitan of Novgorod in 1648], p. 206. At Nicon's request, he legalises the foundation of the Iversky monastery, p. 262. And sends Nicon to translate from the Solovetsky monastery to Moscow the relics of the metr. St. Philip, murdered by the Tsar John IV. Basilievich, p. 40, 262. He, with all the synclete, entreats Nicon, after his election to it, to accept the patriarchate (July 1652), p. 21, 222, 582. Vows to obey the canons, and to let Nicon govern the Church according to them, p. 13, 21, 101, 200, 583. The Tsar at first gentle, docile, and obedient, p. 222, 223, 583. During the plagues of 1654 and 1655, while with the army, being alarmed for his family, he intrusts it to the care of Nicon, p. 258, 259, 388. At Viazma, in 1654, of his gratitude he presses Nicon to take the title of 'Great Hossoudar;' and though he refuses it, he gives it to him thenceforth, p. 604. Gives grants to the Iversky monastery, and afterwards to the Krestnoy, and to Voskresensk, p. 258-270, 588. Repeatedly urges Nicon to consecrate a bishop for Lithuania; but he persists in refusing, p. 158. Is present with all his synclete at the consecration of the church at Voskresensk in 1657, and names that monastery New Jerusalem, p. 68, 94. Changes for the worse; begins to despise the canons, p. 223, 583. When rebuked, is only more and more angry, and uses unseemly words to the patriarch, p. 583. Orders impenitent felons to be buried as Christians, and women to be churched for their illegitimate children, p. 206. Brings into action the Monastery Court, and puts laymen into it as judges, p. 101, 292. Does, or allows to be done, many wrongs and affronts to the Church and to the patriarch, p. 104. Absents himself from public services of the Church, p. 104. Forbids Nicon to style himself 'Great Hossoudar,' p. 66, 101. Returns a letter (read or unread) sent to him by Nicon, when he was withdrawing from Moscow, p. 22,

583. After the disaster at Konotop, in 1659, suggests that Nicon, for safety, should go to the Kolhazin monastery, p. 388. Receives Nicon at Moscow with all the customary forms, as still patriarch, in 1659, and allows him to go to his three monasteries, p. 101, 105. Orders Pitirim, metr. of Kroutitz, to administer the patriarchate, and to omit Nicon's name, p. 165, 240, 501. Convokes a synod; prepares depositions to lay before it, to the effect that Nicon had abdicated; and dictates, with threats and bribery, all its acts, p. 99-101, 115, 138. Encourages or allows unlimited accusation and abuse of Nicon, p. 115, 583. Imprisons and exiles any who visit Nicon, or show him sympathy, p. 116, 583. Is inclined to do violence to Nicon himself, p. 111. Persecutes maliciously, p. 76, 99, 107, 111, 115, 191, 197, 583-601. Persecutes them that keep God's commandments, and has pleasure in them that set them at nought, p. 200, 580. Sends letters to all the monasteries and churches, ordering returns of all that Nicon may have taken from them, &c. p. 99, 116, 117. But makes out no account of what he has taken himself, p. 117. Makes himself head of the Church, p. 130, 190, 195, 206, 207, 225, 240, 241. Invades the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, p. 94, 99, 104, 116, 129, 130, 190, 191, 193, 195, 197, 201, 202, 225, 240. Appropriates Church property, p. 94, 104, 120, 129, 190, 191, 197, 202, 205, 270, 287, 291. Nominates men to be bishops &c., and orders them to be ordained, p. 176, 192, 206, 501. Has made bishops and priests to serve in his army, p. 190, 295. Suffers reverses in A.D. 1659 at Konotop, and in 1660 both in Lithuania and in Little Russia, p. 388, 403-408. In 1661 he makes the metr. Pitirim consecrate a bishop, Methodius, to invade the metropolitan province of Kieff and Lithuania, belonging to the patriarchate of C.P., p. 158-160, 501. In 1662 he receives Paisius, metr. of Gaza, contrary to the canons, and even makes him president of the synod, by which he incurs excommunication, p. 551, 552, 587-592. He dishonours the Holy Ghost, p. 206, 222. Incurs excommunication also by nominating bishops, &c. who are ordained 'by ukaz of the Tsar, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost,' p. 554. Has done nothing at all like Constantine, p. 222, 223, 240. Offers nothing to God, but plunders the Church, p. 199, 206, 287, 567. Allows it to be said that he gave Nicon the supervision of ecclesiastical causes, and great privileges, such as Constantine gave to Pope Sylvester; and that he can take them back, p. 189, 207, 250, 270. He confesses to priests only, who have no authority without the bishop to hear confessions, p. 301. He says: 'Who was he?' (*i.e.* Nicon): 'I know who he was, and I promoted him.' 'What would he have been, if I had not promoted him?'—so insulting the grace of the Holy Ghost, p. 206, 222. But really he could not give to another what he had not himself, p. 189-193. He complains that Nicon did not respect his throne, p. 115. He commits and abets spiritual adultery, p. 569. He is lifted up with pride; he persists in allowing men to call him to his face a god upon earth, p. 178, 281, 284, 400, 401-403, 417, 555, 556, 559, 566. There is little of Christianity in him, p. 200. He envies, like Cain, p. 270. And takes back what he has given to God, like Ananias and Sapphira, p. 274, 275-280. He is not without sin for looking on while the Boyar Streshneff makes his dog mimic the patriarch blessing, p. 16. Pride and impiety of the frontispiece (with horse and rider on the double-headed eagle) prefixed to the Moscow reprint of the Ostrog. Bible in 1661, p. 555, 556, 559. The orthodox clergy alone are not allowed to enter the Tsar's court, while Lutherans and Calvinists may, p. 533. He seeks to force Nicon and his monks to plead before his lay commissioners, p. 584. Favours Ivan Sitin and Roman Babarikin in their suits against Nicon, and in their aggressions on the property of his monasteries, p. 584, &c. Sends word to Nicon that he ought not to give people his hand to kiss, p. 597. Also sends him word that Ivan Sitin is seeking to cut him off, p. 598-600. If it were

not that he fears God, he would do to Nicon something that he wots not of, p. 144. In 1663-1664 sends suborned men to deal secretly with the Eastern patriarchs against Nicon, p. 46. He has three times over perjured himself, p. 280, 289, 574, 581, 584. Has thereby incurred excommunication, and has no right to enter, not only the sanctuary, but even the church, p. 551, 552, 567, 581. Warnings of Cain, p. 270; of Abimelech and Pharaoh, 292; of Kore, Dathan, and Abiram, p. 130, 288, 292, 345, 518; of Uzzah, p. 518; of the adultery of David and of Herod, p. 143; of Saul, p. 130, 322, 554; of Uzziah, p. 131, 281, 551; of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, p. 238; of divers others, p. 297; of Ananias and Sapphira, p. 272. Good contrary examples, of refusing the honour due only to God, in Christ himself, p. 400; in the Apostles, p. 401; in the angel, p. 559. Examples of David, p. 322, 559; of Solomon, p. 323, 561; of Jehoshaphat, p. 324; of Darius, respecting Cyrus's deed, p. 290; of Artaxerxes, p. 325. Threats and warnings for sacrilege, p. 274, 275-280. Other general threats and warnings, p. 369; from Deut. p. 380; from the prophets, p. 383, &c.; 566, &c. Of punishments deferred, p. 280, 507-510, 531, 565, 566.

VI. *Of Nicon personally.* He was by birth a common peasant, p. 206, 222. Promoted by the Tsar [in 1646 to be archimandrite of the Novospass, and in 1648 to be metropolitan of Novgorod, and in 1652 to be patriarch], p. 21, 104, 222, 583. In 1648, together with the rest of the bishops, and with all the boyars and the select representatives from different classes, and from the cities and towns, Nicon subscribed the new Code, p. 352. In 1650, at the risk of his life, he quelled a great insurrection at Novgorod, p. 285, 287. In 1652 he suggests, and himself superintends, the translation of the relics of St. Philip, metr. of Moscow, murdered by John IV. for having withstood and rebuked his tyranny, p. 259, 261–268. He founds the Iverskoy monastery on the Valdai lake, and later the Krestnoy, and Voskresensk, p. 262, 270. He is entreated by the Tsar to accept the patriarchate, to which he has been elected, p. 13, 21, 222, 582. He consents only upon certain conditions, viz. that the Tsar and the boyars shall promise and vow in the church to obey him in spiritual matters, and suffer him to govern the Church according to the canons, p. 21, 583. He swears himself to observe and to maintain the canons, p. 13, 21, 104. So he becomes patriarch in July 1652, ib. In 1653 he completes the printing of the Kormchay, begun under the patriarch Joseph, p. 15, 228. He holds two synods, in 1654 and 1655, for the correction of the Church books, and obtains answers to certain questions from the patr. of C.P. and from the patr. Macarius of Antioch, when this latter was at Moscow. At his instance Nicon corrects the custom then existing in Russia, of rebaptising the Poles and other Latins, p. 115. In 1655 he publishes the Skrijal, with the acts of the above synods and other documents prefixed to it, p. 43–53. Obtains, by his mediation, the union of Little Russia, and takes charge of the Tsar's family during the two plagues of 1654 and 1655, p. 285, 287. The Tsar, in gratitude, presses him, at Viazma, in 1654, to take the title of 'Great Hossoudar,' and, in spite of his refusal, he thenceforth gives him this title, p. 604. He acknowledges that the Tsar was at first gentle, docile, and obedient, and sought to obey the canons, p. 21, 583. And Nicon himself had patience respecting certain things which were amiss, p. 21, 301, 569. He was, he says of himself, constitutionally impatient; also he speaks of himself as having little learning, an ignorant man, only desiring to inform himself, and to correct whatever has been done amiss. So he speaks of his having submitted to be reordained to the patriarchate; and of his having shared in some of the same errors which he so much displeased the Raskolniks by correcting. With regard to his having subscribed the new

Code in 1618, he does not plead ignorance of its contents, but that he was *over-borne* [being then only just made a bishop]. He has misgivings about the propriety of the ceremony of riding on the ass on Palm Sunday, p. 13, 161, 162, 262. With the concurrence of the Tsar, he transfers the see of Kolomna to Perm and Viatka, p. 89. He causes the leaders of the Raskolniks, when obstinate in resisting the correction of the Church books, to be imprisoned and exiled, p. 115. He consecrated, in 1657, the church at Voskresensk, in presence of the Tsar and his synclete, and the Tsar then gave it certain endowments of lands, p. 270. And the Tsar had named the monastery the New Jerusalem, p. 81, 93, 94. Nicon had suggested the two missions of Arsenius Souchanoff to the East; the first time to observe the performance of the ritual, and to collect MSS.: the second to obtain a model of the Church of the Resurrection (covering also the holy sepulchre) from Jerusalem. This was brought to him by Paisius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and is still preserved in the monastery at Voskresensk, p. 81, 93, 94. Nicon used to sit and judge causes personally, p. 550. He is importuned by the Tsar, but always refuses, to consecrate and send a bishop into Lithuania, the metropolitan see of Kieff and its province being then still under the patr. of C.P., p. 158. On the Tsar's changing for the worse, and beginning to disregard the canons, Nicon reproves him, but with no other result than that of making him more and more angry, p. 21, 101, 583. After many wrongs done, and affronts, on the 10th July A.D. 1658, he testified in the cathedral before God and the Church of the Tsar's having broken his oath, p. 22, 101, 583. But he did *not* renounce the patriarchate, p. 22, 101, 595. Nor swear any oath, p. 24, 595, 597. He finished the Liturgy, and put off his vestments, in the usual way, p. 23. He sent a verbal message to the Tsar, with his reasons for retiring from Moscow, p. 101. Also a letter, which the Tsar read (or, it may be, did not read), but sent back to him with a message that it was of no use to him, p. 22, 583. Nicon, in obedience to Christ's words, shook off the dust from his feet, p. 22, 595. And, on account of the malice of the boyars, giving place to wrath, retired to Voskresensk, where he was still in his own diocese, p. 22, 105, 291, 583, 595. He wrote afterwards, abundantly, to the Tsar, but only increased his anger: among other things, both before and after his withdrawal from Moscow, he exhorted the Tsar to forbid foolish men to call him to his face 'a god upon earth,' p. 105, 401. In 1659, after the disaster of Konotop, he declined to go for security to the monastery of Koliazin, p. 101, 105. But came to Moscow, and was there received by the Tsar and the Tsaritsa, and by all the boyars, with the usual forms, as being still patriarch, not a word being said of the cause of his retirement, p. 101, 105, 597. Then, with the Tsar's knowledge and permission, he went to his monasteries of Voskresensk, the Iverskoy, and the Krestnoy, and returned in 1660 to Voskresensk, p. 102. In 1660, when the Tsar convoked a synod against him, and prepared depositions of his having abdicated the patriarchate to lay before it, and dictated all its proceedings, using threats too and bribes, Nicon called this synod 'a judaical synagogue,' p. 40, 42, 99–103, 101, 603. Such as visit him or show sympathy for him are imprisoned or exiled, p. 116. All, even the Raskolniks, are encouraged or bidden to accuse him, p. 115, 116. The Tsar having ordered Pitirim, metr. of Kroutitz, to administer the patriarchate, to omit Nicon's name in the prayers, to perform the ceremony of riding on the ass on Palm Sunday, and to consecrate a bishop by the title of Orsha in Lithuania, Nicon anathematises Pitirim, p. 151–172. The property of his monasteries being encroached upon and claimed by Ivan Sitin and Roman Babàrikin, he writes in vain to the Tsar, who favours them, and sends commissioners, who, on his refusing to plead, decide in their favour, p. 586, 587. Nicon, having spread out the Tsar's letters of grant to the Iverskoy monastery, and having recited psalms containing imprecations against those who had wronged his monasteries (imprecations contained also in the Tsar's own letters), is accused by them of having cursed the Tsar, p. 584–586. The prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky and the metr. of Gaza Paisius Ligarides, with others, being sent as commissioners from the Tsar and the council to make inquest about this, Nicon replies to their questions, and is by them reviled, forbidden to give his hand to kiss, to wear episcopal vestments, or to celebrate, and, farther, confined to his cell under guard, July 18–28, 1663, p. 586–601. He refuses to have anything to do with Paisius of Gaza, as he brings no canonical letters, p. 589–591. He calls the Tsar a tyrant, an invader, and a plunderer, p. 604. With little of Christianity, any more than the boyars, p. 144, 200, 223, 280, 289, 595, 601. Not a Christian, p. 595. He says that the Tsar has thrice broken his solemn vow made to God, p. 280, 289, 574, 581, 584. That he has incurred excommunication by the canons, and not only has no right to enter the sanctuary, but he has no right even to enter the church, 567, 581. His act too, in receiving and employing Paisius Ligarides, of itself subjects him to excommunication, p. 581. He says that they persecute Christ in his servant, p. 89, 105, 197, 222, 296, 297, 299, 492, 493. He says that he does not 'revile' the Tsar, but blames malice and injustice, p. 288, 605, &c. That he is deprived of his lawful church by adulterers, p. 12. Is actually in danger of his life, p. 115, 144. The Tsar, while giving him notice of them, is really an accomplice in the designs of Ivan Sitin and others against him, p. 598–600. He will rather be stripped of his last garment than accept the Tsar's jurisdiction, p. 297, 585. Professes himself ready not only to be imprisoned, but to die, for the gospel, p. 257, 595, 599, 603, 604. Offers his breast to be struck to the okolnik Osip Soukin, and to the boyar the prince Nikita Odoefsky, p. 584, 598. He says that he has neither received, nor seeks, nor needs, any privileges from the Tsar, p. 191–193. He is accused of identifying his church and monastery at Voskresensk with the prototypal New Jerusalem, that is, of being himself alone with his followers, to the exclusion of his adversaries, the true Church, p. 82, &c. He says that Voskresensk now has more than Moscow: it has the patriarchate; while Moscow has nothing, but the abomination of desolation, and the beginnings of Antichrist, p. 94. He has still hope in prayer, by which, even yet, some great and good change may be obtained, p. 187, 188.

THE END.

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